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A JOURNAL ABOUT BOOKS & COMMUNICATION ARTS

REVIEWS , NEWS & VIEWS

indian book chronicle

A VIVEK TRUST PUBLICATION assisted by SANGHAR VIDYA SABHA TRUST

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We wish the IBC readers and subscribers a happ
New Year and many long happy hours of fruitful readin

Our greetings also to our other patrons, friends a
well-wishers ! To the librarians and book-lovers and
particular, to our contributors and reviewers ! We al
greet the publishers, distributors and book-sellers.

As this journal enters its 14th year, we hope and pr
that our mutual association may grow and continue
enrich over minds and lives through a rich, varied a
colourful offering of books and exchange of ideas

—Editor

A Special Word with Publishers and Others in the Book Trade

With our limited resources, we are doing our best to cover as many regional areas, cultures, languages and disciplines as possible; but of course, the scope is unlimited. We seek your help and guidance to make the journal more readable, interesting and purposeful. You can help us by sending review copies of all your recent and new publications without fail. That will add a greater variety and spice to the IBC review columns and help us make it more representative of various disciplines as well as literary traditions in all regions of the country.

Recently, we have noticed that some-times, publishers have not kept us well - posted or served with their latest publications though, from time to time, our more adventuresome and cooperative readers or reviewers have come forth with suitable reviews on their own, so that the gaps or lapses have often gone unnoticed. There are a few publishers who have not let us down; but they also have failed to send us their more popular, interesting or controversial books.

We have now begun to mention almost all books received in a new column, entitled **Books Received**. We would like to make it a regular item and collect a small charge of Rs. 25/– for a two-three lines entry per book. This would make a token addition to our uncertain resources. We have to make amends for a decline in our advertisement income during recent years, (especially since the Journal moved to Jaipur from New Delhi in April/May, 1986).

As we go through the old folios and back numbers of IBC, specially during its earlier years of infancy, we are rather surprised to observe that quite a few Publishers from New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and other centres had then extended their liberal patronage to this Journal. But slowly, their interest seemed to have declined and weaken, with the result that, by the time the Journal was transferred to Jaipur (under a virtual threat of closure), only a couple of publishers were releasing their advertisements to the IBC. More recently, even that support has tapered off, so that today we have to approach all kinds of patrons (other than publishers) to help us. This is not a promising or a happy situation.

A Journal like the Book Chronicle devoted to th culture of books or involved in the promotion of goo reading habits amongst the academic and profession sections of society and the elite groups of scholars, an committed to the task of building up a strong an nation - wide network of libraries should receive th maximum willing support from the publishers, book sellers and the distributors. That is our appeal fo 1989 !

Needless to say that since 1986, the Journal ha grown and spread out to cover new regions or acad mic centres in the country (and abroad). A ne generation of scholars, writers and men of letter reviewers and readers is constantly being tapped an associated with the IBC. To sustain their interest an to continue to serve them better, we look to the pul lishing fraternity for active support. We hope tha they will not disappoint us.

In fact, there are some friends and well-wisher who have often asked us, why we have not approache some leading publishing houses to support and eve sponsor the Book Chronicle. We have no answer t that. Perhaps the publishers have, and they can re pond to that wishful query. *—Editor*

* * *

i) Please continue to send us your recent and latest books for review.

ii) Also please advertise your books through "Book Received" column as well as through the display ad vertisements. Your help will strengthen IBC for bette service to the large and wide-spread community o books-lovers in India and many N.R.I. scholars o friends of India abroad.

* * *

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LANDMARKS . . .
In The Annals Of Modern Rajasthan

Four decades ago, on a spring day, the two dozen and odd princely states and chiefships were brought together (through a series of successive mergers) to constitute the new political and administrative entity of Rajasthan. Given the status of a Part 'B' State of the Indian Union, it grew in size and stature with the merger of the territory (Part 'C' State) of Ajmer and parts of Abu region.

Thus the people of the Rajasthan set forth on a new, yet unchartered, path of progress. Their achievements have been many—the rise of democratic institutions, the integration of services, a series of land reforms, the launching of irrigation works including the Rajasthan (now Indira Gandhi) Canal project, modernisation of agriculture & animal husbandry operations, toning up of public health and education services with the upgrading and expansion of facilities, the opening up of the interior and backward areas through networks of roads, transport and marketing facilities, industrialisation and mineral development, electrification and all that, not to forget judicial and administrative reforms and innovations in the community development and panchayati raj programmes. It has been a struggle uphill (or through the desert sands) and a saga of achievements with some setbacks. In the fields of arts and letters and in the spheres of communication as well as performance and plastic arts, there have also been notable contributions.

To recapture the agony and glory of those days we would like to run a series of articles and features on the Land-marks of Modern Rajasthan, for which contributions and comments are invited. They would be published as they come. —*Editor*

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A FOND FAREWELL

In the July and August, 1988 issues of IBC, we published brief notes by "D.D." on about half-a-dozen books under the column/title: *BOOKS I READ RECENTLY*. We could not continue with the series, though we had a further lot of such notes in hand. September to March—our well-intended plans continued to be postponed.

Meanwhile, suddenly one day, we heard the sad news: "D.D." was no more. It was our loss, both on the professional and on the personal level.

I had personally known D.D (Now we can reveal her identity as Prof. Devahuti of Delhi University) since 1949, when I had met her and her husband, late prof Damodar Singhal as young aspiring scholars in London. I was working in the Hindi section of BBC in Oxford Street, and they were in search of another anchorage, or extra source of steady income. Soon they began to translate and broadcast or otherwise take part in the BBC Hindi programmes They joined our team; for quite some time they would (in turn) take over full-time duties as "Holiday Relief" broadcasters. Devahuti and Damodar also helped me to start the then fairly active and popular *LONDON HINDI PARISHAD*.

Since our return to India at different points of time, we kept in touch through occasional meetings or correspondence. (In between, Damodar went across to Australia, and slowly, step by step, Devahuti established herself as a historian). Since the winter of 1975 (when I underwent major surgery, and she looked me up in the hospital) our contacts were re-established somewhat more regularly.

Taking over the IBC in April 1986, I naturally turned to her, among other friends, for help. She did her bit, More recently, I was pressing her to help with book notes, or reviews etc. The series under the column BOOKS I READ RECENTLY was a result of my persistent pleas. We got her **Book Notes**, more than a dozen in all, with a personal letter, which we reproduce in part because of perhaps a note of premonition that is there, especially the reference to "the swan song":

"Reema, in reply to your letter, I am sending information about fourteen books that I have recently seen. They are not really reviews, because they are not critical. They are more in the nature of information. You can publish them under my initials D.D. rather than under my full name. Incidentally the second 'D' is just to meet the needs of modern usage.

I am afraid this lot will have to be my swan song. Pretty lengthy is'nt it ? That should win me your forgiveness ! Spondylitis and eyes--now eyes too bother me. I can't physically take the strain.

Sorry this thing is not typed. I hope my handwriting will be decipherable. I now leave it **entirely** *to the editors.*

With much love to you all, and with my labour of love for you....

Yours...

P. S. *Devahuti*

I have now got all the nos. of IBC.

It is on such good-will and moral support of our many scholar friends that the edifice of IBC is growing.

We are sorry, however, that our readers will have to be content only with Devahuti's brief Book Notes on these various books, because the Publishers Distributors have not found it worth their while to send use review copies. Perhaps some other friends would oblige.

We give below DD's comments on one such book.

—B. H. & R. H.

SOME BOOKS I READ RECENTLY

Xinru Liu: ANCIENT INDIA AND ANCIENT CHINA: **Trade and Religious Exchanges**
O. U. P. Delhi, 1988, pp. xxi+231.

There is something special about the author of this book. Xinru Liu never went to school. She worked as a peasant and a factory-hand in China between 1966 and 1976. She taught herself enough history to gain admission to the University of Pennsylvania in the U. S. A., from where she ultimately took her doctorate in 1985. At present, she is an Assistant Professor at the Chinese Academy of Social Science in Biejing.

The book examines in detail the ancient commercial and religious traffic between India and China in the period before the sixth century A. D. It is divided into three parts. Part I deails with trade routes and centres, trading items and the structure of trade. Part II examines the theological and institutional developments within Buddhism, the relationship between the monasteries and the laity, and the influence of commerce upon Buddhist theory and practice. The final section concentrates on the significant role of Buddhism in stimulating Indo-China trade.

The book carries useful maps, appendices and pictures. It is a significant and welcome study of ancient Sino-India trade in the Buddhist cultural ambience.

—D. D.

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BUILDING A BASE

Here are some extracts from a short note received from Prof. Amrik Singh, the founder editor of this journal :

"... The real problem is that none of the younger people has got involved in the project, When we decided to move it to Jaipur, it was an important factor in my mind. But then we live and learn. I have nothing but admiration for the committed manner in which you are going about the job. IBC is not what it used to be. Quite some people have protested to me about it As far as I am concerned, the more relevant consideration is that it is still running.

"I got your January issue the other day, and as far as I can see, part of your problem is the absence of suitable printing facilities at Jaipur. But then this is n t somthing you can help.

"Coming to things more urgent, I am gratified to find that you are able to get more people to do the job of reviewing than was possible sometime ago.

"I saw your last editorial wondering what has happened to the publishers. You are right. They are totally an "unprofessional" lot. That is the problem. For instance, I must have talked to... .. of..... publishers about 8–10 times, during the last as many months. The sum total is zaro, as you know. And this is typical of what these people do...."

[*Names withheld to avoid embarrassment. We also hope that the word "unprofessional" used in anguish would not be misunderstood.—Editor*]

The Chronicle moved to Jaipur in April, 1986, when it was on the verge of closure.

Our Printers . . .

We regret that we have not been able to make satisfactory printing arrangements at Jaipur. (We have already shared with our readers some of our experiences about how we got to the doorsteps of computerised word-processing and laser printing technology, and burnt our fingers in connection with the November-December, 1988, Special Number on Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II). The delay in this issue is due largely to our printers getting involved in printing the revised electoral lists. Yet it must be said to their credit that they have generally not lacked in co-operation what they could not make for in quality or timely performance. Without their help, this journal would have folded up long ago.

. . . & The Publishers

The founder-editor has also referred to the "unprofessional" attitude of the Indian-English publishers. Many among them who had initially(almost) sponsored this venture, and stood by it for some years, seem to have half-turned their faces away. Their support has been declining, or rather reluctant, if and when available. During the last three-four years, we have not got much financial help from them. They have not even responded to our Books Received Column, for which a token fee (not more than Rs. 25/- per book entry) has been suggested. What is worse, many old publisher friends of the IBC have not been favouring us with a review copy of their publications. A few new contacts have also refused point-blank.

But then, IBC has many responsive friends an keen supporters amongst its readers, scores of who have sent us reviews of books—current, popular an topical—which were not received from the publishers Bless such of our friends !

If there is little support and sustenance from th publishers and others in the trade, God help such efforts !

A Responsive Community of Book-Lovers

As far as *service* to the community of readers is concerned, we are happy to observe that we have come a long way since the Book Chronicle first made its hesitant appearance. During the last decade and a half, the book reviewing scene in India has changed a good deal, what with week-end magazine sections of most national and regional, even local daily newspapers coming out with regular columns or pages of book reviews. A score of columnists and other occasional reviewers are on their strings, and there is a continuous and useful projection of comments on the latest books published in the country and/or imported from other dominant publishing centres. The latter variety is a fashion, perhaps a passion, with some reviewers and magazine-section editors.

Naturally, IBC is no longer the only journal of book reviews. But there is a clientele of scholars, academic workers, students, researchers and teachers, professional writers and poets, book-lovers and critics who have stood by the IBC. They have supported it to survive and now to strive into new and more challenging channels of communication arts.

As Amrik Singh has also observed, many an old friend (reviewer-critic) has gone dormant, but new reviewers have come forth to carry the IBC flag forward and keep it flying. With our limited contacts, we have managed to draw in many new and potential talents, and hope that they will come to full fruition soon, and the IBC would gain strength through their cooperation.

The IBC has also been going to new places in various parts of the country and abroad.

There is no denying that the IBC has changed somewhat during these past few years. For one, it has tried to become *more multi-disciplinary* and *more representative* of our regional cultures and literatures, perhaps more 'provincial' and less "metropolitan". We have also added new features like **Poets' Corner, Reports and Travelogues**, and more recently the new section on **Communication Arts**. All these changes in the make-up and cosmetics have been indulged in on the advice and under the silent steady pressure of our readers and well-wishers. We feel that IBC must change with the times, if it has to survive, and if it has to serve the interests and tastes of its clients.

While this variety has enriched its contents, the IBC has ventured out into quite a few hitherto unexplored areas and secured some new footholds.

As far as its circulation is concerned, there has been a steady and encouraging growth, except in the so-called Hindi belt (excluding, of course, Rajasthan where the IBC base has indeed been somewhat consolidated).

—*B.K.*

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A JOURNAL ABOUT BOOKS & COMMUNICATION ARTS

REVIEWS, NEWS & VIEWS

indian book chronicle

A Vivek Trust Publication assisted by Sanghar Vidya Sabha Trust

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INDIAN BOOK CHRONICLE
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THE BURDEN OF BOOKS

"Take this burden of books and school bags off the child's back and free him/her from the boredom of home-work."

That was the earnest plea of Dr. R.K. Narayan, the well-known author, in his maiden speech in the Rajya Sabha on 27th April. It was a red-letter day for the Upper House because the learned writer was breaking his studied silence after nearly two years of his association as a nominated member and as rousing the nation's conscience, as if it were.

Surely, as he spoke, he must have had before him the image of Swami, the child-hero, so full of innocence and mischief, trudging his way to school, willy-nilly, with a heavy load of books strapped to his back. Naturally, Narayan was to plead : "Abolish the school bag ! And cut down the home-work !"

That was his simple two-point *mantra* (or prescription) for the long-awaited and much-needed reform in our school education system. Instead of a regimented process of teaching, he pleaded for a system which should give the child a chance to bloom in the process of learning.

Though the picture of the scenes he painted would seem to apply more to the young child in an urban middle-class family set-up, in the essence the portrayal would cover the rural child as well. How one wishes that Narayan had also gone back to the basics, and strongly urged the re-introduction or re-vitalisation of the pattern of Basic Education as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi and as fashioned in its various details by many educationists led by none other than Dr. Zakir Hussain, long before he came to occupy high offices of state.

—*B. H.*

LET CHILDHOOD HAVE A CHANCE TO BLOOM !

A Plea by Dr. R. K. Narayan

Here are some extracts from his speech :

"...In the stress of the concerns of adult world, the problems or rather the plight of children pass unnoticed. I am not referring to any particular class; but to childhood itself.

TO SCHOOL....

"The hardship starts right at home, when straight from sleep the child is pulled out and got ready for school even before its faculties are awake. He (or she) is groomed and stuffed into a uniform and packed off to school with a loaded bag on his back The school bag has become an inevitable burden for the child. I am now pleading, as a national policy, for abolition of the school bag, by an ordinance if necessary.

....LIKE A PACK-MULE

"I have investigated and found that an average child carries strapped to his back, like a pack-mule, not less than 6 to 8 kg of books, notebooks and other paraphernalia of modern education, in addition to lunch box and water bottle. Most children, on account of this daily burden, develop a stoop and hang their arms forward like a chimpanzee while walking, and I know cases of serious spinal injuries in some children too

"Asked why not leave some books behind at home, the child explains it is her teacher's orders that all books and notes must be brought every day to the class, for what reason, God alone knows ! If there is a lapse, the child invites punishment, which takes the form of being rapped on the knuckles with a wooden scale, a refinement from our days when we received cane cuts on the palm only.

"The child is in such terror of the teacher, whether known as sister, mother superior, or just madam, that it is prepared to carry out any command issued by the teacher, who has no imagination or sympathy.

DRESS—A SENSELESS FORMALITY

"The dress regulation (particularly in convent schools) is another senseless formality—tie, and laced shoes and socks, irrespective of the climate is compulsory. Polishing a shoe and lacing it becomes a major task for a child first thing in the day. When the tie has become an anachronism even in the adult world, it is absurd to enforce it on children.

"A simple uniform and footwear must be designed and brought into force, easier to maintain.

AFTER SCHOOL HOURS

"After the school hours, when the child returns home at the end of the day, her mother or home tutor is waiting to pounce on her, snatch her bag and compel her to go through some special coaching or homework For the child, the day has ended, with no time left for her to play or dream.

"It is a cruel harsh life imposed on her, and I present her case before this House for the honourable members to think over and devise remedies by changing the whole educational system and outlook, so that childhood has a chance to bloom rather than wilt in the process of learning.

PROTECTING THE CHILD

"Other areas where the child needs protection is from involvement in adult activities such as protest marches, parades, or lining up on roadside for waving in VIPs. Children are made to stand in the hot sun for hours without anyone noticing how much they suffer from fatigue, hunger and thirst.

"Children must be protected, and cherished, which would seem especially relevant in this year of Nehru Centenary. How it is to be done is up to our rulers and administrators to consider—perhaps not by appointing a commission of enquiry, but in some other practical and peaceful manner."

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A Participant's Report by Arun Chaturvedi

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Indian Book Chronicle
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BOOKS FOR EXPORT

Improving the Quality of Books for Export was the theme of a panel discussion organised by CAPEXIL (Chemical & Allied Products Export Promotion Council) on 19th May, 1989. It was chaired by Mr. Sukumar Das (*UBSPD*) Vice-Chairman, Books and Publications Panel. About 60 representatives of various publishing houses and export organisations connected with books and publications participated. Among the panel speakers were : M/s Anurag Machwe (*Wiley Eastern*) N.K. Mehra(*Narosa*) Mohan Pirmalani and Mrs Indu Mirchandani (*Oxford & IBH*) Santosh Mukerji (*OUP*) Vinod Kumar (*South Asia Publishers*) Yunis Dehlavi (*Shama Magazine*) Bhupinder Choudhry (*English Book Store*) S. Balwant (*Ajanta International*) S. N. Mehta (*Interprint*) and Shyam Sunder (*Prabhat Prakashan*).

Most speakers were aware of the challenge which lay ahead, in view of the growing demand for Indian books and publications as reflected in the increased revenues, as also because of the comparative higher costs of US and British books etc. in the international market. Speaking of their own experiences and the observations of some other prominent international publishers, they were highly conscious of the handicaps or inherent weaknesses of the Indian printing scene such as the "poor quality, appearance, colour and surface etc. of the Indian paper", or "the inferior quality of printing, poor quality of binding, lack of quality printing presses etc.", whereas very fine quality work is available at cheaper rates from smaller countries like Hongkong and Singapore.

Naturally, one of the major recommendations of the panel was that "Publishing be recognised as an industry" to facilitate bank loans etc; and also to help the publishers, "A Books Finance Corporation should be opened." Yet another recommendation was for "Import of paper under OGL". The obvious emphasis was on the display quality and the get-up or the look and the feel of Indian books and publications. (One wonders if the "contents" were also considered. *Ed.*) No doubt these features invite and attract attention. But, as some speakers pointed out, "Indian publications are primarily meant for the small indigenous market", and "the overseas customers are secondary". Perhaps a compromise solution lay in issuing "a separate export edition".

However, the quality of books, as some other speakers stressed, should mean "a quality in its totality", with each aspect or ingredient lending support or quality to the other, which meant improvement in the "Editorial Input" as well as the "Involvement of the Publishers". It was to be appreciated that a badly written or indifferently edited book could not become more appealing or popular only by its "attractive visual outlook". There was, of course, a strong plea for quality and excellence at all stages of publishing.

We generally support the main theme and overall objectives of the panel discussion, though there a are few points we would like to raise.

First, with regard to an appropriate forum for raising such issues and following them up. Is it not possible to have an independent export promotion body for the Book Trade (or Industry, as some would like it to be called), We have at least two country-wide Associations/ Federations of Indian Publishers and Distributors (perhaps there are more) besides a few officially sponsored or supported organisations, and the various *Sahitya Akademies*. Can these organisations not come together to create an all-India Council for Books & Publications Export ? Such an "apex body" would not need to be tagged on to the prosaic and none too inspiring Chemicals & Allied Promotion Council.

Second, is it not time when the Ministry of Education and Culture, or the Indian Council of Cultural Relations and such other bodies connected with academic or literary activities should inititate market opinion surveys all over the world ? This would be useful especially in the countries where NRI's or nationals of Indian origin happen to be in fairly large numbers, as also in countries with which India has more than friendly relations of cultural exchange, such as the NAM or the Commonwealth and other English speaking countries. There are countries like the USSR, UK, USA, Germany and France etc. wherein there is special interest and supporting institutional framework for Indian studies. In each of these countries and regions, systematic surveys need to be carried out to identify the potential markets and local tastes or interests etc. We should know what the readers and academics outside India are interested in.

Third, with regard to quality, as our experience in other spheres has shown, quality in export items cannot be separated from the quality in products for domestic use. In other words, we cannot pose "export" as an alternative to "domestic consumption" (as many short-cut planners and economists and earners of foreign exchange have been suggesting in the recent past). The two markets have an umblical relationship which should be maintained. We must aim at quality at reasonable costs etc. both at home and abroad.

Above all, perhaps the time has come when there should be some definite pattern and semblance of order and co-ordinated or planned growth in the books and publications sector, some rules of the game, some code of conduct, some discipline from within and some regulations from outside, not only official, but also popular, and at the academic or critics' level. Also there should be mass movements for book promotion as there are in some regions like Kerala, Maharashtra and West Bengal. A rich and strong base at home will sustain a rewarding export drive.

—*Editor*

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NEHRU ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION :
—from The Glimpses of World History

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oru Dutt—INDIAN'S GIFT OF LOVE TO FRANCE
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RANCE: 1870 A Poem by Toru Dutt
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OUR SHORT COMMENTS by D.D.
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& THE "LITTLE" SCREEN

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Indian Book Chronicle
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On the occasion of the Bi-Centenary of the French Revolution, we are initiating a series or an odd string of reviews and articles on some dimensions of the Revolution and its after effects and Impact on Indo-French Contacts. We invite contributions. *–Editors*

We understand that the Indian Council of Historical Research has recently come out with a book entitled: *India and the French Revolution.* This delayed contribution to the still very small list of books by Indians or in Indian languages on the great landmark in human history two centuries ago and the subsequent era should be most welcome, as it is likely to fill a big gap in our knowledge and appreciation of the world events. We do not know if and when we would receive a review a copy. But, in case we don't receive a copy in the near future, would some reader/scholar oblige us and the IBC readers with comments? *(Editors)*

Once again, we offer our apologies for the unexpected and inordinate delay in the release of this issue. As planned, it should have come out latest by the end of July. But then, things have not been quite all right in the printing circles of Jaipur. There are hitches and hassles and hurdles of all sorts—one need not go into the details. All we can say and confess to is that we in the IBC are not yet out of the woods, and do often get lost.

That means a lot of embarrassment, suspense ad tension, for all of us; and apart from taxing the patience of our patrons, it seriously upsets so many of our plans. If (and when) we reduce the number of pages to accommodate the speed and capacity of our printers, or go from one door to another, there is a big pile of manu-scripts awaiting publication, as has been happening recently. We seek forgiveness of our contributors, particularly those who have obliged us by sending comments or reviews of books not received in our office. Their number has been growing. This also means that the journal is becoming more and more a "shared effort" of book-lovers, IBC readers and reviewers etc. who mange to fill the gap created by both local printers and the indifferent or reluctant book publishers.

Costs are also going up, of every commodity or article of daily use and consumption. The spiral has engulfed the printing and publishing world. While the big chains of newspapers, magazines and publishers have absorbed the shock (while raising their voices of protest but adjusting their prices or policies to the new circumstances) the small, medium units and especially journals as well as small publishers are the worst sufferers. New "concessions" do not help them. For example, who can import newsprint ? It won't be surprising if many of them wind up their small ventures. [Every one can not also manage to have advertisement support from the Government of India or other patrons.] Having resisted so long, we have now revised our subscription rates. But for foreign subscribers, we have offered some concessions [*See box below*].

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Quarter Page	400/-	375/-	(4 pages & over)
Books Received Column:			Rs. 25/- per entry

Besides our earlier announcement about two series on THE MAKERS OF MODERN INDIA and LANDMARKS IN THE ANNALS OF MODERN RAJASTHAN, we now add two new dimenions : CALCUTTA-300 & CUTTAK-1000, in the centenary series. *Eds.*

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For August for obvious reasons, we had planned a bigger and bumper issue but with delays by the printers and their limited speed and capacity, we have had to cut down on its size and also withdraw some contributions. We are sorry for this compromise and for the inordinate delay.

Our next issues are also held up. To overcome some of the delay, we have to combine the September and October issues. "War" and "Peace" (or Non-Violence) are two themes we hope to cover in that issue and later —*Editors.*

*IS MY COUNTRY TRULY FREE ?

by **Leela Dharmaraj**

Enthralled and fettered, in slumber once laid,
My country awoke to liberty's morn.
The price the blood of martyrs paid.
A new and hope-filled nation was born.
Yet unbidden haunts a gloomy thought,
"Is my country truly free ?"

Still crouch the huts in shadows dark,
With thatch, dishevelled, shamefaced, dumb;
Rent garments for curtains, a drain for a park;
Their dwellers exist, dull, weary, and glum.
And unbidden haunts the gloomy thought,
"Is my country truly free ?"

Untouched by wisdom's glorious light,
In wilderness waste, the multitudes lie;
In joyless ignorance, in shades of night,
Unknowing, unthinking, living, they die.
And unbidden haunts the gloomy thought,
"Is my country truly free ?"

The elect, enlightened, with knowledge endowed,
Pass on unseeing as Nabobs of old;
While the leper with sores in misery is bowed,
Low, despised, filthy to behold,
And unbidden haunts the gloomy thought,
"It my country truly free ?"

With blueprints and Committees manifold
The great ones are busy, preoccupied;
But to spokes of the wheel unfeeling and cold,
To the letter of the laws the people are tied,
And unbidden haunts the gloomy thought,
"Is my country truly free ?"

The night-air is rent by madmen's cries,
The destitute still on a pavement sleeps;
His shelter the road, his roof the skies;
The hunger-limp child ransacks the dust-heaps.
And unbidden haunts the gloomy thought,
"Is my country truly free ?"

FREEDOM – Two Poems

IN TIANENEN SQUARE

(Birth of Change)

by **Rosemary C. Wilkinson****

They died for what they cried for :
they cried for liberty and freedom.
They marched enmasse for free speech
and built a tower in memory of all this.
Students, civilians, peasants
all joined together in locked protest
And satellite TV splashed birth-throes across
agonized eyes the world over.
Millions crowded the square
but 3,000 gave their lives
When tanks mowed them down
but the shots that killed the old man, children
Went through our hearts
twelve thousand miles away.
What power creates such havoc
for a people to throw off their chains ?
These same people-power marched for another
and trying it for forty yeary know it works not
For they see their poverty and their new birth is
exploding.
One generation later children of the parents decision
Rise up vehemently against communism.
We want democracy-they cry
While the stunned world stand by.
In deep pain, and tears too
We watch thousands die....

What price liberty, what price freedom, in China !

June 8, 1989 6 P. M.

**This was the first published poem by Leela Dharmaraj (1923-1972). It appeared in the Eastern Times, Cuttack, August 15, 1958. Since the scenario and the questions have not changed much, we are reproducing it here more for its import than for poetry with grateful thanks to M/s. James Dharmraj and P. Lal. (The poem has been taken from Writers' Workshop 1988 publication : THE SELECTED POEMS OF LEELA DHRAMARAJ edited and introduced by Prabhu S. Guptara.*

***With more than a dozen books of poetry to her credit and winner of many national and international awards. Rosemary C. Wilkinson is also known as the Lady Poet. She is Secretary-General of the World Academy of Arts and Culture and on the Governing Board of the World Congress of Poets. She has been travelling round the world to promote the cause of poetry. She has also been to India recently. We hope to publish some of her poems and comments on her books in the near future.*

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indian book chronicle

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In the Summer of 1939 . . .

—Prem Kirpal

... ...
In the summer of nineteen thirty-nine
in a group of four we set out
with mules, tents, rations and cooks
to walk in vales and climb high hills.

From Pahalgam along the Lidar river
to the glacier of dark Kolahoi
and up the heights of golden flowers
to dips of thick-set forest trees,
up the peaks and down the valleys,
along brooks, lakes and shining snow,
we went to Shiva's cave of pigeons
and the gateway to Ladakh.

Through sylvan paths we climbed to peaks
and glimpsed the fairy-lands beyond.
In mist and cloud or bright sunshine
the mountain scenes revealed themselves;
with murmuring brooks and racing streams
we walked with secrets of our hearts.

We were together and alone
in a friendship group and lonesomeness;
man and mountain make their world
of sharing together and dreaming apart.

Tiny carried a bruised heart,
Nishi was gay and care-free,
the boy Gautam was growing up,
and I sang poems to myself;
among camp-followers there were some
who are remembered to this day
for loyalty, work and foresight
in taking care of our needs.

In Shiva's cave my gentle coolie,
Ahmed of imperial visage,
remarked that rituals of religion
are valued for fervent worship
which protects, nurtures and elevates
man and his spirit in a treacherous world.

After a month of trek in mountains
with nails and beards well enlarged
we did return to Pahalgam
and read from the newpaper
that the World War Two had broken out
and men were killing and conspiring
to destroy what was left of freedom,
and the German Reich was on the march !
... ...

(An extract from an unfinished autobigraphical poem by Prem Kirpal entitled Memories : River, Seas and Mountains Pp. 152-153 from SPIRIT'S MUSINGS —published by Pitambar Publishing Co. New Delhi.)

WAR : **A Poem by Esha Joshi**

Death in the wheat field.
Blood and the limbs of the shattered
Feeding the soil, enriching the yield—
Wheat for the maimed and battered;

Why the twisted shapes. the broken bodies,
Why birth, why fruition? Now you are undone
Citadel in a lost city dread haunted—
Is this life's circle, how progress is won ?

Tread softly here, the dead sleep undaunted
Under the flowers. The bird sped swift to its nest its way
And little children to their homes where fires burned,
Hearts rested, loved—but that was yesterday.

(1 September 1939 :
the day the Second World War broke out)

(Reproduced from Esha Joshi's book of verse SANCTUARY—Writers' Workshop, Culcutta–1987)

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ON THE RAMAYANA —Ashim Kumar Roy

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are usually called epics. Long poems of a didactic nature have been inserted in these works, so that the *Mahābhārata*, in particular, has almost completely lost the character of an epic. Thus perhaps it is better to call these two books by their native name *Itihāsa*,"thus it happened", a collection of traditions.

The other set of literature containing the myths and legends of our country are called *Purāṇas* They are 18 in number. If we add to them the *Upa Purāṇas*, the lesser *Purāṇas*, also 18 in number, then we get a total of 36 compilations of mythologies. Some of the *Purāṇas* contain, beside mythological stories, things such as poetics, architecture, geography, manuals of archery, and many other things. Thus they are almost encyclopaedias. But basically they are religious books. The legends they contain are woven around gods Viṣṇu. Śiva, etc. or goddess like Devi.

Rāma as a god

The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were not originally written as religious books. The *Mahābhārat* still retains a secular flavour. The *Rāmāyṇa*, on the other hand, has, in course of time, become a religious book, particular in its vernacular versions, and Rāma its hero has become a god.

The problems are : how and when the *Rāmāyaṇa* became a religious book. The question 'how' is more difficult to answer. The poet Vālmiki, who is said to be the author of the best known version, probably intended to write only the tragic life of Rāma, a prince who, except for short spans, never had a happy life. Why the prince to whom fate was rarely kind became a god worshipped by innumerable people of our country is a mystery.

R. G. Bhandarkar and many other savants have tried to find out when Rāma became a god worshipped by the people. That Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu was known for a very long time; but not all incarnations or *avatāra* of Viṣṇu are worshipped by people. For instance, nobody worships Viṣṇu in his fish, tortoise or boar incarnations.

Bhandarkar wrote, "The belief in Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu existed in all probability in the early centuries of the Chistian era. But there is no mention of his name in such a work as Patañjali, nor is there any old inscription in which it occurs. Amarasiṅha, too, has no place for him in his scheme of Brāhmaṇic gods." (*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 47).

Camille Bulcke collected all available material on this topic in his monumental work *Rāma Kathā* (in Hindi). It appears that the first worshippers of Rāma as a god were the Alvārs of South India in the 8th/9th centuries. The Alvār Kulaśekhara wrote some touching poems on his devotion to Rāma.

It is said that the person who brought the cult of Rāma to Northern India was Rāmānanda (early 16th century). He belonged to the school of Rāmānuja, but he substituted Rāma and Sitā in place of Rāmānuja's gods-Viṣṇu and Lakṣmi. The disciples of Rāmānada spread the cult of Rāma all over northern India and, in course of time, Rāma became the principal god for many people, particularly after Tulsidās's *Rāma-carita-mānasa* became popular.

The question whether Rāma was a historic figure and whether Rāma was born in Ayodhya are immaterial. The poet Vālmiki said that both these were facts, and we who enjoy his poetry believe him. As **Tagore** said of Vālmiki :

Sei satya ja rachibe tumi
Ghaṭe ja ta sab satya nahe. Kabi taba manobhumi
Ramer janamasthana, Ajodhyar cheye satya jeno.

"That is truth which you write, for not all that actually happens is true. (O) Poet, your mind is the place of Rāma, and that is more real than Ajodhyā.

Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy, a Jaipur-based former civil servant, is a well-known scholar of History & Indology.

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Mahabharata Plays in New York

A REPORT by ROBERT HAMBURGER

[After its successful run in a number of European cities—Avignon, Paris, Lyons, Barcelona, Madrid, Athens—Peter Brook's MAHABHARATA played to packed houses in Los Angeles and New York in 1987. More than 50,000 Americans saw the Indian epic performed by an international cast. What was the experience like ? For the American audiences and patrons of world theatre ?

Here we have some running comments and impressions of a sympathetic and understanding writer-critic who had recently spent a year in India. The comments are being reproduced from the April, 1988, issue of SPAN (Vol. XI No. 4) with the courtesy of the Editor. We reproduce this narrative of theatre experience at a time when the great Indian epic is being flashed on the small screen all over India. —Eds.]

For three months at the end of 1987, Americans had the opportunity of seeing Peter Brook's nine-hour production of the Mahabharata. The play arrived with great acclaim from European critics and audiences : "Enthralling", "one of the theatrical events of the century." These were the expectations it raised. And why not ?

Over the past 40 years, Peter Brook has proven himself to be one of England's most brilliant directors. In the early 1970's, his productions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Peter Weiss's *Marat/Sade* galvanized American audiences. For the past 15 years, Brook has lived and worked in Paris where he heads the Centre International des Creations Theatrales, his instrument for exploring theater as "a ritual expression of the true driving forces of our time."

Brook's dedication to exploring universal elements in great works raises matters of particular interest to me. This past year, I taught American studies in India. Though I think I was reasonably successful in sharing American literature with Indian students and scholars, still I believe that every literature has a falling-off point : where textual glosses and background information cease to reveal the inner life of a selected text; where only first hand experience of the culture, or exceptional intuition, can "complete" the work in question.

With this issue in mind, I was eager to see how Brook managed transposing the Mahabharata from India—where it holds a central place in the thought and fantasy of an entire culture—to America, where few people have even the sketchiest notion of what this epic is.

Since most readers of SPAN (and of the IBC) know the Mahabharata far better than either Peter Brook or myself, it would be pointless to recount the story or toss off glib speculation as to its meaning. What follows are my observations and reflections as they occurred during Brook's production.

* * *

1 p.m. The show begins with a bustling spirit of "let's get down to business" Vyasa walks on stage with a young boy and declares he will tell the lad the story of his forebears so that he may learn the message of *dharma*. Vyasa requires a durable scribe; Ganesha appears. Ganesha is a laugh-getter, a fussy listener (to Vyasa's narrative) whose zealous determination to do his job well leads to periodic interruptions in order to get the facts straight. Ganesha and the Boy Listener will be our representatives : a marveling on-stage audience whose reactions are calculated to cue our own responses.

The boy asks Ganesha how he got his elephant's head. "It's a long story," Ganesha replies.

The audience chuckles in recognition of its own epic undertaking. It will be ten hours before we all leave the theater.

* * *

Twenty-five minutes into the story, Bhisma infuriates Amba by his vows of celibacy. Sotigui Kouyate, the man who plays Bhisma, is virtually incomprehensible. His homeland is the African nation, Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta). He is one of several cast members who had to learn English for this production.

Nonetheless, the audience is keenly attentive. Even in this short period of time, they have been drawn into the narrative. The Mahabharata is not so complicated, it seems. Or, at least, not *this* Mahabharata. Fairy tale, legend, myth, parable, romance, heroic quest—all forms of storytelling rolled into one varied narrative. There is no need to tax ourselves searching out *content*. We are invited to enjoy what is before us : the movement of lives, the shifting pageant that passes before us on the stage.

* * *

All the Mahabharata's dramatic events are played on a surface of packed earth. At stage-front there is a semi-circular pool. Before the evening ends

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people will gather there, rise from its waters, drink, fight, sleep, have visions, discuss *dharma*, make love and die beside it. This bit of water is the unblinking eye of the universe—attentive witness to all that happens in the poetical history of mankind. Running across the rear of the stage is a narrow stream traversed by a low bridge. This strand of water suggests a border—over which messengers will pass, exiles depart and strange travelers arrive.

And that is it. Beyond these topographic features, the stage is unfurnished. Each scene—and there are hundreds of them—is given its character through shifts in lighting, musical accompaniment and occasional props brought in by the actors themselves, such as mats, swatches of colorful fabric, cushions, screens, bamboo lashed together into grids, masks, penants, colored powders, torches, chariot wheels, various weapons and, of course, dice.

It is wonderful to see Peter Brook's inventive spirit at work. As an eccletic innovator drawing upon theater, dance and ritual from around the world, he is unrivaled. Vivid spectacle emerges from his ingenious use of everyday materials. All this suggests an underlying philosophy that this is a "people's theater"—a determined effort to extricate the essence of drama from high technology and high production costs that threaten to turn theater into a costly diversion of the well-to-do. Indeed, the program notes inform us that Brook's company has performed before migrant workers in the farm fields of California; on "a huge carpet that he dragged from village to village across Africa"; and even "under a tree at the edge of the Sahara."

* * *

Gandhari's entry, an event which will yield the hundred fractious Kaurava sons, is a fine example of what Brook can do. A great din of trumpets and exotic horns heralds her procession. Then, a burst of vivid, royal red as Gandhari's retinue enters, bearing the queen-to-be on a litter—accompanied by a flourish of banners, as well as a draped awning hoisted six meters aloft on long poles. A mere six people—yet Brook has created this glorious, regal scene.

Duryodhana's terrible birth is another such moment. He enters in a frenzied rolling tangle of blood-red cloth, slicing across the stage on a sharp diagonal course. The red robe flies open to reveal Duryodhana's body: every muscle tensed and trembling, as though in some seizure. He lets forth a ghoulish shriek. All this is accompanied by eerie cries and long ominous shadows that evoke Macbeth's encounter with the Three Witches—an apt allusion given the evil, power-besotted schemes that lay ahead for Duryodhana and his clan.

* * *

Such exquisite moments compensate for the production's flaws. Given the conception of the Mahabharata as the poetical history of mankind, there is an obvious and admirable rationale for the international composition of Brook's cast, comprising actors and actresses representing 19 different nations. But in practice this raises problems. For one thing, it turns the stage into a veritable Tower of Babel. Though everyone speaks in English, I often have the impression I am attending the U.N. General Assembly without the benefit of simultaneous translation. Another distraction is the casting itself: roles, are sometimes assigned in a way that creates a discomforting subtext emerging from our awareness of the actors' race and national origins. For example, there is a scene in which Drona (played by Yoshi Oida of Japan) tests the Pandava brothers' prowess at arms. Bhima (Mamadou Dioume, a strapping black man from Senegal) rushes wildly at Drona, who easily dispatches him with a simple display of oriental martial arts. The audience laughs at this farcical manipulation of stereotypes: the cunning Japanese Zen master *versus* the headstrong black.

2:30 p.m. A few seats away from me, one woman's eyes are closed. Several people rest their heads on their partners' shoulders. But most members of the audience are clearly enjoying the production. They have settled in. After 90 minutes, they have been persuaded that this elaborate Indian epic will not be too difficult to follow. They are being entertained. Peter Brook has won them over.

I still find myself irked by this matter of accents and casting. Krishna, Vyasa and the Boy Listener, all speak the King's English, which is to say that the essential Deity, the Narrator and the Recipient of the message of *dharma* are all Westerners speaking the privileged language of the play. There is an inadvertent "colonial" ambience to this. Peter Brook may well be "color blind", but his audience is not, particularly when many dramatic moments are subverted by murky accents that can make legendary heroes seem more like ordinary men.

Tuncel Kurtiz, who was born in Turkey, plays Shakuni. When the Game of Dice occurs, we see a cagey Eastern European operator reduce the unknowing Yudhishthira to poverty. It is like the credit card ads that ran on American TV sometime ago, where youthful American tourists find themselves lost and moneyless amidst the confusion of some teeming bazaar, where everyone has a slightly wicked accent.

3:30 p.m. "Nothing is worse than losing oneself. For when one has lost everything, freedom is the one thing that remains." With this bite-sized portion of wisdom, the Game of Dice draws to a close.

The audience is absorbed, attentive, with few signs of restlessness. The woman who had been dozing next to me shot up in her seat to Duryodhana's cries of triumph.

The Kauravas ask Bhisma a question relating to their corrupt schemes. "I am troubled," Bhisma replies, "the question is obscure."

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.... IN NEW YORK

A sprinkling of laughter amongst the audience. Bhisma's command of English makes *everything* he says obscure.

* * *

After a half-hour break, the play's second section, "Exile in the Forest," commences in the Kaurava palace. Everyone is beset by bad dreams. "Even sleep's been banished !" Gandhari exclaims in another of the playscript's frequent allusions to Macbeth.

"Calm down !" Duryodhana's non-Shakespearean reply draws a sprinkling of laughter.

Jean-Claude Carriere, the man responsible for the script, is one of Europe's most distinguished screen-writers. But there's no distinction to language here. No doubt he has performed a remarkable feat of compression to sort out the Mahabharata's storyline and organize it into a coherent, well-paced drama. But the language of the play is jarring, frequently flat and occasionally—as in those periodic attempts to dole out palatable helpings of Indian thought—it is fatuous.

Amba appeals to Bhima in his forest exile and asks him to avenge Bhisma's insult to her. Bhima looks her over, amazed to find she is still beautiful. "It was 40 years ago !" he marvels. "Hate keeps me young !" she replies. The audience laughs.

Now Arjuna departs for India's northern frontier. "I know you'll miss him," Yudhishthira says to Draupadi, played by the well-known Indian dancer Mallika Sarabhai. "When your time came to be with him, your eyes had a special glow."

This presumably poignant parting is greeted by laughter.

More laughter comes when Bhima sires the demon-child Ghatotkatcha. Ghatotkatcha spins into the stage in a loincloth, dreadlocks flying—teetering on wobbling legs like a marionette with severed strings. I suspect that Brook is drawing upon movements from shamanistic ritual, culled during his theater experiments in Africa. In some ways the image is perfectly appropriate to the demon-child's exotic origin. Even so, I suspect that what amuses this New York audience is not the aptness of Brook's reference but rather the unintended stereotypical image of yet another black person running about *in extremis*.

* * *

5 p.m. Looking around, I spot several people catching quick nods. Others fight off fatigue : eyes ease closed, heads jerk back fighting off the tempting spell of sleep.

As the Pandavas' 12 years of exile draw to a close, there are several speeches prophesizing apocalyptic destruction. All Order—political, social, moral, ecological and spiritual—will fall in disarry. No doubt, this is right there in the Mahabharata. Still, I can't help but feel that someone has hoisted a banner and is flapping it in my face. *THIS IS RELEVANT TO THE NUCLEAR AGE*, the banner reads, *PLEASE TAKE NOTE* !!!

6 p.m. They seem to have turned off the heat in the theater. Cold air shocks everyone to a state of keen attention.

Once the Pandavas find asylum at the court of King Virata, the tone lightens considerably. Now the audience laughs with the play instead of at it. Brook's theatrical invention continues to astonish and delight. In one episode Bhima comes to Draupadi's aid by crushing the lecherous Keechaka, visibly pounding him into a little ball. Brook manages this as a breathtaking *coup de theatre* that leaves us all oohing and aahing like children watching a magic show or a circus.

These are the moments of Brook's Mahabharata that work best—like splendid frames in an enormous, immensely entertaining cartoon. I hasten to add that this is not as dismissive as perhaps it may sound. As a child, comics played an essential part in the shaping of my imagination and the nurturing of my love of literature. Most Americans of my generation recall a period in their childhood when they dwelled within the world of Classic Comics : lively 52-page renditions of masterpieces of world literature—works we would not read in their bulky originals until many years later. And when I arrived in India last year, with my skimpy knowledge of Indian history, I supplemented my reading with as many *Amar Chitra Katha* comics as I could get my hands on.

Comics are superbly suited for visually narrating our favorite stories. But they are not equipped to capture whatever wisdom and poetry great literature provides. With its heady pace and wondrous theatrical moments, Brook's Mahabharata has the virtues as well as the limitations of a living classic comic.

7 p.m. When Kunti tells Karna of his origins, the audience is hushed. Jeffery Kissoon, the dashing young man who plays Karna, is one of the few truly outstanding actors in the cast. He speaks English beautifully. His presence elevates the drama to a heroic/tragic level, which is rarely sustained in his absence. In these few moments we catch a glimmer of what Brook might have achieved : a Mahabharata with emotional and philosophical resonance.

* * *

8:15 p.m. Dinner break. People rush out to neighborhood restaurants while many others sit down on the lobby floor to enjoy picnic lunches.

I do some eavesdropping. Many people find the acting uneven. And the playscript impresses no one. "It's like mediocre Shakespeare done by a great director," someone comments.

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MAHABHARATA . . . IN NEW YORK

Yet, in spite of these objections, most people are having a good time experiencing Brook's Mahabharata.

* * *

Now the terrible battle is about to begin. The great moment comes when Arjuna hesitates and Krishna stirs him with a lengthy lecture on resolute thought and action : the *Bhagavad Gita*. I time it on my watch. The *Bhagavad Gita* section takes just three and a half minutes.

The slaying of Bhisma brings together some of the cast's most grating accents : Arjuna, Bhisma, Amba, Shikhandi. Members of the audience whisper back and forth—trying to decipher what's being said.

With Bhisma gone, it is Drona's turn to assume leadership of the Kaurava forces. "Duh wee-uhl stops un me. Eeet is muy tun now," Drona declares.

The audience titters. Portentous writing and poor English diction have turned the scene to mush.

* * *

9:15 p.m. Krishna has just destroyed Jayadratha by using his disk to produce a false sunset. The audience settles low in their seats. After eight hours in this theater, they have lost their sharp edge of attention. Yet they have been absorbed within the Mahabharata —like sleepy children being lulled to rest by a treasured bedtime story.

10:15 p.m. Krishna attempts to instill Arjuna with new resolve. The Boy Listener tells Vyasa, "I'm tired." Lots of weary chuckles from the audience.

Looking around me, I see many heads propped on hands. People watch the Great Battle with glazed eyes.

Bhima slays Dushasana and tears out his entrails. It ought to be a moment of ghoulish horror in the Grand Guignol spirit of Jacobean tragedy. But Brook's staging is merely silly. Bhima buries his face in his rival's belly—then he rises with what looks like red licorice stuck between his teeth. "My enemy's blood is far sweeter than my mother's milk !" he declares.

The battle rages. Arrows spray across the stage like so many toothpicks. Stagehands must be heaving them by the armload. The end is fast approaching—for both the Kauravas and the audience. The fellow next to me jerks to consciousness every few minutes. Others have already drawn the final curtain : they are peacefully asleep. Still, for those of us who cannot take our eyes off the stage, there are unexpected (and unintended) moments of laughter. "He has the same feet as you," Bhima says to Kunti as he examines Karna's corpse, "I often wondered why..."

* * *

A few minutes later, an exhausted Yudhishthira appears at the gates of paradise carrying a dog in his arms—a bit of black fluff thrown over his hand. It looks like a dusting mitt or a child's puppet. It certainly does not look like the sort of thing you would defy the gods over.

At last all is resolved. Yudhishthira, Vyasa and Ganesha—survivor, narrator, and historian-scribe—have the stage to themselves.

"This was the last illusion," Vyasa observes. Ganesha agrees, "This was the last illusion."

* * *

What will Peter Brook and the Centre International des Creations Theatrales do for an encore ? After the Mahabharata, taking on Dante's *Inferno*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past* would be mere child's play. Of course, Brook might consider Balzac's *La Comedie Humaine*, the complete works of Louis L'Amour, Isaac Asimov, or the Waverly novels of Sir Walter Scott. A man of Brook's talents could probably create memorable theatrical moments using the telephone directory for a script.

But would it be worth the effort ? That is the question I have after seeing the Mahabharata. On the one hand, there is something intrinsically worthwhile about the fact that Western audiences have been exposed to India's fundamental imaginative text. On the other hand, there is not much resonance to the banal compression of religious and philosophical thought that the playscript apportions to us in periodic bland doses.

Nevertheless, we do get the main narrative lines, we do get the *story* of the Mahabharata presented as a dazzling succession of incidents and memorably framed tableaux. That is not all the Mahabharata has to offer, but it is just about all we get from Peter Brook's production. If there is something disappointing in this, it is never so discouraging as to make us forget that we are in the presence of greatness : both Brook's own prodigious talent and, of course, the Mahabharata itself. □

Robert Hamburger, recently spent a year in India as a Fullbright senior lecturer in American Studies. He is the author of Our Portion of Hell *(an oral history of the civil rights movement in Fayette County, Tennessee).* The Thirties, A Stranger in the House *(personal narratives from black household workers) and* All the Lonely People : Life in a Single Room Occupancy Hotel.

All This·····& Communication Arts

With this issue, we launch IBC into yet another field of coverage, that of communication through audio-visual and performance arts. Such high-tech communication arts are assuming increased importance and wide-spread impact on our society as also on the world of arts and letters. A Journal like *Indian Book Chronicle* cannot stand aloof from such developments. We would welcome suitable comments and write-ups by our readers on what they see and experience through the new communication media.

—Editors

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TWO FABIANS IN INDIA

Sidney & Beatrice Webb : INDIAN DIARY
Ed. Niraja Gopal Jayal
Oxford University Press, Oxford; 1987; pp 222; Rs. 140

Comments by G.B.K. Hooja

Niraja is the talented daughter of Madan Gopal, the Hindi litterateur, who introduced Prem Chand to the West and the English-reading public all over through his biography of the great Hindi man of letters way back in the forties. Here is his daughter, continuing the family tradition, introducing Prem Chand's India (of early 20th century) to Indians and the English-knowing world, through the observations of the Sidney-Beatrice partnership.

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, who founded the London School of Economics, in 1894, and later the *New Statesman* in 1913, were two formidable members of the Fabian junta, which can claim legitimately to have been instrumental, in course of time, for the establishment of successive Labour Governments in Great Britain and through them, at the ripe moment, for the birth of Indian Independence and world-wide decolonisation, notwithstanding their imperial bias.

AN EXTENSIVE VISIT

The Webbs arrived in India in December, 1911, during the course of a tour of the Far East, which took them to Japan, China, Burma and India. They roamed extensively in India, visiting not only imperial capitals like Calcutta, Delhi, Lahore, but also Indian states like Bhopal, Gwalior, Jaipur, Udaipur, Baroda, Chhatarpur and far-flung places like Ganrer, Kasia, Chandan Chowki and Dudwa in the hinterland, as also educational centres like Agra, Hardwar, Ajmer, Banaras, Poona and Allahabad, inter-mingling and hob-nobbing with diverse elements and sections of Indian and European society and gathering impressions which were graphically recorded by Beatrice Webb in her *Diary*.

To Niraja goes the credit of unearthing this Diary, which had virually lain dormant for 75 years, and presenting vivid glimpses of an India which was in ferment and agog with expectations, following the annulment of the Partition of Bengal and the transfer of the imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi, announced at the Delhi Durbar, held shortly before their arrival.

At Calcutta, the Webbs were the guests of Bhupendranath Basu, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 26th annual session of the Indian National Congress, which was to have been presided over by Ramsay MacDonald, who eventually could not come owing to the death of his wife. The Webbs were not impressed by the Congress session. and described it as a 'frost'. It was marked by listlessness; and there was 'unreality about eloquent speeches', as the *Diary* says.

AMONG THE OFFICIALS & EDUCATIONISTS

During this tour, the Webbs met Collectors, Residents, Governors. Maharajas, Nawabs and Begums, quite a few political leaders and educationists. They camped with forest officers and witnessed the *Kumbh* fair at Allahabad, with all its unfamiliar rituals marked by intense devotion. While the British rulers failed to impress them, they found the Indians as intellectual, spiritual and 'an essentially lovable race'. The Webbs were peculiarly attracted by the 'Vedic Protestantism' of the Arya Samaj, with its emphasis on social service. To quote Niraja, "the Webbs did not miss the vital connection between Arya Samajists, beliefs and nationalism in the Punjab... .so impressed were they by the Samaj's organisation, achievements and purposes that in Delhi, Beatrice picked a furious argument with C.F. Andrews who tried to prick her admiration for the Samaj with stories of its seditious activities."

Although, their initial impressions of Lajpat Rai were not favourable, yet the redoubtable Lala did not fail to convince them of the repressive policies of the government. "The more we have seen of him, the more we like him. He is certainly not 'loyal' to the British connection—but why should he be ?" mused the Webbs. Towards Gokhale, their response was warmer. In him they found "a man of singular sweetness of disposition, full of charm..... political sagacity, and calm statesmanship."

The Webbs's observations on the numerous educational institutions they visited make this diary quite singular in its focus While they were impressed by the experiments in 'national education' at Mrs Besant's Hindu College at Banaras, Fergusson College, Poona and the Arya Samaj institutions, which were characterized by a spirit of service and devotion amongst the teachers, they were dismissive of the Islamic College, Lahore and the Aligarh College. Even the St. Stephen's, Delhi stood condemned as a failure from the missionary standpoint. Equally unrecognisable were the Mayo College, Ajmer and the Chief's College at Lahore, where came the sons of chiefs, accompanied by 25 servants, several horses, cooks, coachmen and chowkidars. "Why", they "asked, were these youngmen not taught 'personal habits' such as the use of knife (and instead of eating 'native style' with their fingers) that they might learn to associate with the English later ?"

THE PRINCES, BUREAUCRATS & WORKERS

The administration of the princely states excited Webbs' attention no less than the Indian educational system. At Chhatarpur, there took place a meeting between the Webbs and the Maharaja, of whom we find such a sad and moving portrait in J. R. Ackerly's *Hindoo Holiday*. In contrast, the Begum of Bhopal, the Scindia of Gwalior and the Gaikwar of Baroda quite overwhelmed the Webbs. Although, initially, the Webbs were inclined to hold that the Hindus had a dislike for administrative organization and "no real interest in the problem of government apart from the sentiment of National Home Rule", by the time they arrived in Gwalior, they were quite emphatic that "one

(*Continued overleaf*)

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(Continued) **TWO FABIANS IN INDIA**

can hardly say that Indians show themselves incapable of the art of government."

Unconcealingly critical and patronizing in their approach, the Webbs found the British administrators of India to be devoid of a capacity for sympathetic administration, except in a few cases. The Residents and Governors were arrogant, and saw the Indians only as seditious rebels, while the ex-officers from the army who had been inducted into the administration had no knowledge of, or interest in, administration as 'an art'. As for the middle-level Indian officials in the ICS, they were 'full of promise' for, though it was unlikely that they could take over the highest posts, they did at least help Englishmen in their enormous administrative tasks. Though they lacked the 'executive backbone', they made good judges, for they were temperamentally better suited to 'the passive act of judgement'.

Sailing home in the summer of 1912, Sidney wrote : "As our acquaintance with the Indian brueaucracy has increased, and as we have more and more appreciated its alliance in the main with reactionary imperialism and commercial selfishness in England, we are less confident. Three months' acquaintance has greatly increased our estimate of the Indians, and greatly lessened our admiration for, and our trust in, this Government of officials."

FABIAN CONCERNS

Industrial policy and welfare were important Fabian concerns, and the Webbs visited some factories and textile mills in Agra, Bombay and Ahmedabad. They were appalled at the low levels of pay (usually on a daily-wage basis), the squalor of the living and working conditions of the workers, the long hours, the absence of basic amenities like ventilation and fire escapes, and insufficient factory inspection. In the Indian-owned cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad, they noticed reasonable conditions of work, and benevolent and paternalistic managements, but in the factory they visited in Agra, which was owned by two European brothers, there was constant complaint of the idleness and the sulky and hostile attitude of the workers. From this, the Webbs concluded that the Europeans had not yet learnt : "the art of managing the Indians. What is equally clear is that Indian is sometimes an extraordinarily difficult worker to *sweat*. He does not care enough for his earnings He prefers to waste away in semi-starvation rather than overwork himself However low his standard of life, his standard of work is lower at any rate when he is working for an employer whom he does not like."

All in all, the *Indian Diary* of Sydney and Beatrice Webb is not only an account by two Fabians of society and politics in India in 1912, but also an immensely readable travelogue. It reflects most of the significant traits, personal and intellectual, of this remarkable pair of individuals. Despite the fact that it was Beatrice's *Diary*, Sidney frequently contributed to it, and as with all their other joint works, it is hard to distinguish between their individual contributions. All this makes the *Diary* extremely informative and unusually enjoyable, a work of considerable documentary value to the researcher and of great sociological interest to the inquisitive reader, particularly if he is curious about his roots in the recent past.

G. B. K. Hooja is a former civil servant and former Vice-Chancellor, Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Hardwar. He has recently moved back to Jaipur.

Commerce in Mahabharata

Anjan Kumar Bhattacharya

MODERN COMMERCIAL CONCEPTS IN THE MAHABHARATAM

Firma KLM Private Ltd., Calcutta, 1987; pp. 68, Rs. 80

Comments by Ashim Kumar Roy

The author has tried to discover modern commercial concepts in the *Mahabharata*. He has utilised some 70 verses from the epic for this purpose. He first quotes a verse, then gives its English translation, and thereafter interprets the verse to bring out the commercial concept contained in it. The verses quoted are, with one exception, from the *Shanti-parva* of the *Mahabharata*.

Shanti-parva is the twelfth and the longest book of the epic. It is a discourse by Bhishma on the duties of a king. At the end of the battle, Bhishma is lying wounded in the field. Yudhisthira has won the battle. He goes to Bhishma and asks him what *Rajadharma*, the rights and duties of a king, was. Bhishma explains this in great detail. In the course of his discourse, he refers also to the deeds of ancient kings and sages. He tells Yudhisthira how a king should manage his treasury. But there is practically nothing in his long speech about trade and commerce, except perhaps as a source of revenue

The author of this work had, therefore, to give free rein to his imagination to get the meaning he desired. For instance, wherever the word treasury occurs, he has interpreted it as capital stock. One of the verses *(XII. 120, 38b)* says that a small seed can give birth to a thousand sprouts. The author sees this as the quantity theory of money. The word 'small' intrigues him in another way also. He thinks that this indicates that the author of the *Mahabharata* had the idea of "calculus which deals with very small or infinitesimal or vanishing quantities". "The Indian people had the idea of calculus about 5000 years ago, long before Newton or Leibznith (*sic*) or Einstein who are known as originators of calculus".

It is surprising that Firma KLM, known for their scholarly publications, should have published this puerile work.

Ashim Kumar Roy, a retired civil servant, is now engaged in his scholarly activities, including a study of Indology at Jaipur. (This short comment is being reproduced from the *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay of July 9, 1988, with the Editor's kind permission–Ed.)

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A Mythological Site – SAMBHAR LAKE – Through The Ages

by M. L. Sharma

The name Sambharlake is a synonym for both the salt lake and the town of Sambhar; a well known and traditional source of "*Lavan*" which is essential for the human (as well as animal) body. The lake is located (at 27°N Lat. and 75°E Long.), in a saddle amidst the Aravalli ranges which have acted as a corridor for the movement of people, herds and aeolian sand particles from the dreary, dry and dazzling western Rajasthan to the comparatively more fertile, business-oriented and semi-arid or sub-humid parts of our country, in search of jobs, or "*El-Dorado*" or asylum places. Sambhar town is situated at the south-eastern periphery of the lake on an abruptly high fossil sand dune of 30′ to 40′ in height which provides protection against the flood hazard of the lake and its typical smell of the brine or salt manufacturing process.

GENESIS OF THE LAKE

Geologically, the area is one of the oldest parts of the world amongst the glens of the Aravallis, the "*Paripatras of Purans*", which originated in the pre-Cambrian Era comprising of schist, micaceous schist, phyllites, marble and the like primary or metamorphic rocks. The lake is in a longitudinally elongated and extended valley, probably formed due to tectonic deformation, faulting or fracturing during the various Himalayan upheavels. On the basis of archaeological sites, fresh water fossils and mythological records, it can be inferred that the lake was a fresh water lake upto the beginning of the Quarternary Period (10,000 years B.C.). **Naliyasar** civilisation, **Maroth** archaeological site, terracottas, coins, and the fresh water fossils collected from different peripheral sites of the lake support this view. (Daya Ram Sahani : 1952; '*Report on Naliasar Excavations*).

THE ORIGIN OF SALT IN SAMBHAR LAKE

A number of theories have been propounced by different authors like A. O. Hume (1867-68), R. M. Adam (1870), T. D. La Touche (1901), F. W. Clarke (1902), C. Daviso, Dr. Noetling(1902), Prof. J. Walther (1904), Dr. Christie (1908), Sir Thomas Holland(1905), A. English (1915), Seshadri and Saxena (1966) to unfold the mystery of hidden treasure of salt (Agarwal, S. C. "*Sambhar Salt Source*" Salt Deptt of Government of India published in 1954). To sum up, both the sources underground and inward flow should be taken into consideration while going through this debatable question. The latest rejuvenation of Aravallis, setting of monsoon wind system, and changing pattern of problem of dessication might have converted this lake into a salt-lake.

SAMBHAR LAKE IN EPICS

A mention of the place is made in *Adiparva* Mahabharata:—*Bhagwat Purana* IX Vol. Chapter 18 and 19 (Geeta Press, Gorakhpur). The story of Devayani, daughter of Sukracharya (the Guru of Demons) and Sharmishtha, daughter of Brishparva (the King of Demons) is associated with this place. King Yayaati, emperor of Bharat Varsha, tenth in the line of descent from Brahma (the creator) married Devayani. The present shrines of Devayani and Sharmistha located at at Sambhar lake recall memories of the ancient religious sanctity and the *Tapas-charya* of this place. A fair on every Baisakh Purnima is held at Devayani.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Naliyasar civilization dating back to 3000-4000 B.C. was flourishing on the shores of this lake only 4 kilometers to the south of Sambhar town. The civilisation might have seen this fate due to flood, dessication or other natural calamities.

A later age vivid description of the place and people is available from the reign of PRITHVIRAJ CHAUHAN, who ruled over this area with Sambhar as the capital. The main deity of the Chauhans, SHAKAMBARI DEVI, located under the foothills of an isolated quartizitic conical hill in the middle of the lake, shows the association of the Chauhan dynasty with this place. (*Sambhar Darshan*, Published by Sambhar Samaj, Jaipur, 1984). The Chronicle relates that about 540 A.D., Manik Rai ruled over this area; and due to the blessings of the goddess, the then densely vegetated area was transformed into a plain of silver or salt. This origin of the lake and its salt is believed by all Hindus and Muslims. Sambhar lake town, originally a small hamlet, was founded during the period of the Chauhan dynasty, but its present shape was achieved in the Mughal period. The importance of the place was established economically, religiously and socially during this period.

The famous saint Dadu and the Sufi Saint Husammuddin Chisti performed their religious duties here in the *BHAKTI* period, and Guru Nanak also visited and venerated the place. Soon after, a number of fierce battles were fought between the Mughals and Rajput chieftians, and later, between the Rajput states themselves and between the Rajputs and Pindaris etc. [*Smarika* Edited by present reviewer for the *Sambhar Pustakalaya* (Public Library) 1972].

BRITISH LEASE & SINCE

The salt lake used to add 8 to 10 lakh rupees to the imperial Mughal treasury (*Khulasat-ut-Tavarikh*) through revenue collection. After the decline of the Mughal empire, the Shamlat Government of Jaipur and Jodhpur administered both the town and the lake source jointly from 1844 to 1870, when the lake was taken on lease by the British from these princely states.

The character of the town and its economy changed after 1870, due to the introduction of the railways

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ABOUT SOCIAL SITUATIONS IN ASIA

Edited by Iqbal Narain and Yogesh Atal

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE GOVERNMENT—THE ASIAN SCENE

Lancer International, New Delhi, Rs. 115

Comments by Udayan Majumdar

Perhaps nothing could have been more encouraging for the forlorn individual social scientist groping helplessly in the dark to create a mark, than the publication of this volume. Especially so, when the conscientious social scientist's efforts are generally treated with gross intolerance and indifference by most governments. For this, the editors deserve the laurels of the social science community in the country.

A part of **The Association of Asian Social Science Research Council's** manifold activities, this volume binds together 'situation papers' from developing Asian nations on the relationship between social science (also read social scientists) and the government. Thus, it seeks to promote awareness and understanding of the urgency of harmonizing relations between the policy-makers and the social scientists.

It is the claim of the authors from the various countries represented in this volume that social science is actually a set of answers to questions we ask of social reality; and being loaded with a sense of significance, social science is problem conscious. The social scientist generates and disseminates reliable and valid knowledge that is useful in understanding the social phenomena. Therefore, the governments (whose primary task is administration) should utilize the valuable services of social scientists, whilst combating with a wide range of problems, from economic inflation to environmental pollution.

The cases of Vietnam, China, Nepal and Indonesia should serve as eye-openers for the governments of other countries. In these countries, social science research is treated as part of the State Plan. Unfortunately, in India, as also in Australia, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, any definite national social science policy is lacking, and the possible role of social scientists in the task of nation-building is yet unexplored and unrecognized. Surely, our governments could have utilized some of the knowledge generated by social sciences research while deciding on policy alternatives or assessing the effects of policies, thus bestowing upon the nation a more square deal.

Though most developing countries are realizing the worth of social science research and also that of the implementation of various research findings, the social scientist has yet to traverse a long way towards playing any actual role in decision-making. For, factors such as political expediency, favouritism, political and personal gains still play major parts in the decision-making process.

As the academics in this volume point out, the time is over for administrators and academics to engage in locking horns over the issue of utility of social science research. The government has to cease to regard the academic as an ivory tower intellectual whose research interests are above *terra firma*; and the academic must also appreciate that the administrator is not necessarily impervious and insensitive to the researcher's problems and his advice. In fact, if sympathetic towards each other, together the government and the social scientist are capable of doing a world of good.

The editors having such rich and diverse experiences of serving in capacities ranging from being members of university faculties to those of India's academic papacies—the University Grants Commission and the Indian Council of Social Science Research, deal sufficiently with a host of other problems that confront social science researchers and governments in the course of their routine activities. Indeed, the editors seem fairly convincing in their keen attempt at bridging the traditionally existing wide chasm of suspicion and scepticism about each other's role, between the social scientists and governments. In fact a sincere effort has been made at initiating the much needed dialogue. It must be continued. For, social science is necessarily an interminable dialogue.

Udayan Majumdar is University Grants Commission Research Fellow in the Department of Sociology, University of Calcutta.

SAMBHAR LAKE *(Continued)*

in 1870, Court facility in 1870 (Singal), a Power-house in 1895, *Sarais*, *Dharamshalas*, temples (1870–1901), and Bunting's improvement scheme (1920–24) etc. These were the days of glory, progress and expansion for the town. People from many parts of the country began to congregate for religious rituals, salt trading, cultural exchange etc; leading to wholesome and all round progress of the town (*Veer Vinod* by Kaviraj Shyamaldas, 1886).

In the year 1948, the salt trade was taken by the State/Central Government from the private enterpreneurship, and later on by Sambhar Salts Ltd., a subsidiary of Hindustan Salt Ltd. Consequently, the salt business community left the town and resettled at other places in the country. The population of Sambhar numbering more than 25,000 at the time of Independence was gradually reduced to 15,811 in 1971, with a slight rise by 1981 to 17,632, giving the town its decaying status in the whole of the State. Now, due to general poverty, the lack of employment opportunities, or industrial investments and lack of facilities and amenities, the town has been converted into a slum-infested area, with unoccupied and unrepaired buildings, facing several environmental hazards—a far ery from its days of past splendour.

Dr. M.L. Sharma was Head of Deptt. of Geography, Govt. College, Sambhar Lake and General Secretary, All Rajasthan Geographical Association, when he wrote this.

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WHITHER INDIAN SOCIOLOGY ?

T. K. Oommen and Pratha Mukerjee
INDIAN SOCIOLOGY : REFLECTIONS AND INTROSPECTIONS

Popular Prakashan, Bombay (1986) pp 278, Rs. 150/-

Comment by Sushma Sood

The present volume is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Indian Sociology. A remarkable feature is that it contains articles written by three generations of Indian Sociologists, over three decades, beginning with the very first presidential address of D.P. Mukerjee at the new-born Indian Sociological Society in 1955.

The editors claim that the book contains a very wide range of material including:—(i) reflections on the directions which Indian Sociology ought to take and (ii) with a plea for its indeginization by emancipating it from colonial captivity, (iii) arguments for its contextualization with the larger framework of developments in the discipline, (iv) description of its evolution, identification of emergent trends in teaching and research (v) containing "marxist" and "functionalist" orientations and perspectives as applicable to the Indian situations, (vi) with an appeal for an imaginative application of sociology for policy formation and national reconstruction and (vii) some introspections on the need for sociology of knowledge, and orientation for sociology of India.

D.P. Mukerjee, in his presidential address, gives a special emphasis on the study of tradition, which is uniquely distinct. He appeals to the sociologists to be courageous enough to announce that the study of Indian Social System requires a different approach to sociology because of its special traditions, its special symbols, and its special patterns of cultural and social action.

Though **Srinivasan** and **M. N. Panini** in their article on "Development of Sociology in India" concede that sociology and social anthropoly in our country have borrowed a great deal from the U.K. and the U.S.A., such studies are, however, not wholly imitative. With the inauguration of representative institutions in India, the authors seem to believe that a new dawn in Indian sociology may not be long in coming. Since methodological individualism tends to alienate the behavioural science, particularly sociology and social anthropology, in his article on "The Role of Social Science in India", **Y. Singh** advises a greater use of history as "a resource for understanding the various problems of our society." **Ramkrishna Mukerjee** in his article, "The Sociologist and the Social Relatity" believes that research is a never-ending process, and the quest for knowledge is central for every sociologist and anthropologist.

I. P. Desai, in his article, points out that the concept of the "desired" society has been neglected, particularly in view of the fact that we have accepted the goal of a socialist, democratic, secular, egalitarian, casteless and classless society. **P. C. Joshi** points out that the gravest weakness of sociological and anthropological approaches to the study of social institutions is that they detach the enquiry into the general processes of social change common to several countries. **M. S. A. Rao**, in his article "Sociology in the 1980's" thinks it is likely that two more areas of research, namely sociology of child development, and of food and nutrition, might attract the attention of sociologists of the eighties. **Partha N. Mukerjee**, in "Disciplined Electicism" gives emphasis on the identification and classification of changes occuring within each society. A social system is an arrangement of structures, he argues. He, however, concludes that (for now) sociology, thanks to the philosophers of science, is heading from crises to confusion. **A.R. Desai**, while commending the relevance of the Marxist approach, observes that property relations determine the norms about who shall get how much and on what grounds. In sum. the marxist approach gives central importance to property structure in analysing any society. **Satish Sabherwal** finds vital historical difference in the rise of sociology and anthropology in Europe and its implimentation in India. He rightly states that the role of sociologists in a society is not only to attend to their institutional locations, but also to their modes of enquiry and their dominant paradigm. **M. S. Gore**, in his article on "Social Policy and Sociologist" pleads for the involvement of the sociologist in social formulation and development planning. He calls upon the sociologist to develop the skills necessary for the effective use of available data in the analysis of social policy and also in the execution of special studies. Since social planning, he feels, is a team excercise, he exhorts the sociologists to work in collaboration with other social scientists. **T.K. Oommen**, while making a plea for contextualisation, concludes that the practitioners of sociology should "internalize the value package" contained in the Indian Constitution, if it is to be relevant for India.

The editors and the publishers deserve to be congratulated for bringing out this volume on varied aspects of Indian Sociology written by some eminent sociologists of the country, It is, however, difficult to find an edited work like the present one and an in-depth study in a thematic sequence. The book makes a refreshing reading and promises to unfold new paths and open up vistas in our knowledge of the discipline, which is yet to become rigourous in the context of the Third World countries. Looking to the size of the book, the price is rather on the higher side and well beyond the reach of most scholars or students of the subject. It is, therefore, advised that a cheaper paper-back edition should also be brought out.

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CONCEPT OF TOWN PLANNING AND URBANISM

IN THE PLAYS OF BHASA AND THE CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

□ Subhash Gupta □

Town planning and urbanism has been a unique feature of Indian civilization since times immemorial. The age of Bhasa and contemporary literature cannot be an exception. In his plays, Bhasa has mentioned the names of some typical cities of India such as Ujjayini, Mathura, Vairantya, Lanka and Ayodhya. A general description of the ancient city life found in these plays should indicate the prevailing trends of urbanisation in India in the third century B.C.

There is no doubt that agriculture has been the main occupation of the inhabitants of India since the dawn of her civilization, but along with it, livestock-breeding, handicrafts, priest-hood and teaching, trade and commerce, transport and banking were also some other known sources af livelihood. These occupations could flourish only in cities. Hence, without giving a description of some cities, the plays could not have impressed the audience.

EVIDENCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

First, the historical background. Information gathered by Sir John Marshall in his work, *'Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization'* shows that some cities were well-planned in this period. The town of Mohenjo-Daro was systematically laid out in rectangular blocks. Streets were sufficiently wide, carefully aligned and the principal streets were orientated corresponding to the points of the compass. There was an elaborate drainage system, of which any modern town may really be proud. Houses were built of bricks; and each of them had a well, a bathroom, a courtyard and a stair-way, suggesting an upper storey. It seems that different sites were reserved for residences, market-places, business quarters, temples and for the professional people following different occupations.

In the *Samhitas*, we do not find much information about urban life. However, some refrences to stone-walled cities are found in the *Rgveda* (*RV. IV 30, 20 VII 15, 14*)

DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CITIES & VILLAGES

But the *Kalpasutras*, in which the principles to be followed by an Indian are laid down, make some distinction between a city and a village. As the *Apastamba Dharmsutra* (*Ap.D S.*) says that the persons appointed by the King should guard towns from every direction up to a distance of one *yojana*, and a village upto the distance of one *krosa (Ap.D.S. II. 10, 26, 6-7)*.

The *Kaushika Sutras (141, 39)* and the *Vasishtha Dharmasutra (XIII.11)* do not allow the study of *Vedas* in the towns. Disparaging urban life, *Baudhayana* says that even a virtuous person of subdued senses *(niyatatma)* cannot attain salvation by residing in a town, as his whole body is soiled and eyes and mouth are filled with the dust of the town *(Budh D. S. II 36-33)*. It shows that the towns were quite noisy and dusty due to enormous traffic of people, animals and vehicles. The authors of the *Sutras* did not like the hustle and bustle of urban life. The *Ap.D.S.* forbids a *Snataka* to visit towns every now and then (*Ap.D.S. II 11, 32, 21*).

In this period, educational centres were not situated in urban areas, but in rural areas. Some centres were found in *Ashramas* e.g. the *Kanva* Institution of *Vedas* and the *Saunaka* School of Vedas were situated in *Tapovanas (Cf Sakuntalam of Kalidasa Act I)*. Cities of this period were well fortified, and entrance to and exits from these were regulated by well built gates. A *Snataka* was advised not to pass between the *Indrakila* or the *Parigha* of a city gate (*Baudh DS 1, 10, 17, 18 Gautum D. S. VIII 13 Cf. Dr Ram Gopala's, India of Vedic Kalpasutras, P. 150-151*).

IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

By looking at the contemporary literature we find that the Buddhist literature and *Kautilya's Arthasastra* tell us much about the city life. Two types of cities are mentioned in the Buddhist literature i. e. *Nagara* or capital and *Nigama* or a city. These cities had fortifications and high towers to observe the enemy from a distance. Beyond the fortified walls were two ditches, one filled with water and other with mud. Outside the city walls were the so-called suburbs, where the inferior castes such as the potters, the *Chandalas* etc. used to reside. The houses had not only a single storey, but also had superstructures, as far as the highest is concerned, it seems that some of the houses had seven storeys (*Cf. Rhys David's Buddhist India PP. 63-7, 78). (pp. 63-71, 78)*.

KAUTILYA

Description regarding the laying out of a new city is found in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya. Three types of cities are mentioned therein i.e. circular, rectangular or those sqare in shape. This treatise says that the palace should be built in the north. To the east of the palace should be located traders and artisans as well as kitchens, stables, treasury and manufactories, Towards the south should be built the offices of different superintendents and residences of sellers of cooked rice, liquor and flesh, prostitutes and musicians. The western portion was suggested for armoury and arsenal, stables of asses and camels, chariots, and artisans in wool, cloth and leather and for the residence of the *Sudras*. The north side of the palace was meant for the titulary deity, black-smiths, jewellers, the *Brahmanas* as well as for shops and hospitals. The centre of the city was reserved for building temples of various gods. The cities were divided in many groups of ten houses, and each of them had one well. Underground drains were also there to carry off the rain water. *(Arthasastra 11, 3.4 upto 51-57)*.

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CONCEPT OF TOWN PLANNING

IN THE WORKS OF BHASA : MATHURA

Particulars regarding the urban life found in the plays of Bhasa are discussed in the following portion.

First the *Balacharita* gives a brief account of **Mathura**, the capital of Kamsa. This city was walled and situated on the bank of Yamuna. The gate of the city were guarded by an armed soldier, mounted on an elephant. After entering the gate, one found the quarters of washermen. The main road was decorated with flags and floral garlands and scented with *aguru* and sandal smoke. This road led to the palace of Kansa, in front of which there was a stadium where wrestling competitions were held. The members of the royal family used to enjoy the scene from the balcony.

LANKA

In the *Abhiseka*, we find the splendour and affluence of **Lanka**. What a beautiful description is given of the palace of Ravana—it has beautiful golden gates, and its parks adorned with coral trees read like a fairy tale and the *Pramadavana* had numerous big trees wrought in gold and set with blue gems, and also had a number of beautiful spotless hillocks (*Abh. II, 4 to 10*). This beautiful city had many artificial lakes, rich in water animals, mountains with wonderful rivulets and gold mines. *Trikuta* was one of the royal gardens among the *Pramadavanas*, having a number of bees and containing cluster of lotus plants and numerous other trees. (*Abh. II–IV Acts*).

VAIRANTYA

The *Avimarakam* gives a detailed description of **Vairantya**, which is the capital of Kuntibhoja. This shows that the city had many palatial buildings in the market place with snow white colours on both sides of the road. The *verandahas* on the ground floor were meant for selling country sugar, honey and other commodities. The upper storeys were used as residential quarters (*Avi. pp 27–28 ibid III 8*). The *verandahas* of the upper floors were used by the fashionable city-bred beaus and courtesans who vied with each other in showing themselves in their best attire. They used to move to and from in the balconies of their respective quarters with a view to see (others) and to be seen (by them) (*Avi. II 8, p 29*). They could run their business in the business centres, but they had to reside outside (*Asthastra p. 55*). This play bears a piece of evidence that public gaming houses were situated at prominent places in the city and had their own laws and regulations, but the owners had to pay some revenue to the state (*Avi. p. 45*).

UJJAYINI

Public parks and public squares were also there. In the public squares, bulls dedicated to deities roamed about freely. (*Charu. p. 10*) While in the public parks, citizens could go with their wives and make merry; but these parks were strictly guarded and prohibited when some royal princess visited the place (*Avi. p. 2*). The (*Pratijnayaugandharayana*) speaks of public drinking houses in **Ujjayini** (*Pratijna pp. 56–57*). Similarly, public rest-houses were also there where travellers could stay for some time. The *Svapnavasvadattam* refers to a public bath in Ujjayini (*Svapan p. 102*).

According to one of the Udayana plays, some cities were fortified on all the sides. Underground drains which have been a special feature of ancient Indian urban planning are also to be met with in the period under consideration. The present reference is to the streets being flooded due to the choking up of the drains (*Pratijna p. 64, 60*).

The residences of the upper middle class were built of bricks and surrounded by gardens, as was the house of Charudatta *(Char. pp. 43–44)*. The resident used to grow kitchen vegetables, aromatic and medicinal herbs and scented flowers etc. in the garden adjoining the house, and it was the duty of the mistress of the house to manage every thing concerning the garden.. (*Char. p. 43-44*) (*Cf. Chakladar, Social Life, p. 151, Arthasastra II, 4, p. 56*).

There is a piece of evidence in the *Avimarakam* that the houses of that period had quadrangular courtyards. In the courtyard, men used to meditate and meet visitors; passage to the inner appartments was also through these courtyards. (*Avi. pp. 23, 42, 86 Char. pp. 28, 36*). The strangers were not allowed in the inner apartments and persons of dubious character such as courtesans were not admitted inside. It was thought that the sanctity of the inner appartment would suffer if the ornaments worn by Vasantsena a courtesan) were kept in them *(Char. p. 36)* Servant's quarters were built separately and the mistress of the house had to make a big sound on the door panels to attract the attention of her maid *(Char. p. 81)*. (*Cf A.D. Puralkan-Bhasa—A Study, pp. 390–393*).

It should be clear from this brief discussion that, in accordance with the needs of that time, the facilities available in these cities were adequate for a civilized person.

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[We are sorry that this note could not be published earlier soon after it was received. —Eds.]

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION

January is usually the month when most subscribers have to renew their subscription. Kindly note that, to cover the rising costs to some extent, we have had to increase the rate of annual subscription to Rs. 60/- only (Rs. 50/- from scholars, teachers, senior citizens etc.)

—Ex. Editor

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A Journey Through Nicaragua

Salman Rushdie : THE JAGUAR SMILE : A NICARAGUAN JOURNEY

Picador, 1987

Comments by R. K. Kaul

Salman Rushdie has been in the news because of his most recent book *Satanic Verses*. He made his entry into the hall of fame with *Midnight's Children*, which won the Booker Prize. The next novel *Shame* fell below the expectations aroused by the earlier novel. So far as *Satanic Verses* is concerned, it has the unique distinction of provoking a nation-wide debate without having been read because of the import ban by the Government of India. (*Since then the controversy has surfaced in many countries—Eds.*)

The *Jaguar Smile* is a travelogue, not a novel. It is on a modest scale, being based on a three week visit to Nicaragua. It does demonstrate how concerned the author is with such questions as revolutionary communism, state censorship and C.I.A. interference in the internal affairs of Latin American countries.

The travelogue as a literary genre has risen into prominence in recent years, partly because it satisfies the reader's curilosity about unfamiliar countries, and partly because it leaves the writer free to digress on any theme of his choice.

It must be said to the credit of Rushdie that his digressions are limited to topics which naturally arose from a visit to Nicaragua under the Government of the Sandinistas. The purpose of his journey was to find out if the revolution in that country had betrayed the expectations of its makers, like other revolutions.

LOCATION & BRIEF HISTORY

For the benefit of the uninitiated, perhaps a brief introduction to the situation is called for. Nicaragua is one of the relatively small countries on the southern tip of North America. It is contiguous to Costa Rica and Honduras. To the east of Nicaragua are the islands of Cuba and the West Indies.

The relevant historical background can be supplied in a few words. For nearly fifty years, this unfortunate country was under the cruel dictatorship of the Somozas. The dictatorship was overthrown in 1979 by the Sandinista Front. But the sufferings of the people of this little country have had no respite, thanks to the Reagan administration which has persisted in attempts to undermine the government of Daniel Ortega by raising the counter-revolutionary army called the *Contras*, based in Honduras.

Latin America is a region somewhat remote for the average Indian. The literature of the Spanish-speaking people of this continent is not familiar to most of us. The names of Neruda, the Chilean poet, and Marquez, the Colombian novelist, are isolated in our minds, not linked to any coherent understanding of the culture or history of any of the countries.

MARTYR CULTURE

Rushdie gives the briefest possible sketch essential for grasping the issues involved. Readers acquainted with *A Hundred Yeats of Solitude* (by Marquez) would understand the account of the 'martyr culture' with which the book begins. Nicaragua is a country whose history has been "a continuous rite of blood for the forty six years", in which the Somozas headed the dictatorship *(p. 18)*.

The martyr culture, however, is not content to be passive. The father figures of the revolution are Che Guevara of Cuba, Allende of Chile, followed by their own countryman, Sandino.

LIBERATION THEOLOGY

The Latin Americans have gone so far as to adapt Christianity to the contemporary situation. There is a unique bond of union between the revolutionaries and the Roman Catholic priests. In the later novels of Graham Greene, there is an imaginative presentation of this union. It is not possible to appreciate the reasons behind this unexpected turn in the history of Christianity, until we are informed that in the blood-thirsty regime of the dictator, men were fed to panthers in his private zoo. *(p. 21)*

Rushdie glances at what is called "liberation theology" *(p. 60)*. He hints at the possibility of another division in the Church, a second Reformation, owing to the failure of the Church hierarchy to identify itself with the common people.

REAL THREAT

One of the writer's conclusions, arrived at after interviewing spokesmen of both sides, is that the real threat to Nicaragua is not the counter-revolution but the C.I.A. In June 1986 alone, the U.S. House of Representatives approved President Reagan's request for $ 100 million worth of aid to the *Contras*.

Thanks to the U.S. blockade, inflation in Nicaragua was close to 500 per cent. The scarcity and dearness are far beyond anything we have experienced in India. Even eggs are a luxury. In spite of all the hardships caused by the U.S. government, the Nicaraguan attitude to U.S. is ambivalent. Nicaraguan poetry, for instance, has been influenced by the work of Whitman and Pound.

The Cuban revolution holds out hopes of liberation for the whole of Latin America. Rushdie's admiration for the revolution in Cuba is not unqualified. There are curbs on the freedom of expression in Cuba. Is the press more free in Nicaragua ? Rushdie's views on press censorship are uncompromising. He parts company with the Sandinstas over the closure of *La Prensa*. Rushdie's uncompromising honesty lends authority to his report.

(Continued on page 14)

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AWAKENING AND REFORM AMONG GUJARAT TRIBALS

David Hardiman : THE COMING OF THE DEVI
ADIVASI ASSERTION IN WESTERN INDIA
Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1987, 248 pp.

Review by Shirin Mehta

'*The Coming of the Devi*' deals with the tribal socio-religious reform movement which had covered almost all the *adivasi* tracts of Gujarat during the 1920s. It is a kind of work that falls into the category of subaltern studies But there is a relative poverty of the social and cultural history of the subalterns. The 'religious' aspect of the tribals has been completely ignored by the scholars thinking it to be primeval and superstitious.

Dr. Hardiman has presented a remarkable book. He has applied himself to the daunting task of focusing the dynamics of social and religious life of the tribals of Gujarat. He underwent the rigours of social anthropoligists. He visited *adivasi* villages, shared their life and interviewed many old living tribals.

TRIBAL RITUALS IN BRAHMANICAL FORM

The movement or the control of the Devi, originated in Maharashtra as a propitiation ceremony against smallpox, passed over to South Gujarat and then spread into the *adivasi* regions confined to mountain and hilly sorroundings of north-east Arasur to south-east Sahyadri mountains of Gujarat.

The Devi movement was characterised by large-scale incorporation of Hindu beliefs and practices in tribal rituals. The ceremony, couched in Brahminical form, transcreated the female spirit medium called Devi who gave commands to the tribals to renounce meat, fish and liquor, not to tap the toddy trees and to take bath daily.

Thus, it was a movement of reform. When in full swing, it was polarised into two dimensions. One took the form of socio-religious reform emphasizing simple behaviour, ceremonial purity in food, drink and other habits, coupled with Brahmanical rituals. In its second aspect, the Devi movement reflected the nationalist urge. It got entangled with the non-cooperation movement which Gandhi launched almost about the same time, with Bardoli *taluka* of the Surat District in South Gujarat as its base. Here, a bout 60 per cent of the population was tribal. Gandhian movement gave much needed filip to the tribal reform movement, since Gandhi's programme of abstinense from meat, liquor etc. was similar to the Devi's commands.

The Devi movement was peaceful and non-violent.

LOWERED STATUS OF THE TRIBALS

The tribals had structured inter-relationship with socially and economically dominant class. During the British period, the tribals in Gujarat had become settled agriculturists. Some of them were landholders, tenants, sub-tenants or agricultural labourers. Many of them were reduced to the level of bonded servants known as *halis* in local parlance. Over a period of time, the members of the advanced castes such as Patidars, Anavil Brahmins, Vaniyas, Parsis eroded their position as landholders and forced them to live at subsistence levels. The Patidars, Muslims, Anavils—landowners, Parsis—the liquor shopkeepers, Vaniyas—the money-lenders and the government officials—all became part and parcel of a well-entrenched machinery to exploit tribals. The major groups among tribals were Dublas, Dhodiyas, Dhankas, Naikdas, Chodhras, Gamits, Kokanas, Bhils etc.

DISPUTING CURRENT THEORIES

The adoption of Brahminical rituals and norms by the tribals in the Devi movement has been explained by Professor Hardiman in theoretical rubrics. But before under-taking that exercise, he dismisses the current theories put forward by historians and social anthropologists to explain the nature and dynamics of socio-religious reform movement among tribals in general. He disproves the strait-jacket version of the historians that tribal religion was hegemonic in nature.

The Devi movement was initiated by tribals themselves; they were the subject masters; and its inception was not due to any external cause. Moreover, each group among *adivasis* received the message of the Devi in the light of its own socio-cultural background and structures of values and norms.

He rightly points out that the theory of *Sanskritization* propounded by the renowned social anthropologist, M. N. Shrinivasan, cannot be applicable to Devi movement. The tribals did not make an accompanying claim to a high-caste Hindu status. On the contrary, they claimed equality by emulating Hindu norms. Simultaneously, they also stuck to their own beliefs, practices and religion.

Since the dialectical content was not stronger, Professor Hardiman disapproves the views advanced by Edward Jay. He proposed the theory of '*revitalizaiion*' to explain the social change among the tribals which, he assumed, were borne out of conflict and strife between two societies—one tribal and the other Hindus or the dominant culture.

VALUES OF POWER

The adoption of some of the aspects of Hindusim and the endorsement of the dominant regional culture of the Brahmins and Vaniyas by tribals has been explained by Dr. Hardiman in terms of 'Value to Power'. This approach had been laid down by Richard H. Eaton in his study of Nagas' conversion to Christianity. Dr. Hardiman acknowledges that in his work. He considers that tribals, out of intuitive understanding, established co-relation between 'value' and 'power'. Thereby, they appropriated values either of the colonial ruling class or of regionally dominant indigenous class. Thus, tribals deprived them of their power of domination.

(*Continued overleaf*)

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However, Dr. Hardiman's application of 'value to power' dimension does not properly explain why certain groups among tribals in Gujarat were attracted to Hinduism or Christianity or Zorastanism or Islam, more than any other groups? It was wrong to say that in South Gujarat, the tribals rejected the values of Parsis, since they were the direct exploiters. But the Patidars, Anavils and Vaniyas as 'Dhaniyamas' (the land-owners) were in no way less greedy than Patidars and Vaniyas culture. It was a well-known fact that in South Gujarat near Pardi, Bassein and Udwada, the Dublas—the largest group among tribals who served as *halis* or domestic servants of Parsis—had accepted most of the features of Parsi culture. Similarly, the tribals of Broach district had adopted many elements of Muslim culture.

UNEXPLAINED BASICS

The rudiments of this movement have remained unearthed. Otherwise, one could have explained why Devi movement was characterised by large-scale incorporation of Hindu beliefs and practices. The Hindu religion had profound bearing on the religious consciousness of the adivasis because of extensive contact. Christianity was alien to them, not Hinduism. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, many tribals were influenced by *Bhakti* movement ond entered within the folds of various Hindu religious sects like Satipati, Satkanwal, Kalwadia Panth, Sanatan Dharma Seva Sang etc.

This study (of the Devi movement) comprises merely of a few small groups among the tribals like Chaudharies, Gamits, Dhankas, leaving out Bhils, Dublas, Naikdees Dhodias who constituted 80 per cent of the tribal population.

POLITICAL OVERTONES

Dr. Hardiman also fails to clearly bring into focus the dynamics of Congress politics, especially in South Gujarat, in connection with tribals. There was, however, a major limitation to Gandhian approach in South Gujarat. Nowhere in Gujarat the Congress organisation was better ingrained than in the Surat district. The district Congress was strongly based upon caste networks. The Anavils and Patidars, among the socially and economically dominant land-holding class, provided the Congress organisation with manpower, money and political influence.

There was a clash between Gandhian social workers and the Congress during 1930s. The Gandhian leaders did not want to lose the support of the Congress. Gandhi's directives were interpreted, modified and diluted to suit local circumstances on two counts. Firstly, there were internal flaws in the implementation of the Gandhian constructive programme. It aimed at the upliftment of tribals on one hand, while the Patidars and Anavils who supported the Congress, enjoyed their identifiable position of patronage by gaining cheap labour from tribal bonded servants. Only Chodhries, Gamits and Dhankas—the smallest tribal units and who were not connected with agriculture work, were subjected to the programme for the improvement of their condition. The Dublas, Dhodias, Bhils, Naikdas who mostly worked as bonded labourers, were restricted to Congress propaganda and cursory visits by the leaders.

Secondly, the economic inter-locking with landed interests compelled Gandhian workers to make compromises. The Patidars and Anavils resented the Parsis—the liquor shopkeepers, and Vaniyas—the money-lenders, as the competitive partners in the tribal area. Hence the Parsis and Vaniyas, together with the colonial government, were made the targets for attack during the national movement. The speeches and national songs made to inspire tribals never mentioned Patidars and Anavils as *Zamindars*.

Against such a back-drop, Professor Hardiman breaks new ground and makes excellent contribution by emphasising socio-religious aspects of the *Adivasi's* assertion in Gujarat.

Dr. Shirin M. Mehta is on the faculty of Gujarat University, Ahemadabad.

A JOURNEY THROUGH NICARAGUA

(*Continued from page 12*)

STRANGE & EXOTIC

For the Indian reader, it is interesting to learn that Salman Rushdie was classified as an *escritor hindu* (a Hindu writer) in Latin American. India, to most Nicaraguans, "seemed an exotic, camelious, elephantine place". (*p. 167*). The only exception to this generalization is the handful of Nicaraguans who are familiar with the works of Tagore.

Features common to India and Nicaragua include tropical epidemics. Diarrhoea, for example, is the main child-killer in the rural areas. One of Rushdie's epigrams about Nicaragua could apply to us. Owing to widespread violence, even the very young were "so familiar with death, they had lost respect for it". The difference is that Nicaragua is such a small country that it cannot afford to lose too many more lives. Doctors are scarce and medicines are unobtainable. The government has come to terms with the witch-doctors who dance while prescribing their medicines. (*p. 144*) Perhaps there is a lesson for us in this !

A significant cultural difference is that poets and intellectuals enjoy prestige in Nicaraguan society. But they probably deserve the prestige.

The book is written in a faultless style. Rushdie's clarity is transparent. There are no flourishes designed to impress the reader, nor is there the fondness for the latest journalistic slang. When Rushdie wishes to emphasize a point, he resorts to terseness—*e.g.* "But to oppose a government's policy was not to oppose the government. Not for me, anyway; not this government; not yet". (*p 71*) That sums up Rushdie's impressions of Ortega's government.

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ARE WE HUMOURLESS ?

Dr. Prabhakar Machwe

Are Indians alien to humour ?

The evidence of our ancient literature does not betray us as bores and boorish, glum and grey. Even the stories for children and adults, the fables of *Panchatantra* or the *Bikram-Betal* sequence have their own subtle humour, though always having a moral tail to each tale. Characters like Kumbhakarna in *Ramayana* and Bhim in *Mahabharata* were no less hilarious. The adventures of a monkey-god or a fellow like Narada—an ancient version of Kissinger-cum-Krishna Menon—regale both gods and devils, with an access to all quarters.

VIDUSHAKAS

Sanskrit drama has its own galaxy of clowns. Read Dr. G.K. Bhat's *Vidushaka*, a thesis in English. (I reviewed it for Shanker in his '*Shanker's Weekly*' thirty years ago), or the dialogues of Shakara and Shailaka in *Mrichchakatika* by Shudraka, and I shall stand corraborated.

The medieval folk tradition in drama, folk songs and folk tales has a number of such funny characters like Birbal, Tenali Ramana, Gopal Bhand, Lal Bujhakkad and what have you ? It is not always bawdy and vulgar as some of our Khushamad Singhs would like us to believe. To each, his own humour, or tumour ! There is a rich repository of such stories in each language, hardly exploited by our modern Brown Sahibs.

SATIRES & VERBAL PUNS ETC.

Even in the Mulsim period, Mulla Do Piaza and Nusaruddin's witty stories were so much in currency. Recent Urdu poetry has its own satirists and humour -ists like Akbar Allahabadi. Some of the humour in Indian languages, in poetry or drama, is no doubt very localized and based on verbal puns and *double entendre* and so almost untranslatable. No doubt, man's basic instincts like sex and pugnacity are the bases of some juicy. malicious humour in many current hearsays about some cunning castes like barbers and goldsmiths or professions like money-lending and sooth-saying, astrology and pompous aristocracy with new rich snobs with their show-off and pretentious prudishness. Much fun was there in 19th century drama in Indian languages lampooning the *half*–Sahibs and the hybird hypocrites passing as His Highness or His Lordship. But who cares to sift this material and translate it in moden English ? We all go in for easily available comic strips and borrowed jokes.

Wit is the mother of humour. Indians were not so singularly devoid of brains that they would excel in other fields like logic and grammar, metaphysics and metallurgy and be lacking in enjoying life in a refined manner. The Sanskrit *Subhashita* (epigrams and aphorisms) are full of such a valuable mine—read Ludwick Sternbach's 6 volume *Subhashita–Sangraha* published by the Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. It has the original in Sanskrit, with beautiful English translations.

MOROSE & SCHIZOPHRENIC

I think we became more morose and bitter during the nationalist struggle, and our schizophrenia increased with our half-baked English education. The first generation Indo–Anglian writers are absolutely devoid of humour, from Sri Aurobindo or Sarojini Naidu to the vintage anti-Indian culmination in Nirad C Chaudhary (who has carping satire, but hardly any humour).

In writers like R. K. Narain (and more so, in his cartoonist brother R. K. Laxman) we find refined humour with an undercurrent of empathy that charms the readers. But other Indo–Anglian novelists have little humour : Raja Rao or Bhabani Bhattacharya, Anita Desai or Nayantara Sehgal, to mention only a few random examples.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya showed some flashes of wit in his poems for children, but most of the Indo–Anglian poets of the 'modernist' cast (or caste ?) have no humour. Except Nissim Ezekiel's poems in Indian English or a poem by P. Lal on Mother Teresa, rest of them are very bitter, even masochist and morbid—but have little of the Indian rustic's common sense.

IN OTHER LANGUAGES

Not so in Indian languages. One can mention a dozen great masters of humour. Parashuram (the pen name of Rajashekhar Basu in Bengali); C. V. Joshi, P. K. Atre and P. L. Deshpande in Marathi; Jyotindra Dave and Vinod Bhatt in Gujarti; 'Nadodi' and 'Cho' in Tamil; Kanhiyalal Kapoor and Fikr Taunsavi in Urdu; Munshi Navazadiklal Shrivastava to Sharad Joshi in Hindi and a host of others.

There is a sad gap between our 'English-*wallahas*' and Indian writers in 'native' or 'vernacular' languages. Actually, real home-spun Indian literature is in these fifteen or more languages, which is hardly reflected in the stuccato translations published in 'Indian Literature' and such officialese.

The "Hindi-*wallahas*" don't read English and the "English-*wallahas*" don't read Hindi or any Indian language. The Bengalis or Tamils or Malayalees or Kannads excel in both their mother tongues (they are very much rooted in their own cultural traditions) and also have a good grip on current English.

But in the Hindi belt, we have missed both. The Punjabi is a good case, who can't read Gurumukhi, but calls himself Punjabi, writers Americanised 'Indish' and aspries to be a new erudite and new-cultured *a la* new rich class. The result is the fare we are doled out on our TV and in our films—how vulgar and boring and hardly elevating. Most of the film producers in Bombay are Punjabis, and in the Mandi House, their clout is no less formidable. There are many Bhagats and many Gills. Humour for them is a commodity to fetch more quick bucks by hook or crook.

Dr. Prabhakar Machwe, the well-known multi-lingual journalist, critic and litterateur was, for many years, actively associated with the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. He has now taken over as editor of a Hindi Daily, **Chautha Sansar,** *at Indore.*

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FROM DARKNESS . . . TOWARDS LIGHT !

D. N. Khosla : SIKH GURUS ON EDUCATION
Adi-Jugali, Delhi, 1988, pages 118, Rs. 85/-

Reviewed by Promod K. Mishra

Basically, the essence of all religions is to liberate humanity from ignorance and sin. The liberated and enlightened souls who have contributed profusely to the enrichment of different religions will shine long in history as supreme teachers. The Sikh *Gurus*, beginning with Guru Nanak, have followed (and hallowed with their song and wisdom) the great tradition of the Indian *Rishis*.

In his scholarly treatise on the pedagogic significance of the teachings of Sikh Gurus, Dr. D.N. Khosla has added a new dimension to this crucial area of the philosophy of education. As he very succintly puts it in the preface, "Being great prophets and philosophers *par excellence*, the Sikh Guru evinced genuine interest in the cause of true education. They examined the core of educational malady for years on end, to ultimately come out with a transparent view of life to make it, in turn, the very soul of their educational practice and philosophy. They evolved a system to help man constantly live an examined way of life such that it becomes his very second nature and keeps him off all that tends to dislodge him from the true purpose of life and education". (*q.v.*)

THE QUEST

Dr. Khosla has broadly divided his study into five chapters. In his first chapter on the "Quest for True Education", he gives a panoramic view of the high educational tradition initiated by the first and foremost Guru, Nanak. Nanak was born "in dark, difficult and trying times", and was pained at the pathetic plight of his fellowmen. In his view, "both men and women had severed their links with truth, continence and humility". Such an era of great turmoil also witnessed momentous ferment of the *Bhakti* renaissance in India and tended towards an age of Inquiry, not only into the realms of physical universe hither-to lying unexplored, but also into the in-most nature of man. In the author's view, Nanak added the element of historical involvement and commitment to the devotional exultation and mystic beatitude of the poetry of *Bhakti School*. He, along with his successor Gurus, peeped into the deep-rooted darkness of the Age on the one hand, and shared the spirit of awakening on the other. Nanak spent most of his life's odyssey in examining the malady not only in his immediate environs, but also around the world, and consequently came out with his own scheme of things to educate the successor Sikh Gurus and scholars, and through them, the whole mankind. He considers only that education to be worth-while which kindles the creative impulse in man and makes him serious and eager to know the 'why' and 'wherefore' of everything.

CLOSE TO NATURE & DOWN TO EARTH

The Sikh Gurus, including Nanak, received their education in close proximity with nature. They learnt the ways of nature and grasped its secret codes and underlying meaning. Nanak pin-pointed the rootedness in Divine source as the life-breath of true education, but also he never felt shy of puncturing the bloated balloons of ego and of lifting the dead burden of empty knowledge of the so-called scholars in his time. While explaining the concept of true *Yoga*, the Guru said : "Verily, the practice of *Yoga* is this—to die to one's self, while living; to hear the unstuck music within, without the blowing of the horn; and to reach the spiritual stage of fearlessness; amidst temptations abide in God. This will lead to true *Yoga*". (*p. 12*)

Nanak also acquainted himself with the totality of educational situation as also the whole philosophical thinking, especially as regards the factors which contributed to their degeneration. He also evinced keen interest in examining the whole gamut of philosophy, theology and education as practised by various faiths and schools of thought to make his preachings all-embracing and the least sectarian. The Guru, by raising a great centre of education and philosophy at Kartarpur, re-dedicated education with the original purpose of life and philosophy. In the author's perception, the Sikh Gurus, being staunch men of vision as also action, and contrary to contemporary practice made education more comprehensive, down-to-earth and broad-based.

THE SEARCH FOR MAN

In the chapter on "Pursuit of Excellence", the author makes a lucid analysis of various sets of human behaviour as sanctified by the Sikh Gurus. In the value-model developed by them, one is particularly delighted to know the significance of '*Sat*', '*Sach-achar*', *Santokh* and '*Vichar*' in the pursuit of excellence. The author rightly comments that the Gurus, through their value paradigm, sought to evolve the 'man' in every human being, in order to make him/her a true embodiment of the spirit that delights in doing good and no evil.

In the chapter on "Goals of Education", Dr. Khosla highlights the relevance of several teachings to various educational aims, *i.e.* Social aims, Moral aims, Vocational aims, Physical aims, Mental aims and Intellectual aims. According to the author, the Gurus wished to integrate the scientific culture with the philosophic culture of man so as to evolve and attain the highest goal of man's evolution to perfection. To them, material base of life was and is as important as the spiritual top, as they ought to go hand in hand in raising humanism to spirituality and *vice versa*, especially in upholding the integral unity of man as man. Thus, the central aim of education, as the Gurus perceived it, lies in upholding and realising the 'man' in man, and thereby evolving or building a perfect society.

(*Continued on col. 2 page 19*)

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AMONG THE HIDDEN FAMILY GHOSTS

Jasbir Jain : STAIRS TO THE ATTIC

THE NOVELS OF ANITA DESAI

Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1987, pp. 176, Rs. 140/-

Reviewed by Santosh Gupta

Criticism of Anita Desai's novels has only now begun to deal with the patterns and tensions that lie underneath the more apparent network of man-woman relationships, and the existential isolation of the protagonists. The significance of various other cultural, psychological and even religious feelings and ideas that are submerged in the narrative, and of the linguistic aspects of Desai's novels is beginning to be recognised.

Although there is a steady flow of articles, monographs and dissertations on Desai's novels, a full-length study that promises to examine the "philosophical contents" and "psycho-narrative texture" in the context of several traditions that can be seen operating in Desai's fiction, promises to throw useful light on the subject.

Jasbir Jain's *Stairs To The Attic* reflects a continued concern with Desai's novels, and a critical mind's persistent probing into the complex psychological relationships that elude easy analysis. Jasbir Jain examines in detail the ideas, suggestions and implied meanings thrown out by the linguistic and psychological aspects of the narratives. Jain attempts to go beyond the stated to the unstated; she looks for the hidden 'family ghosts' and recognises 'the one on the other side', who may be nameless or even faceless, yet haunts the inhabitants of Desai's fiction, driving them to despair and frustration.

VIEW FROM THE OUTSIDE & THE ATTIC

The study begins with the acceptance of the 'anonymity' of the author, since Desai has, she acknowledges, carefully kept her person and personal life well out of public eye. Taking the novels, 'from the outside', Jain enters th ir structural patterning, and work into the embodded meanings.

The problem, of 'isolation' that dominates the earlier novels is related to the difficult issues of involvement in both psychological and philosophical contexts. The second chapter, 'Assent and Refusal' deals with the choices available, and the choices made by the protagonists. The protagonists of the earlier novels experience that both urrender to another and withdrawal from involvement fail, and lead to exposure of the inner-self and violence. Hence, "involvement is enslavement and the loss of freedom, while detachment and stillness, besides being equally destructive, appear to be unattainable (*p. 35*). Characters often use the past as an escape or an alternate reality in an attempt to get away from facing reality.

In the next chapter, the pursuit of 'wholeness' is related to the conflict between 'reason' and 'unreason', the conscious and the unconscious. The unconscious is the 'attic', which is in the twilight pushed in the background, but very much there. In the chapter entitled 'Stairs to the Attic', Jain focuses on the use of fantasy by the characters as a means of discovering the self and reality. In each novel, fantasy takes a different form.

WOMEN & THEIR FREEDOM

The fourth chapter begins with a question about Mrs. Elizabeth Gaskell. 'One wonders why Elizabeth Gaskell titled her novel '*Wives And Daughters*' ?' (*p.55*). As Jain discusses the relationship between men and women, and the varying degree of freedom available to women in their roles as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters, she comes back to the title of Mrs. Gaskell's novel, and surmises that women, generally, get lesser freedom as wives and daughters than as mothers and sisters. One can feel the difficulty involved in such an analysis, for Jain's statements reflect the complex nature of these issues of relationships, and the freedom felt by each individual. "Women have less freedom as wives and daughters than as mothers and sisters. It is also these roles—of a wife or a daughter—which can offer them some freedom of expression" (*p 64*).

ABOUT HUMAN RELATIONS

The framework in which Desai perceives her characters is perhaps a more basic one, that goes beyond the socially defined relations She considers that human relations "invariably lead to disaster". (*Interview pp. 11, 12*). She perceives them as isolated and separated, trying to relate to others. They try to relate to human traditions through fine arts, or literature, and look for meaning and values. Jain relates the various symbols, and the fine arts, used as symbols, to the deeper emotional needs of the characters. The danger of reading too much meaning sometimes threatens the otherwise extremely perceptive analysis. In *Where Shall We Go This Summer*, the two pairs of names —Sita and Raman, Miriam and Moses—belong to two distinct and meaningful mythical backgrounds. If worked out in the context of the novel, this would create a confusion of meaning, disturbing the totality that Desai is able to achieve It is true, as Jain states, the "layers of reference go on multiplying" (*p. 92*), which lead to new insights when explored in depth.

Jain further relates the characters to their families (Chapter 7–"In Pursuit of Wholeness"), and the nature and role of memory, unconscious, and the growth of a character in relation to time and space (chapter 8, "Who Is That On the Other Side ?'). In the last chapter, "Rules of the Game", the short stories are seen in the context of themes and style of the longer fiction.

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MODERN ENGLISH POETRY . . .

Bruce King : MODERN INDIAN POETRY IN ENGLISH

Oxford University Press (1987) Rs. 150/-

Comment by I. K. Sharma

Two events of national significance, it strikes me, took place soon after independence : one, Jawaharlal Nehru (of Uttar Pradesh) reduced *Indian national politics* to New Delhi, and second, Nissim Ezekiel of Maharashtra hijacked *Indian English poetry* to Bombay. Since then, they have been moving in and around their cities and their heroes. The book under review is largely a tribute to the genius of the poet-hero who tenaciously nourished his beloved—(*Indian Poetry*) and helpfully defined her before the outside world.

To me, a book of Indian English poetry is always welcome. And this book is doubly welcome because it is a book *on* Indian English poetry. It is, I understand, a first full-length academic study of the post-independence poetic scene from 1947 to 1985. Its importance grows manifold, for it is a study undertaken by an eminent American scholar who has devoted a considerable portion of his academic career to the study of the 'Third World' literatures. The book, I hope, will open a new era in the general understanding of Indian English poetry, and may provoke some Indian scholars to pursue studies on this line in areas which lie still unexplored.

The book has thirteen chapters in all, seven of which are devoted to the study of thirty poets who form 'the canon of *Oxford* (i.e. *OUP*) approved writers'.

A full chapter (no. 6) is given to Ezekiel and his influence on the poets of that canon. Two quite useful and impressive chapters (nos. 2 and 3), trace the history of publishing circles in the post-independent India, the growth of readership and the market. Another chapter (no. 4) explores the making of a canon.

THREE MAJOR ANTHOLOGIES : THE ALIENATED GROUP

This study is chiefly based on the three 'major' anthologies that appeared in the last decade :—**first** edited by Salim Peeradina (*1972. Macmillan 1977*), **second** by R. Parathasarathy (*OUP 1976*), and **third** by Daruwalla (*Vikas, 1980*). Interestingly, eight poets figure in all the three anthologies, fourteen in two, and five in one. The remaining sixteen who are also 'recognized to be of worth' slipped into the Oxford canon on the same ground as applied to others. They "as a group tend to be marginal to traditional Hindu society not only by being alienated by their English-language education but also, more significantly, by coming from such communities as the Parsis, Jews and Christians..."

It is, I think, an ingenious way of injecting the virus of communalism or new class consciousness in the field of Indian English poetry. English poets in this country, since the days of Henry Vivian Derozio, probably never thought on these lines. Their English education, on the other hand, helped them broaden their outlook and also enabled them to understand their own culture in a new perspective. It had always worked as a cementing force, and not as a dividing element, to be sure.

IN THE WAKE OF EMERGENCY

Another point to which I must draw the attention of readers is the two-year period of Emergency, 1975–76 About it, Professor King writes (he may have been officially or privately informed that way) that "many political and intellectual journals in which the poets appeared stopped publishing, in some cases, permanently, during the period of Emergency rule beginning in 1975. 1976 was the most significant year for Indian English poetry since the period 1965–6."

True in many ways. *Kavi* was founded the same year in Bombay. And our poets who had been publishing their poetry elsewhere, surprisingly did not see the light-house under their very nose. They published no poetry against the tyranny of boots. If they had, they would have been gratefully included in the book *Voices of Emergency* edited (incidentally) by another American scholar, Professor John Oliver Perry. By coincidence, the book was published, not elsewhere but in Bombay; but there is no reference to the book in the King's study, although that had appeared in 1983. Not unknowingly, I believe.

Out of the thirty poets of the canon studied in the book under review, only six, and one of them bilingual, had the courage of conviction to use their pen against the then oppressive government. What were other poets of the canon doing then ? Slumped into their cushioned chairs some began cooing in their guarded spaces. Their pens ? Comfortably etherized upon their tables. Since that time, these poets have been searching for their roots or have been trying to discover the root cause of their alienation ! To be candid, in this area (reference to Emergency), the record of other Indian lenguage poets is much better. There is much sense in the remark of Pritish Nandy where he calls the Indian English poets '*apolitical, alienated and inauthentic*'.

In fact, Emergency was an opportunity for poets to solve their crisis of identity. They could then easily negotiate with the times; repossess, without being revivalist or regional, their sense of Indianness; and find their roots in a tradition. But they were more concerned with their personal dislocation than with the national.

(*Continued*)

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. . . IN INDIA

BOMBAY IS NOT INDIA

The chief failing of the book is the stubborn attempt on the part of the critic to equate Bombay with India and to project one group of poets as the sole representatives of India. This I think is a dangerous pastime. Is it not another version of 'Emergency' in the realm of the Muse? 'We are! None else!' Bombay no doubt is a big, a very big, city; but to proclaim it as the only fertile mine of Indian English poetry in India on the plea that "Bombay had been a symbolic city of modern dissatisfaction, whereas now it had become a place where there were actual events, people, dangers and pleasures" is an assault on the reader's intelligence. To the knowledgeable, it should not appear other than a case of organized groupism. The expression of Thom Gunn: 'the needle dances in the grooves they made' appropriately sums up both the intention and the achievement. If Professor King wanted to restrict his study to the Bombay *school* of poetry, he ought to have inserted 'A study of the Bombay School of Poetry' as a sub-title to his book. By not doing so, he has deprived himself and consequently the general reader of the rich variety of English poetry at present in India. As it is, God saves the King and his canon!

Further, I see no justification in giving precedence to several new faces of Bombay over poets like OP, Bhatnagar, L.N.Mahapatra, Shankar Mokashi-Punekar, Som P. Ranchan, Pria Karunakar and so on. (A book of essays on Bhatnagar's poetry had appeared in 1985. Recently, a three-volume study of his poetry has come out).

After all, criticism is discrimination and not total surrender. A study of this kind should have used a wide range of evidence to show the comparative merit of poets regardless of their views on poetry and their different platforms. As the book stands, it does not enlarge, nor expand our frontiers of understanding. It has become partial, one-sided and evasive. In other words, this Bombay-*over*-India slogan is a red singal to those who think, write, and act independently.

Despite this, Professor King deserves our thanks and admiration for having done a pioneering work of such a dimension. He overcame the enervating difficulties of our country and wrote a book which, I trust, for a long time to come, will be a companionable friend of students and teachers. Its chief asset is lucidity and full use of new critical idiom. On this count, it should be read by those who agree, and especially by those who do not. A bookshelf anywhere will be poorer without it.

Dr. I. K. Sharma is associated with the English Department of Rajasthan University, and also with this journal. [*Note: His comments, however, may not be taken to be the official or editorial views of the Chronicle. In fact, we would welcome a different view-point or write-up on this book, as also on other books.* —*Editors*]

(*Continued from page 16*) **. . . TOWARDS LIGHT**

The chapter on "Sinews of Education" is full of illustrations from the principal teachings of the Gurus or the '*Guruvani*', which highlight the thematic contents of education. In their views, as the author rightly perceives, there is a close linkage between philosophy & science including social science, aesthetics, creative arts and crafts etc. The 'sinews' of education, according to the Gurus, lie not only in books, but in everything that man does in his day-to-day life as a divinely oriented, creative and constructive genius.

TEACHERS & GUIDES

In the concluding chapter on "Postulates of Pedagogy", the author highlights the convictions of the Gurus that the method of education must serve as a free flowing highway for man's journey through truth. It seeks and finds a method by which the teacher may teach less, but the learner may learn more, easily and quickly, By going through the several discourses of the Gurus, one can easily trace several pedagogic techniques. For instance, the Gurus have always remained close to nature. The real method of education, according to them, lies in discovering the methods of nature.

Besides, they proved to be great psychologists by taking recourse to several techniques like thinking and understanding, memory and recall, attention and motivation, repetition and reinforcement, interest and conditioning, praise and achievement. The Gurus were also using several scientific and logical methods to bring home to people the real import of truth. They would also use techniques of observation, demonstration, analysis and synthesis to bring method science closer to the method philosophy. The Gurus also profusely used narrative and story-telling methods for imparting education.

Dr. Khosla's book is thus a useful contribution to the philosophy of education through the rational and scientific discourses of the Sikh Gurus. It can be useful to researchers and students of education, philosophy or psychology, also to the policy-planners.

However, while the author has freely used several expressions in *Gurumukhi* from the religious discourses of the Gurus, he could have provided a glossary of such words with their English rendering at the end.

Dr. Pramod K. Mishra teaches Political Science in Delhi University.

(*Continued from page 17*) **. . . FAMILY GHOSTS**

Jain places Desai in the larger context of Indian writing in English, treating Desai's language and stories as a reflection of the wider socio-political conditions. In the larger religious and cultural context, she brings but their richness.

Stairs To The Attic is a useful contribution to an interesting subject. It makes a pleasant reading for its lucid and forceful expression.

Dr. Santosh Gupta is Reader in the Deptt. of English, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. [*We regret the delay in publishing this review*—*Eds.*]

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PUBLIC ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

R. K. Mishra and S. Ravishankar (Editors)

DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISE MANAGEMENT

Ajanta Publications(India), Delhi 1985, pp xiv 318, Rs. 200

Reviewed by P.C. Bansal

Dynamics of Public Enterprise Management makes an appraisal of the functioning of public enterprises in a number of countries like India, Bangladesh, South-east Asian countries, Botswana, Ethiopia, United Kingdom and Italy. The Tennessee Valley Corporation and the British Broadcasting Corporation are two case studies. In all, 15 articles are put together under four heads : Corporate Planning; Technology and Managerial Productivity; Human Resources Management and Public Entetprises Abroad.

In many countries, public enterprises as parts of the state undertakings have not given a good account of being operated efficiently. In a mixed economy, there is glaring "mis-performance" and "inefficiency" in public enterprises leading to continued losses. Some countries are now on their way to "privatisation" of public enterprises.

INDIAN EXPERIENCE

In the Indian context, with an investment of about Rs. 60,000 crores, these enterprises are incurring huge losses due to inefficient management, non-accountability, political interference, constant change in management and 'over-manning'. However, the public enterprises have to play a productive role in the socio-economic development of the country. P. J. Reddy suggests that the Government should offer 49 per cent of the shares of capital enterprises to the public, and allow management by the share-holder representatives, though Government nominees may also be represented on the Board of Directors.

The author observes that public enterprises do not have clear objectives, irrespective of various legal set-ups. The *successful* archtypes reveal that they display intelligent effort; delegate more authority; use technocratic personnel; engage in more product-market innovation and perform more analysis in making decisions; while *unsuccessful* archtypes reveal problems such as increase in heterogeniety of activities; no analysis of the impact of past actions; no leadership; and often the divisions are run quite independently.

The scientific basis of **strategic planniug** includes structural characteristics of industry, business, competitive position within industry and productivity of capital and **labour strategy formulation** includes the interaction of objectives of the firm with strategies as well as environmental impact on the alteratives.

In India, the public enterprises started the idea of **corporate planning** in Bharat Heavy Electricals in 1974. Many public enterprises have started introducing corporate plans. The author alleges that most of the PEs end up with preparing plans, but do not introduce the planning process.

FOR ORDER & AGAINST CHANGE

It is agreed that, around the world, business is in search for new ways to adapt and to make use of social, cultural and political changes to crea e opportunities out of challenges. But in India, the public enterprises are more in search for "order", and are concerned with evolving forms that would be able to resist change. The author warns that enterprises which cannot cope with "pulls and pushes of the interest of the group" within the country, would find extremely difficult to stand up to the complexities of international market place.

Financial planning is an invaluable aid for overall corporate planning. The author recommends "the wealth maximising strategy" for public enterprises,

It was found that the aggregate capital investment in a public transport equipment industry has registered a very slow growth between 1971 and 1981. The percentage share of the industry's investment has decreased; the growth of employment has been less. The disturbing feature of the industry might be due to outdated technology or "technological obsolescence" in the industry. Unimpressive performance could also be the result of insignificant increase in the fixed capital and employment.

HUMAN RELATIONS & TRAINING

The managers in the public enterprises are required to appreciate the "needs of the people" working under them, and be in direct contact with their rank and file. For this, some **training in human relations** is necessary. By assuming leadership, a manager develops abilities like dexterity in human relations, ability to conceptualise diverse operating dynamics, and ability to integrate them as may be necessary. The author asserts that evaluating the role of "political component" of an individual's attitude such as dominance–submission and hostility and warmth of a leader manifesting in his behaviour on job has not received adequate attention.

The authors asserts that **training** as an effective tool for management development will flourish in an organisation where the top management believes in it, supports and rewards it. There is an absence of firm and long-term policy regarding training activities. Moreover, the individual requirements for organisation needs have to be taken into account. Vertical career mobility plans may be introduced. The evaluation of training programmes in terms of task performance, attitudes and perceptions also needs attention.

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COUNTRY PROFILES

Botswana is deficient in trained manpower. Hence, there is a need for development of management education, training and proper orientation to specificated tasks. There the PE's have been created so as to facilitate the development of management of certain activities of vital significance to the economy. In order to meet the demands of qualified personnel, the quality of education has to be improved and facilities for pre-service, in-service and vocational training have to be enhanced. It will help in localising to some extent the sub-professional, technical and professional posts.

The author stresses that "democratisation of work place" or "industrial democracy" must form the core of the new **philosophy of work.**

PE's in **Bangladesh** face a number of problems, and a plea is made for a result-based reward system.

Heads of the training institutions in **Britain** perceive public ownership as influencing their approach to management training. A part of it consists in the inclusion of commercial attitudes and cost consciousness in the public enterprise managers. The training programme has to lay stress on needs emanating from the situation, and social responsibility may be developed through in-house training by the nationalised industries.

In **Ethiopia**, in the early period of nationalisation, the Ministry of National Resources ond Development had 72 major corporations with an investment of more than Eth. $ 300 million. The PE's were expected to provide solutions for many economic difficulties; but experience showed the opposite. There is a need to free the enterprise from *too much interference in operations by central authorities* and to consider **appropriate incentive measures**. The author stresses the need for evaluating the performance of enterprises and the persons. The need for clearly identifying and analysing the managerial and organisational behaviour of state corporations or enterprises for identifying solutions is also high-lighted. In the state of revolution, political expendiency is much more important than economic rationality. In this lies the challenge of the application of the art and science of management, keeping in view the socio-economic environment.

ASEAN countries have been able to generate rapid economic growth. The state is emerging as an active force initiating the process of development. However, these states have *dual* economies—a capitalist or proto-capitalist enclave with technology and organisation not very dissimilar to what is there in the West, and a vast *pre-capitalist and traditionalist* hinterland having sporadic relationship with the capitalist sector. One of the pecularities of the *state capitalism* in the ASEAN countries is that the entrepreneurial activity of the state, while being a catalyst of private capitalist relationship, has at the same time, a relatively small public sector. The state has taken an **umbrella role** adopting a mild system of guide-lines and goading private sector to perform its mission without a strong public sector. The author points out that the main draw-back of some of the ASEAN countries is that they have not developed political systems and sets of institutions to deflate social tensions arising out of economic growth. Unless this is done, these countries may see a dramatic change in the political sphere. On the whole, these countries have made a rapid progress in all spheres in comparison to India.

ITALY, U.S.A. & U.K.

Anti-Public Sector lobby in **Italy** is the reaction of the crisis of economic policy which is unable to control the socio-economic problems facing the country. About one-fifth of the nation's labour force is employed in the public sector. About two-fifth of the GNP is re-distributed through the government budget and one-third to two-fifth of gross investment is directed by the state. Neo-liberals argue for a more complex relationship with public sector than the traditional liberal argument that everything public must necessarily be bad. The rate of profit in the Italian industry is falling; and many Italian firms were saved from bankruptcy by the Government during the 1979 crisis. Thus, Italy has become a model of development with a high intensity of social conflict and working class movement and struggle.

In 1933, the U.S. Congress passed the Tennessee Valley Authority Act. TVA is a government corporation. It is an example of the modern concept of regionalism under which the Federal Government acts to meet the regional needs so that the entire nation may profit. TVA looks after both the urbanites and rural consumers, and by all standards, TVA must be judged as an economic success.

The British Broadcasting Corporation is very popular throughout the world. Its correspondents' net-work is very wide. People in different parts of the world get first-hand news through the BBC. BBC has been criticised, but on the whole, it is doing a good job.

In sum, the public sector faces the tough challenge of private sector and much has to be done to improve its efficiency. The book seeks to identify a few specific problems of public enterprises, and provides a frame-work for their solution. It will be of interest to policy makers, top and middle management personnel, training institutions and researchers. The contributors deserve the gratitude of the reader.

Not long ago, Dr. P.C. Bansal was a Psychologist in the Ministry of Defence, Government of India. He has old links with the IBC. Even on a temperory visit to the U.S.A., he has continued to write for us. (We regret, however, that this review by Dr. Bansal could not be published earlier.—Editors)

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How They were Cheated of Their Homeland !

Punyapriya Dasgupta

CHEATED BY THE WORLD :

The Palestinian Experience

Orient Longman, Hyderabad-New Delhi (1988) pp. 367, Rs. 150/-

A Review by Abdul Fatah

It is an unusual event to establish a new state on the soil of the others in our modern world. But we have the example of Israel which was created with the help and support of the British in 1948, on what had been for centuries the Palestinian Land. That resulted in what is presently known as the Palestinian Problem. The event naturally made the sons and daughters of Palestine draw up their waves of resistance and revolution against the Jews who came in their thousands from various parts of the world to create a State for their people (holding one religion).

How did this come about? What were the factors responsible for it ?

GENESIS

These issues have been clearly exposed in a well-written and documented book by Punyapriya Dasgupta entitled "*Cheated by the World : The Palestinian Experience (1988).* The author, in a descriptive-analytical way, has brought in an understandable frame the dynamics and process in which the Palestinians were not only cheated of their lands, but were also massacred and oppressed.

In a 360-page book of 20 chapters, the author provides the detailed factual data about the nature of the Palestinian-Israeli fighting. The author has reviewed the situation from the genesis of the problem. He has pointed out the distant and immediate factors which made the British promise a homeland for the Jaws (Balfour Declaration 1917) helping the Jews to over-take Palestine and establish a country called Israel, in the name of one of their spiritual leaders. The background and details of the British support for the migration of the Jews to Palestine have been well exposed. He has pointed out how the Palestinians were cheated by the the World at large, at the very first stage by passing a resolution by the U. N. for the creation of Israel (1948, Resolution no. 181).

How the Jews (in what is called Israel) were able to hide many inconvenient and unpleasant facts and make their propaganda successful is also highlighted. The nature of the Palestinian resistance to the British Mandate and later to the migration of the Jews to Palestine are also well reviewed. There is a full note on the process of building up the back-bone and the strength of the Jewish forces in Palestine by British military training and handling. The situation of the Arab countries (which were also under occupation directly or indirectly) has also been described.

The tactics of terror employed by Israel in driving the Palestinians out of their lands have also been exposed. The author has reviewed how the Palestinian people started building up their resistance and a well-organized revolurion for the liberation of Palestine. The P.L.O , which was formally set up in 1965, was not so much equipped or supported by the Arab States. Why and how of this have been charted and analysed by the author. The 1967 Arab-Israeli war was yet anothor defeat for the Arabs, due to their weak and misled leadership, Consequently, the remaining parts of Palestine (West Bank—Gaza) were also occupied by Israel. The two-years old P.L.O. (*Fatah*) waged a heroic struggle in the 1967-1968 Wars. Subsequently its platform and set-up became tremendously enlarged and strengthend, and it started being welcomed as the most strong alternative force for the liberation of Palestine.

TERRORISTS ALL

The present Israeli leaders were themselves terrorist and extremist commanders who spread death and terror among the Palestinians, when Israel came into being. They are now treating P.L O., which is struggling for freedom, as a terrorist organization. It is well established that the present Israeli Prime Minister, Yitshak Shamir, had got Bernadote, the U.N. mediator, killed for advocating the Palestinian cause. The book provides many other such instances. Even, there is a historical proof that the Jews had made an "alliance" with the German Nazis for creating some terror among the Jews to make them migrate to Palestine.

The author has described analytically how Israel has attempted to weaken and destroy the Palestine revolution by raids on its bases and politically, through its contacts with Britain and U. S. A. The 1970 massacre of the Palestinians in Jordan was not the beginning of the sufferings of the Palestinians at the hands of Arab leaders. The P L O. leaders were even jailed and threatened by the Arab monarchs and the Arab political system. The above massacre compelled the Palestinians to move their platform or base to Lebanon, and from there to struggle afresh for the liberation of Palestine.

THE STRUGGLE

Chapter eleven of the book shows how the indifference or lack of support of the Arabs leaders has been a new challenge to the P.L.O. The author highlights how the just cause and rationality of the Palestinian struggle brought to the notice of the world community by the P.L.O. has put this freedom struggle on the international map A critical and factual note on the relations of the P.L.O. with the Arab countries has also been provided. The author has reviewed the varions Palestinian viewpoints and the approaches for the liberation of Palestine, which made the P.L.O. include in its wide folds a variety of factions and groups.

In a truthful and well-documented analysis, the author has reviewed how the former Egyptian President, Sadat was pushed into a dialogue with Israel directly.

(Continued on next page)

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THOSE WHO PASS BETWEEN FLEETING WORDS

MAHMOUD DARWISH

In the **Poets' Corner** *this month, we bring to our readers the voice of anguish and protest and passive resistance from the troubled land of Palestine—Editors*

O those who pass between fleeting words
Carry your names, and be gone
Rid our time of your hours, and be gone
Steal what you will from the blueness of the sea
and the sand of memory
Take what pictures you will, so that you understand
That which you never will:
How a stone from our land builds the ceiling of our sky.

O those who pass between fleeting words
From you the sword — from us the blood
From you steel and fire — from us our flesh
From you yet another tank — from us stones
From you tear gas — from us rain
Above us, as above you, are sky and air
So take your share of our blood — and be gone
Go to a dancing party — and be gone
As for us, we have to water the martyrs' flowers
As for us, we have to live as we see fit.

O those who pass between fleeting words
As bitter dust, go where to wish, but
Do not pass between us like flying insects
For we have work to do in our land:
We have wheat to grow which we water
with our bodies' dew
We have that which does not please you here;
Stones or partridges
So take the past, if you wish, to the antiquities market
And return the skeleton to the hoopoe, if you wish,
On a clay platter
We have that which does not please you:
we have the future
And we have things to do in our land.

O those who pass between fleeting words
Pile your illusions in a deserted pit, and be gone
Return the hand of time to the law of the golden calf
Or to the time of the revolver's music !
For we have that which does not please you here,
so be gone
And we have what you lack
a bleeding homeland of a bleeding people
A homeland fit for oblivion or memory

O those who pass between fleeting words
It is time for you to be gone
Live wherever you like, but do not live among us
It is time for you to be gone
Die wherever you like, but do not die among us
For we have work to do in our land
We have the past here
We have the first cry of life
We have the present, the present and the future
We have this world here, and the hereafter
So leave our country
Our land, our sea,
Our wheat, our salt, our wounds
Everything, and leave
The memories of memory
O those who pass between fleeting words !

Poet Mahmoud Darwish is the President of the Palestinian Writers' Association and an Executive Member of the P L.O. (Text of this poem has been gratefully reproduced from the bulletin Palestine published in Nicosia, Cyprus—Editors).

How They Were Cheated . . . *(Continued)*

The American role and the work of some of the Arab hands are also well-charted by the author. The role of Syria in Lebanon has also been well exposed. The massacre in the Tel-El-Zater Palestinian Camp in Lebanon and other instances are clear proofs of their attempts to curtail the P.L.O. spirit of sovereignty.

The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1982, followed by the cruel massarces in Sabra and Shatila Camps and the continuing injustices practised by Israel in the occupied territories have clearly exposed Israel and its designs to the world.

In chapter 15, entitled "Resolutions and Irresolutions", the author has reviewed the role of the U.N. and its attempts in solving the Palestinian problem and stopping the Israeli aggressiveness. He has highlighted the various U. N. resolutions. In an analytical note, Dasgupta has clarified the many hindrances to an effective role by the U.N. in solving the problem, which are the same as for solving the South Africa or Namibia problems. The veto of U.S.A. is still the arm on which Israel stands protected in the U.N.

The Indian stand on the Palestinian problem is clearly highlighted in chapter 17. That Indian policy has been consistently in favour of human rights in general and with the Palestinians in particular, is clearly drawn from the statements of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru since the mid 1930's. It was clearly mentioned both by Gandhi and Nehru that "Palestine is for Palestinians, as France is for French and Britain for Britishers". *(p. 282)*.

The author has also highlighted the help and contribution of the NAM, SAARC, Arab League, Islamic Conference and other international movements to the Palestinian cause.

The author notes with hope that the future perspectives tend to be on the side of the Palestinian struggle. The Palestnian uprising (*Intifada*), the declaration of an *Independent* State of Palestine by the Palestine National Councel in 1988, and the P, L. O. dialogue with U.S.A. are the new signs of their advance towards final victory.

Abdul Fateh is a young research scholar from Palestine studying in the Rajasthan University, Jaipur.

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A NEW FEATURE ON COMMUNICATION ARTS

[During recent years and currently, quite a few gems from the treasure-house of Indian literature—including poetry, epics, drama and fiction, along with dramatised portraits of some poets and writers, have been appearing both on the 'silver' and the 'small' screen. Some have enthralled the audiences and created an atmosphere of general euphoria and romantic nostalgia for the past. Others have raised the heat and dust of controversy.

It is a good augry that the small screen has now taken the lead to introduce the present generation of viewers, young and old, to the great traditions of our rich and colourful literature. May be, some viewers decide to look for the roots of our heritage.

We feel that the Chronicle cannot/should not ignore this development, which may turn out to be a mixed blessing. We have, therefore launched a new section in the IBC on *COMMUNICATION ARTS.*

We open it with a write-up by Dr. R. K. Kaul. Professor Emeritus in English Department, University of Rajasthan, who has a fondness and love for Urdu literature, especially poetry. He has offered (at our special request) his personal comments on the *Doordarshan TV Serial* about **Poet Mirza Ghalib**, which is being telecast these days. (His comments were received in the third week of January).

The first article in this issue, the Special Report on a 1987 Performance of *Mahabharat* in New York is also in the same genre. We hope that other lovers of literature and media experts would react favourably to this gesture and respond to our invitation to co-operate with us to make a success of this venture.

—*Editors*]

★

Mirza Ghalib on Doordarshan

Comments by R. K Kaul

It was brave of Azmi and Gulzar to attempt a TV serial on Ghalib. After all, the 1950's film based on Ghalib's life and poetry is still remembered by many of the viewers. That film, in spite of its limitations, satisfied the expectations of most of the viewers. Indeed those who have seen both, generally prefer the lyrics of the film to those of the TV serial.

I begin with this comparison because realism demands that we keep the expectations of the audience in mind.

There is no particular reason to believe that Ghalib in real life was the same as the *persona* he presents in his poems. The audience demands that the character of the hero be romanticized. (And who can deny that Ghalib has been projected as a national hero ?) Any attempt at an authentic reconstruction of his life would disappoint the viewers. The 'historical' Ghalib was a typical courtier, equally ready to flatter the Emperor, Bahadur Shah Zafar, or the East India Company, depending on which of them could offer patronage. But this aspect of his personality has been suppressed to avoid giving offence to the audience.

UNNECESSARY DEVIATIONS

Two deviations from history, however, were uncalled for. The less offensive one is in the interests of national integration. The fact is that Ghalib was proud of having been descended from the Seljuk Turks. The concept of a 'nation' called India, which transcends religions and races, was to emerge much later. To interpolate sentiment for Diwali in the serial — a sentiment which Ghalib shares with his Hindu friends — is quite anachronistic.

A less excusable deviation is to turn him into a devoted husband. A Bohemian who bought liquor on borrowed money is transformed into a bourgeois who borrows money so that his wife can wear gold ornaments. The film was more accurate in depicting this aspect of Ghalib's character. In fact, of course, Ghalib was cynically cruel and callous to his wife, if the evidence of his letters is to be believed. Only immature readers imagine that a great writer (like Shakespeare or Dostoevsky) must be compassionate in real life.

AMUSED, DETACHED YET IN DESPAIR

The film over-stated the melancholy side of Ghalib. The TV serial is an improvement in this respect. It brings out the witty, amused, detached side of Ghalib. But this is done at the expense of Ghalib's mistress. All the love-longing and despair of Ghalib's poetry are transferred to her. Ghalib worked faithfully within the conventions of Persian love poetry, where there is total obscurity about the personality of the loved one—so much so that it is difficult to make out the sex of the beloved. In some of Ghalib's *ghazals* (as in Shakespeare's *Sonnets*) the description of the beloved fits a teen-aged boy (with sideburns) better than a woman. It is very difficult for one person to possess all the attributes of the loved one in all the poems or even the best known poems.

The solution adopted by the producers of the TV serial is most unsatisfactory. The frigidity has been transferred from the mistress to the poet, the passion reserved exclusively for the mistress. In the poems, his mistress wields lancets and daggers with a look of innocent simplicity. She is such a sadist that when she finds that her cruelty is preferred to her indifference, she stops being cruel. She confers favours on his rivals, not because she loves them more, but because she wishes to publish his disgrace. Her porter will not even permit him to squat at her door, rubbing his forehead on the threshold.

(*Continued*)

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A VIVEK TRUST JOURNAL *(Founder Editor : Amrik Singh)*
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Indian Book Chronicle

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ANNIVERSARIES AND FESTIVALS

The years 1988 and 1989 would perhaps be known and remembered in India, and elsewhere, for the various anniversaries and festivals which have been (and are likely to be) celebrated officially or organised on a less grand or lavish scale by different groups of political, professional, scientific and other elites and alert sections of society. There have been festivals too, a spate of them—local, regional, national and international, one after another. The days of austerity and tight budgets, and of exhortions to hard work and self-sacrifice seem to be over. Now is the time to relax and to celebrate, to stimulate and satiate the senses.

ALL THAT GLITTERS IS NOT GOLD

In the wake of mass media of arts, communication and entertainment the age of mass *tamashas* and jamborees has set in. Perhaps this is one way, we can draw a curtain of gloss and shine over the dark and ugly pock-marked and every-day facets of poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, hunger and disease which evils are so widely prevalent in the rural areas of the country and in our slum lands. We can also cover up and forget, for the moment at least, the unpleasant effects of consumeristic over-exploitation of our scarce natural resources and the trade - in on our artistic heritage (all in the name of progress and modernization) as well as the brutal and bloody attacks on the social, cultural, political and economic facets of civilised life. But the veneer of culture is much too thin to hide the face of truth. Terrorism and murders stalk the land; social tensions and violent struggles mount up every day; and the system seems unable to cope with the growing strains and to find amicable or workable lasting solutions.

To the blind 'religious' faith of the masses, we have added the new opium of mass media - controlled entertainment and illusion. The show-men and the noise-makers seem to hold the view that, in the glow and glitter of fairs and festivals, amidst the din and dazzle created by the latest in the technology of communication, advertisement and display of performing arts and the techniques of presentations, a new world of make-belief can be created to allow the captive viewers or audience to forget the stark realities of the pain and misery of hard life around them.

MUST THE SHOW GO ON ?

And so the shows go on. But what happens when the dust settles down and the din is no more, or the glitter fades out ?

A festival or a celebration is not a panacea, not even a palliative. Still there are those who hope for some positive gains out of these shows, at least for regional and international contacts and interactions and for the tourist trades, if for nothing else; because the decade of the eighties in our land has become a decade of grand shows, jamboree performances and festive celebrations.

STYLE MAKES A NATION

The cultural maturity of a nation or a group and the nature of its State is reflected in the styles of sueh celebrations. Some celebrate their anniversaries and festivals in a sober and subdued manner; some indulge in parades and *tamashas*; others go ga ga about it all and indulge in the festivites with an abandon. Some regale over past victories; others recall their defeats. Perhaps it has been happening so, since the beginning of human history. There is an obivious pattern in all this. Many anniversaries have been ritualised.

1588, 1688 & 1789

More recently, the British have celebrated or commemorated their victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588, and the advent of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (in what way was it glorious, one wonders) in the typically British style, without being too blase and loud. They have remembered T.E. Lawrance not only as a writer but also as an adventurer or interventionist in the affairs of others. Glory to the by - gone age !

This year, the French are at it, to celebrate the bi-centenary of the Great Revolution of 1789. The French fervour and effervescense would be there Romanticism too ! Who can deny that ? We in India are also likely to have some taste of it through the recently launched marathon Festival of France.

OUR FRENCH CONNECTIONS

They have called it an *Encounter* (obviously an aggressive term in its intent and design). But our "encounter" with France, both Royal and Revolutionary, really speaking began about 200 years ago, if not earlier. What was the result ? Have we ever stopped to ponder and question ? What might have been the nature or shape of developments in India in various spheres of human activity and endeavour, if we could have a continuous and lasting or deep connection with the French, instead of (or along) with the British ? What would have been the pattern of our history ? Of our changing social, cultural or political institutions ? Perhaps, the on-going Festival should give us an occasion and the challenge to ponder over these questions, as much as we learn to enjoy the French contributions to the enhanting world of arts and culture, and science and technology, on which small windows are being opened now.

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There is another side to it too. The contribuiion of French philosophers, politicians, revolutionaries, radical reformers, writers and poets, scientists and explorers, camera-men and cinema-makers, and of men and women dedicated to the adventures of discovery and daring has indeed been phenomenal. Perhaps, we by our own ego - centrism in India, or moulded in the British colonial mould and immunised from other contacts are not fully aware of that. It is time we caught up with such information and assimilate it. There has been no field of human endeavour during the latter part of the 19th or the early decades of the present century, in which the French have not made a pioneering or lasting contribution. Others too.

Is it not time that we in India should try to make a proper appraisal and appreciation of all that—of the wonderful story of mankind ? The columns of IBC are open to our readers and reviewers for articles and notes on these and allied themes. Let us make a small and serious beginning during the year of the big event of our Encounter with the French, or is it the other way round ?

* * *

Let us revert to our home-grown and more domestic celebrations. It seems that somewhere in the hierarchy of minds, there must be a pattern about the "selective" nature of some of the "officially" sponsored (or supported) anniversaries, celebrations and festivals. Some intriguing questions have cropped up and remain unanswered. For example, who organises these shows ? Where does the inspiration come from ? What is the motivation and the motive ? Ultimately, who gains from these programmes ?

We have the new network of institutions for the promotion and preservation of cultural arts, the Zonal Centres. Earlier, we have had the Academies—(we call and spell as Akademies). How do they fit into the socio-cultural life - patterns of the local communities ? How rustic or close to the people they are ? Or, for that matter, how sophisticated, presentable, and stage-worthy or elitist are they ? Do they encourage the participation of the common people, or do they tend to convert them, poor folk and the middle class voyuers, into mere spectators ?

Each show has its patrons and performers, its *Sarathi* and *Sutradhar*, and its own special band wagon if one wants a ride. There is a new breed of culture–*wallahs* around.

On a different plane, with regard to the anniversary syndrome, the question arises : who decides as to which would be an officially sponsored anniversary or festival, or which celebration would be organised on a smaller and more humble scale ? For example, a pertinent and timely query can be about the low-keyed celebrations of the birth centenaries of some eminent persons like our late Philosopher–President, S. Radhakrishnan, or Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, or the scientist, Prof. C.V. Raman, to mention a few names off the cuff. (We also read about some local stalwarts like K.M. Munshi in Gujarat, Dr. Hedgewar (M. P.—Maharashtra), Dr. S. Kichlew from the Punjab, Acharya Narendra Dev of U. P. and Baldev Ram Mirdha of Rajasthan) A recent statement in the Parliament also included Acharya Kriplani, Asaf Ali, Jamnalal Bajaj, Khudi Ram Bose, B. G. Kher, G. V. Mavlankar and Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur in the list. There must be many more, scores if not hundreds of important persons in different walks of life who have made their notable contributions and deserve to be remembered.

In fact, it is also an interesting question for our astrologers, if not astronomers, to answer. Was there anything special or extraordinary in the combination of stars or the position of *graha* and planets a hundred years ago, in 1888 and 1889, that resulted in the birth of a whole galaxy of Indian patriots, freedom-fighters, reformers and writers, scientists and others, who deserve the burning of candles or a memory flag salutation during the 1988-1989 years of centenary celebrations ? Or was it that they became great in their efforts to face their burdens of human bondage on this mortal earth ? May we leave this thought (or query) with our learned readers and contributors, while inviting them to write about some of the less known as well as prominent Indians whose birth centenaries fall this year or were due in 1988. We can also remember others whose 150th anniversary, or even 50th, has fallen due. In paying homage to them, we honour the generations which grew to their upright stature through the many struggles and sacrifices they were called upon to face. We can also recount their achievements and take note of the tasks left incomplete.

There is a way of looking at the past, especially the recent past. There is an official way, may be a political way, and above a all, popular way. But may we call upon the academicians and the scholars, and our writers and poets, to decide whether or not they can and should have a say in the decision–making and the manner in which such celebrations should be organised. We have only one suggestion to offer. Let us not make a *tamasha* of every show or celebration. Let us also not be carried away by our enthusiasm and the endless splendours or possibilities of the communication media. Let our intents and designs be firmly rooted in the ground, closer to our aspirations and the lives and the dreams of our common people.

Lastly, let not the culture of books, of reading habits and libraries etc. be overwhelmed and eliminated by the tinsel shows and toys of modern electronic gadgetry. As the slogan of the Book Week suggested : **"There is No Substitute for Books."**

A parting query. How does one mark the birth centenary of Adolph Hitler and/or of Charlie Chaplin (who once caricatured the Great Dictator) ? Both were 1889 - born. *—Editors*

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Profile of an Indian Intellectual Prem Kirpal

[*Late in 1983, I had discussed with my friend, the late Kumud C. Khanna, then Editor of the Illustrated Weekly of India, the possibility of my attempting profiles of some eminent Indians who, in their life time, had become institutions transcending limitations of self and station. He was fascinated by the idea but cautioned me about the enormous difficulties it was beset with, particularly as I proposed the mould had to be typically Indian. Dr. Prem Kirpal was the first on my list to be sketched as a representative Indian intellectual. In the Editor's opinion, I was starting from the wrong end because, if at all, Dr. Kirpal could be representative of Indian intellectuals only in the alienated sense. Even if we could not differ more, he let me go ahead. When I showed him my draft, he was pleasantly surprised. Unfortunately, he did not stay long enough in his chair to make use of it in the final form.*

The write-up is not readily traceble in the confused pile of my papers, having been shifted from Bombay to Jaipur. However, let me draw from my memory the kind of profile I had then sketched. For, I believe that it will help me review two collections of Dr. Kirpal's poems, which I propose doing seperately for the readers to appreciate him better. —*P. K. N.*]

The twin questions that have to be answered at first are : One, who is an intellectual ? And two, who is an intellectual in the Indian sense of the term ?

In simple terms, an intellectual is one who goes by the dictates of his intellect, which stands for the combined projection of heart, mind and soul. Perhaps it is the highest refinement of thought processes achieveable, much beyond our sense apparatus. It is a state of mind's activity in which education and information fuse, and infuse in the crucible of experience which ultimately ripens into wisdom, It is creativity *par excellence*, an expression no less of truth, grace and beauty. It grows, constantly grows, drawing sustenance from both heaven and earth. Its function is to oversee all processes of life, and then synthesise them into something as palpable as it may be ethereal.

The answer to the second question is even more difficult. In the long Indian tradition, there have been the *Vedic Rishis*, the founders of six schools of philosophy, those for whom all knowledge was self-evident, beyond the known and unknown dimensions of time and space, the minds who could, through their inner eye, scan and observe things totally unobserveable by any physical means. All in all, the cognitive experience of Indian seers in the domain of pure thought, exploring countless layers of consciousness is something immeasureably superior to any of the kind known.

* * *

Then how does Prem Kirpal measure up to the Indian image of an intellectual ? It would be unfair to India, as well as to the person concerned if we go by the abstraction that Indian intellectual is. No doubt, the cognitive tradition in this land has been very strong, but where are the individuals who made it ? They are almost non-existent, for they were always expected to remain anonymous. Prem Kirpal is very much there, and quite often asserts in the first person. Thus, he must be judged in the light of contemporary situation in India *vis-a-vis* the abiding Indian values.

Where to begin ? Let us, first of all, go over the scroll of his achievements, only the positions held in his long and eventful career spanning a little more than half a century. This does not include his student years, which must have been no less rewarding. His formal years, however, started in 1934; and when in 1972 he retired, he was at the acme of achievement in his fields of education and culture. To be precise, he retired (in 1972), from the exalted office of the Chairman of the Executive Board of UNESCO, with which organisation he was associated even when its frame-work was being worked out by the world intellectual community.

Education to Liberate

He is nearing 80, but I cannot call him old by any means and standards. On the contrary, he is young and green, receptive ever to the things happening all around. The reason perhaps is that as an educationist—he would call him-self an educator though—he is deeply involved in all aspects of youth behaviour, both in co-operation and in dissent. He does not snigger at a youngman or woman in revolt. On the contrary, he likes to look behind the hypocrisy and sham that the

(*Continued*)

Positions Held — (1934–1972)

— Professor of History and Political Science, University of the Punjab, Lahore (1934–45).

— Educational and Cultural Counsellor at India House, London, (1945–1948).

— Deputy Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Education and Secretary-General of the Indian Commission for UNESCO (1948–1952).

— Deputy Director, and Director, Department of Cultural Activities, UNESCO, Paris (1952–1957).

— Joint Secretary, Ministry of Education, India (1957–1960)

— Secretary, Ministry of Education and Culture (1960–68). and Educational Adviser to Government of India.

— Member of Indian Education Commission (1964–66).

— Director of the National Council of Educational Research and Training (1962–1968) etc.

— Senior Specialist, East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawaii (1969)

— Chairman of the Exeeutive Board of UNESCO (1970–1972).

* Recipient of several national and international awards, including the UNESCO Gold Medal (1972), National Award for promoting International Cultural Co-operation, Order of the Republic of Egypt and UAR, etc.

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PROFILE OF AN INDIAN INTELLECTUAL . . .

(Continued)

elders in the society are wont to practise. This is what he calls 'crisis of values.'

But this is too shallow a view of his scholarly self or even range of activity. He does not look at education as mere proliferation of information and knowledge. Rather, he looks at education as a liberating force, which is capable of recreating the whole man as it were:—"In our times, the growing forces of democratisation, the emerging concepts of life-long education, and the new opportunities provided by the revolutionary technologies of communication hold the promise of joining education and culture together in a new enterprise to liberate the spirit of man, to enrich his mind and to practise human values in the service of man and his humanity."

Perhaps it is the enterprise to liberate the spirit of man—or say, his vision and quest for the cosmic man—that does not allow the years to get the better of him. That's why prehaps, while he is keenly aware of the failings of the *homo sapien* as a race, he brims with hope and light in his vision of man's future. As a man of education and culture, he is not excessively weighed down by what the humanity has seen in the two world wars in this century. On the contrary, in the emerging technologies, he sees immense new power in the hands of man to know his cosmic self and what transcends both his nature and psyche—the two factors that make for so much misery and strife in the world. In short, he has all along been working for the birth of the man of spirit.

Few men indeed will be as thankful to life as Prem Kirpal is. He has been rewarded by life in all possible ways. His student years both at Lahore and Oxford, were singularly brilliant. His career first as a teacher and later as a bureaucrat, brought him a chain of successes of the highest order. He became an international civil servant and got the rare opportunity of articulating the dreams and aspirations of the ultimate Man to be realiscd not through any other means but through education, science and culture.

But no ! He refused to call it a day. Ever since his retirement (in fact, he has never retired), he has been living in New Delhi, working actively, ever more actively, as a philosopher of education and culture in the highest sense of the terms. Today he is engaged in search of the inner, internal man with his consciousness, creativity and transcendence—very obtuse entities indeed, but nevertheless absolutely essential for the emergence of a new international order of education and culture as suited to the needs of the coming planetary civilisation in the post-industrial societies.

As President of the **International Educational Consortium,** he was till recently engaged in working out, in collaboration with some of his peers from other countries, the basis for preparation of three readers to be named as *"One World Readers"* for all school-going children of the world (Age group 6-14 years).

Years of International Cultural Cooperation: 1950-1972

— Visited more than sixty Member States of UNESCO for meetings, conferences and official work.

— Reported on Educational Needs of Arab Refugees after a UN Mission to Middle Eastern countries, leading to the UNRWA Educational Programmes.

— Member of the UNESCO Executive Board for eight years (1964-1972) holding offices of Chairman of Programme and Administrative Commission of the Board, Vice-President and President successively.

— Leader of the Indian Delegation to UNESCO General Conferences (1966 and 1968) and Chairman of the Conference Programme and Administrative Commission.

— Leader of the Indian Delegations to Asian Ministers' Conference (Tokyo, 1962) and of several International Conferences on Public Education at Geneva.

— President of the World Conferences on Educational Planning (Paris, 1968).

—Director of an International Study of Philanrthropy, and Chairman of the Indian Group on Cultural Relations of the Future, etc.

In support of all this, let me reproduce six lines from his long poem, "*The Cosmic Sea*" :

"It is time to weave waste and plunder
Into a new pattern of meaning
To draw the essence and distil a cocktail
For the feast of living that lies ahead
To know, to express and transcend
Inward, onward and above."

Elusive & Remote

But the real challenge to know him starts unfolding itself from here. My is effort to discover the man that stands behind his massive achievements — a man who is very elusive, who is an abstraction, very difficult to catch hold of. Many a time, while talking to him, I have found him receding, say becoming more and more remote, even while he is very much there before me, and I have seen trying to get at the meaning of the words, cascading from his mouth. One can easily perceive that he has, all of a sudden, moved inwards, where he is deeply contemplating as he is talking. At that time, he is not Prem Kirpal the scholar, but Prem Kirpal the spirit, shrouded in a different kind of halo.

Why is this so ? He is among those few who live and experience history even in their lives. And this history is not the mystique of past tense only, but is as well the living present and unborn tomorrow. And Prem Kirpal lives in all the three dimensions of time at the same time. And when one starts doing so, history ceases to be a mere chronicle of events. It becomes the philosophy of all knowledge, whether of humanities or of sciences, even transcending the barriers of time. It is then that history emerges as the expression of total life in the space—time continuum.

A man so immersed in the ocean of eternity trying to master the currents and cross-currents of time must essentially be a loner. Yes ! Prem Kirpal is one.

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. . . . PREM KIRPAL

Current Activities : 1972 Onwards

— Founder-President of the Institute of Cultural Relations and Development Studies, New Delhi.

—Chairman of the Indian Council of Peace Research, the Delhi Public Library, the Delhi School of Social Work, Institute of Home Economics, National Forum of Education, Forum of Thinkers at Delhi, Moral Education Committee etc. etc.

— Executive Councillor and Member, Academic Council, University of Delhi.

— Chairman, Delhi Public School Society.

— Adviser to the Minister of Education on National Policy of Education.

— World Bank Consultant for Evaluation of Bank's Educational Programmes

— Member, UNESCO Round Tables on Word Problems.

— Chairman, National Committee for Education for Self-employment.

— President, International Educational Consortium etc.

* Participated in several international conferences and seminars on Education and Cultural Corporation, including several meetings of Experts convened by UNESCO.

Every day, he takes long walks in the Lodhi Gardens all by himself, lost in contemplation and thought, with no one to distract. For two hours each day, he drinks deep from the fountain of his inner self, the awakening of which is *yoga*, verily the life spiritual. It is seldom that he shares his walks with some one else.

Refreshed thus to the core of his being, he throws himself heart and soul to be square with the packed schedules of the work-a-day life. His day is generally so busy that, even if wishing to do so, he cannot meet his friends and callers, as they would want him to. But then it is permissible, for he takes creative interest in whatever he is at. In meetings, seminars and conferences and even in point-counter-point discussion, his point of view is to make a worth-while contribution. He cannot be passive, nor can he rest on his laurels. Just to grace the occasion, as they call it in New Delhi cliches, is not his grain. He is choosy and selective, but not prudish or overbearing.

What is his philosophy of life ? As one living in history, he is still evolving, still growing. He is the heir to all philosophies—eastern and western—but is trying to synthesise them in a different brand of "humanism". Discussing this point, I said, "Humanism as a philosophy suffers from a major drawback in that it has no ethics, no enduring framework to uphold it." But Prem Kirpal did not go on the defensive. On the contrary, he showed me his own blue-print of a value-oriented humanism, quite a new thing. Certainly, it is a contribution to philosophic thought, but by an educator; therefore, so couched it is in the language of education and culture that it is not easily intelligible.

A Poet & Painter

Now let me turn to his two other dimensions—poetry and painting—not so well known by all. Normally to be a poet, one has to be a poet from the very start. It is a different kind of mould of personality that makes for an artist—albeit a lover of beauty in various forms and expression. But Prem Kirpal is different. He became a poet and a painter in his mid-sixties.

On retirement, in the flush of his release from active or a 'keyed-up' life, as one can call it, he started flowing again. "It was a capital feeling to be able to observe waves playing, birds singing, flowers smiling, stars twinkling, and the cavalcade of life bewitching and nature changing endless hues", he says. Simultaneously with it, he also started sketching and painting —an art whose ABC he was not coversant with earlier.

The results are, however, excellent. No doubt the thinker in him dominates the poet ; and many of his poems are more dissertative than poetic; but these are full of passages which are replete with good poetry. To a layman, he may even look to be a Victorian with staid, puritan moods exercising restraint in expressing personal anguish with intensity; but at places, he is marvellously expressive of his inner self—all good, sparkling poetry indeed.

In 1979, he published his first collection—*The Cosmic Self and Other Poems*. I cannot but want my readers to partake of Prem Kirpal's thoughts at 70 (from this collection) which means when he reached '*Three Score and Ten*', the Biblical time-span alloted to man, and also the title of this poem. Incidently, it is the last poem of this collection and this is its last paragraph :

"Beyond Three Score and Ten
Lies a pathway winding upwards,
Revealing bright vistas of the past,
Golden glamour of throbbing stars,
Singing songs of light and love,
Stirring new longings of the soul.
In the marvellous time to come
I shall meet a loving friend,
Sense the meaning and essence of life,
Taste great relish of the flight
Towards the luminous golden vision
Of God's glory and his Cosmos."

This is where death becomes an affirmation of life, as the Indian view is, an ascent towards the golden vision. See the measure of faith and hope informing his being which is deathless, which is immortal.

A Wanderer

Most of his poetry is a chronicle of his wanderings, only a collection of reflective thoughts and musings. "*Rendezvous*" is a typical poem, powerfully conceived and constructed. "Rendezvous" is incidently the name of the top-floor restaurant of the new Taj

(*Continued overleaf*)

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PROFILE.....PREM KIRPAL (*Continued*)

Mahal hotel of Bombay. Let us join him, because he has no one to have a rendezvous with him there :

"Deprived of the fun and gaiety of Rendezvous
At the end of a travelling, working day
I hit upon a nice and clever ruse
To beguile my time in a cheerful way.
In the opposite empty chair I seated
Some beautiful women in my life
And talked with them in such abandon
As had never happened in real life."

While crossing the Equator, he finds a different kind of atmosphere—totally different from the maddening onrush of life in the northern climes. This is how he expresses the contrast :

"Silvery skies below the Equator,
A careless breeze, warm and sensuous,
Silent men throubled by a queer peace,
Lovely women hiding their secrets—
The look of life is light and carefree,
Man and nature have taken a spree.
And God is also relaxed and free."

In Various Moods

To his beloved, he says :

"Dear heart, give me a smile and a tear
And a flashing glance of your boundless love ;
It is not that I need to be assured—
One has no doubt where one belongs.
I want these gifts merely to live."

He becomes even more perceptive when he leaves behind his philosophical moorings and talks of women and love. In his poem, "*That I Love You*", he says :

"Indeed you will be the first to know
Even before the love is born,
For a woman's instinct for the coming of love
Is surer than the laws of Science
Or the fated conjunction of stars in the heavens."

For Prem Kirpal, love is a living presence, irrespective of whether the beloved is around or not. To a lady love who has left him and gone, he says :

"Your travel, dear friend may be an illusion—
A trick of time inflicted on the mind ;
But the faith of my heart and thestrength of your psyche
Hoard a presence more real than the body."

He enlarges and universalises every thought. See how wistfully he enlarges an idea of the birthday of some one dear to him :

"This is the birthday of dear Kaval
And therefore, the day of world's re-birth."

As an Indian poet, he also has the temptation to describe the beauty of his beloved, but in his own way. Here he sheds off his cultivated restraint and comes down to the earth in a beautiful way :

"Two lovely breasts, both bold and shy
Suggesting warmth and womanliness."

And now see the tragedy of a philosopher, or even the tragedy of the beloved of a man of thought. Says he :

"She gives me much of life and love
And takes nothing in return
It makes me sad that I cannot give
The wholeness of my thought and love ;
One lives in moments and in patches
Of time and space, but little else."

I have quoted somewhat more copiously than was perhaps necessary. But one would have no measure of the poet in him otherwise. He is so much unknown as a poet that I came to know of his this dimension only during my visit to him in 1982.

As A Painter

But perhaps it is in his canvases that he will live more than his history, philosophy and thought or even poetry. The reason is that even though poetry is still the highest form of expression, the forms of words cannot match the forms of colours. The rate at which the words multiply cannot be measured, whereas the colours remain the same. Some of his canvases have been highly appreciated by great minds coming to see him from all parts of the world, and they have paid him the tribute he deserves by taking away some of paintings.

While his poetry is a jotting of the events and expressions in his life, his painting constitutes his inner moods. He has played with words and words all his life, but scarcely did he know the balance and harmony that reside in lines and colours. This balance and harmony he has achieved through the working of his mind's eye. When I asked Prem Kirpal : Why is he so abstract in his paintings but not in his poems ? He reflected for a while, and then said, "Yes, you are right. But the reason may be that while my poems are the product of my conscious mind, the paintings have come from my sub-conscious."

Yes, he is at work at his creative best at several levels of consciousness. Perhaps he should have done all that at least 40 years ago, but it does not matter. He is making up for all the years lost.

All in all, while Prem Kirpal, an intellectual with a high-domed head, stands aloof in the wirlpool of activity at the normal worldly level, his mind is fully in tune with his elements and those of the nature around him, to whom he responds with his full range of creativity. What else is the sign of a sage ?

P. K. Nijhawan, composed his well-acclaimed epic poem "Sri Guru Gobind Geeta" in 1983, as his homage to the Tenth Guru. A journalist by profession and for long in government service, he has also written "Hinduism Re-defined".

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SAGA OF THE FIRST MAN

Jaya Shanker Prasad : KAMAYANI
An English Translation *by* **Satya Narayana Purohit**
Samriddhi Prakashan, Jaipur, Price Rs. 150/-

A Short Introductory Note

The name of late Jaya Shankar Prasad is known all over India. '*Kamayani*' is his most renowned epic. As a true epic in form and spirit (according to the Indian tradition) it is beyond compare.

Prasad was essentially a poet who, in his short life, and as a super alchemist, turned into "gold" whatever he touched in the various branches of Hindi literature. He created classics in poetry, drama, short story, novel and literary criticism.

In '*Kamayani*', Prasad's genius reached its climax. To understand and enjoy this work can be a vivid and unique experience, if one has the patience and a desire to open new frontiers of beauty aad wisdom by overcoming its terseness. At places, it is *terse* no doubt, but it is a challenge thrown to its readers.

'*Kamayani*' is the saga of the *First* Man, **Manu** and his consort. Dramatically beginning from immediately after the Deluge, the sole survivor **Mauu** is shown in deep anguish. But first the scenes as surveyed by him :

Himgiri ke uttunga shikhar par
Baith shila ki shital chhanh,
Eka purusha, bhige nayanon se,
Dekh raha tha pralaya pravah,
Niche jal tha, upar him tha,
Eka taral tha, eka saghan,
Eka tattva ki hi pradhanata
Kaho use jadh ya chetan.

It may not be easy to catch the tone and the import of such lyrical description of the opening lines. The translator has made his effort thus :

On the high Himalayan summit
Was shelter where thc cold cliff stood,
And one man seated, mournful - eyed,
Stared at the swift devouring Flood.
Above, the stillness of the snows:
Below, the waters surged immense,
Matter or Mind, one element ruled
The stillness and the turbulence.

The first signs of his anguish are then sketched :

O chinta ki pahali rekha,
Ari vishwa – van ki vyali,
Jwalamukhi sphote ke bhishan
Pratham kamp si matwali,
"O first trace of the harsh anguish !
O viper of the world - forest !
Thou art drunken like first terrible
Tremor of volcano's burst !..."

Manu passes over this black patch of negative emotion when the Deluge subsides. Hope stirs in his heart when conditions normalise and Nature, in full splendour, urges him to live and perform sacrifice and keep the remnant food apart for some one who might have survived the Deluge like him. His yearning for a companion is very human. He meets **Shraddha** who, being a child of Kama and Rati, is also called **Kamayani.**

When Shraddha is pregnant, he leaves her to find happiness elsewhere, when she shows fondness for and showers her affection on dumb creatures whom he revels in killing. She makes careful preparations for the new-comer. In loving and leaving his consort, he passes through *Kama* (passion) and *Karma* (jealousy), as Shraddha encounters *Lajja.*

Itna na chamatkrit ho bale
Apne man ka upkar karo,
Main eka pakad hun jo kahati -
Thaharo, kuchh soch - vichar karo.
"Don't be startled, O sweet belle !
Think about welfare of thy mind;
I'm restraint which says constantly,
Wait, take to deliberating....."

Manu then meets **Ida** (Intellect), the queen of the desolate *Saraswat* region :

Bikhari alaken jyon tarka - jal
Vah vishwa mukut-sa ujjwaltam shashikhand-sadrish tha spasht bhal.
Do padma palash-chashak-se drig dete anurag-virag dhal.
Gunjarit madhup se mukul sadrish vah anan jismen bhara gan.
Vakshasthal par ekatra dhare sanskriti ke sab vigyan-gyan.
Tha eka hath men karma-kalash vasudha–jiwan–ras sar liye.
Dusra vicharon ke nabh ko tha madhur abhay avalamb diye.
Tribali thi trigun taranga nayi, alok vasan lipta aral-
Charanon men thi gatibhari tal !

Curls diffused like threads of reason !
Distinct forehead, like half moon, was shining
as if creation's crown.
Eyes, like two cups of lotus leaves,were pouring love,
alienation.
Face which was full of song, looked like a blossom
resounded by bees,
Creation's entire science, knowledge were placed
together as her breasts.
Water-pot in one hand was like action bearing
essence of life.
Other hand was supporting the firmament
of reasoning ripe
She possessed three forces, three qualities,
like light her clothing shone,
In her steps was rhythmic motion !

(*Continued overleaf*)

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(*Continued*) . . . SAGA OF THE FIRST MAN

With her help and cooperation, he succeeds in creating a flourishing human society; but when he tries to make Ida his own, the people revolt. In the struggle, everything is demolished again. Manu is lying injured, and Ida is sitting nearby. Shraddha and her son, **Kumar**, find him thus and carefully nurse him. Manu, in utter remorse, slips away and resorts to penance. Shraddha then leaves Kumar with Ida to help her in re-creating a flourishing human society again, and herself goes in search of Manu anew. She meets him, and both have a vision of the ultimate reality. They proceed on their way to Kailash resolving the Mystery in the process, and finally achieve *Ananda* (Bliss), culminating in a realisation of fundamental values.

There on Kailash, Ida and Kumar and other pilgrims meet Manu and Shraddha in their blissful condition. The Epic ends on a rapturous note as follows :

Samras the jadh ya chetan Matter–Mind harmonious,
Sundar sakar bana tha; Beauty personified;
Chetanata eka vilasati One Consciousness prevailed,
Anand akhand ghana tha Bliss intense, unified.

The theme is simple in its outline, yet full of deep meaning. It is indeed true that this Saga of the First Man can also be interpreted as the saga of integration of human personality by the harmonious inter-relationship or adjustment of Mind with Faith and Intellect.

The translation first of its kind, authentic as well as close to the and spirit of the original composition, is an appropriate tribute on the eve of the Birth Centenary of Jaya Shankar Prasad.

This introduction to Jaya Shankar Prasad's epic has been contributed by the translator, Satya Narain Purohit, a former Deputy Secretary in Rajasthan Government, for whom this work has been a labour of love.

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A NEW TURNING POINT

Madan Gopal : *NAYE MORH PAR*

Hindi Pracharak Sanasthan, P. O. Box 1106, Varanasi, 1987, pp. 396, Rs. 29/-

Reviewed by Prabhakar Machwe

Madan Gopal was the first author to write a book in English on Premchand He has written twenty-five books, mostly biographies of Hindi litterateurs in English, and also in Hindi. He has been a journalist and associated with the Central Information and Publication Department, Thus he is aware of the limitations of fiction, biography and publicity. He hails from Hissar and has first hand knowledge of undivided Punjab, and U.K. and Europe after World War II.

This is probably his first novel in Hindi. It reads very well, as a smooth narration of a family in Punjab passing through various socio-political vicissitudes with growing mobility, natural and forced. Circumstances and coincidences play a major part in the shaping of otherwise normal characters.

THE TRAUMA OF PARTITION

Partition of the country affected the Punjab and Punjabis in a major way. Most of them were shaken to the core. Some romanticized the ideallic harmony between Hindus an Muslims and Sikhs in pre-partition days—probably all of them shared the same pomp and prosperity, the same insults at the hands of the British rulers, the same identity crisis and the same insularity and insecurity. But others fell into the easy traps of publicly blaming Jinnah, or Godse or Master Tara Singh, while living in their private lives the same what these "fundamentalists" preached. This dilemma of the schizophrene individual and the cruel relentless political trauma haunts many Punjab fiction writers. *Sikka Badal Gaya* (a collection of partition short stories edited by Mahip Singh) and *Tamas* are good examples.

OBJECTIVE DOCUMENTATION

Madan Gopal is not swayed by prejudices or stock responses; he is as objective as possible and takes the position of one who unsentimentally documents everything. In this process, the reporter in him overpowers the fiction writer. As Balzac put it, the novelist portrays and paints "the private history of a nation."

We find modern fiction writers have to take special pains in defending against counter criticism of verisimilitude as historical distortion. Vijay Tendulkar had to declare that his *Nana Phadnvis* was not the real man in history, but a fictionalised character in his *Ghasiram Kotwal* or U. R. Ananthamurthy has to go about pleading about the protagonist in his *Avasthe*. The author of *Tamas* had to distort history to prove his pet theory that Muslim League and Arya Samaj were equally the villains, and the CPI was the only patriotic party in Punjab at that juncture. Each one

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in his own humour. Guru Dutt in Hindi and some Muslim fanatics have their own view.

It is the same reader who sifts the chaff from the grain and has his own last laugh, or the tears. Mercifully, this novel does not harp on the same cliches and preach the same jargon. The author is a perceptive student of contemporary history, and so he does not offer over-simplistic solutions, nor use thick colours and a big brush of a poster painter (as M.F. Hussain did while painting the Hanuman in *Apna Utsav*; everybody knows that Hussain is a secular person and not a person who reads *Hanuman Chalisa* everyday). Nor does he use all the grey happenings as a backdrop to tell the tale of the usual *masala* films or as the clever author of the soap opera *Buniyod* serial does.

CHARACTERS COME & GO

Madan Gopal has read his Premchand well; as also his Bharatendu—the one was a Dickens of Hindi, the other Lord Byron. So he knows how to paint characters with a light brush. He does not claim to be a psycho-analyst, nor a self-appointed messiah. He only narrates—sometimes he is more interested in giving the picture of the times, and suddenly he remembers the loose threads of the story. So dozens of characters come and go, like unfinished sketches—the Time Spirit looms large. This explains why his 'novel' does not rotate around any major memorable woman or man as the pivotal character.

The author has no attachment to any one of them. He has equal love or disdain for each. He keeps at a distance and is not interested in mere hearsay or gossip. There is no engagement or commitment, as the existentialist modernistic writer would expect. Madan Gopal is a low-key, quiet story-teller, yet he keeps the attention of the reader intact. He comments on the relationships between the British and the Indian, between Panjabis and other regionalists tike South Indians, Bengalis and Marathas, between castes and classes; but mostly he moves moderately within familiar middle class mediocres, merchants and mercenaries, cheats and charlatans, clerks and status climbers. I am reminded of D. H. Auden when he said : I have come a long way to prove,
I have no Church, no philosophy, no love.

AN ABSORBING TALE

Understatement is Madan Gopal's forte. Subdued humour and satire suffuse the story. But were he quickly describes the background of political events, his pen is sure and subtle. He does not pose to be a preacher, or one out to reform or revolutionize the world. But by suggesting inner contradictions in human temperaments and their inter-action with social situations, the author leaves some very interesting observations. It seems that it is neither political manoeuvering nor socially pointed idealism that prompt human action, but common sense drives everyone to his or her destiny. So the story does not contain long passages of agonising descriptions of death and violence, nor it draws our attention to lusty, titillating and disgusting details of passionate or explicit sex—both these mar much of modern Hindi fiction. It is not an 'intellectual' novel, nor a 'thriller' of any kind. It is, in the line of Premchand and Sudarshan and Bhagwati Charan Varma, an absorbing tale and nothing more. This type of fiction – writing has now dated in Hindi. But it is a healthy sign that it is coming back in the form of regional novels of Renu and many other younger writers.

At times, I stumbled at some misprints and some rather Punjabi linguistic surprises, but on the whole, it is a good 'turn' in Madan Gapal's writing, though there is nothing new; the title is just an appetiser.

In the present state of Hindi publication, it is to the credit of *Hindi Pracharak Samasthan* to offer 396 pages for Rs. 29/– only. Nowadays the publishers tend to price their 100–page books at an exorbitant price of Rs. 50/- or more.

I hope this book will reach the hands of many young readers who will correct their focus about pre-independence India, the independence movement and after.

THE CALL FOR A NEW TURN, A NEW DIRECTION

The revolutionaries were not necessarily all the right guys, or the heroes unwept, nor exactly Gandhi the bad person whom everbody seems to malign meaninglessly.

Last eighty years have been full of travail and tragedy, dovelopment and delight, a mixed bag. And I am glad the author of this novel is not swayed any way by *vox populi* and does not give a grey monochrome picture. Patriotism is not the monopoly of party workers or so-called professionals, but the sufferings and sacrifices of so many unknown common people account for the edifice called India we live in.

The author seems to say that it is up to us to own or disown, to carry her forward or be atavastic and barter away our freedom to enemies of the people. Democracy is not a mere slogan, but slow and steady self-criticism and sojourn from the *status* to a step forward. I was sad after reading some passages in this book, but no wiser. A 'new turn' has to come from within, and the light will not descend from any borrowed ideology or a redeemer from abroad, or the Beyond-Rational, realistic and yet reliably reminiscent of *Rangabhumi* and *Forsythe Saga*. Let Madan Gopal continue to pen more fiction which is but a time machine between fact and fantasy.

Dr. Prabhakar Machwe, the well-known writer and critic (equally conversant in many languages) is at present Chief Editor, Chautha Sansar (Hindi Daily) from Indore.

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THREE OFFERINGS FROM HINDI (Continued)

Shri Satya (Satya Narain Gangadas Vyas) : SATI

Vishesh Prakashan, Bombay 1987, Pp. 237 Price Rs. 50/-

Review by H. R. Isran

The gruesome murder of Roop Kunwar in the name of '*Sati*' rites at Deorala in Rajasthan provoked Shri Satya to write the novel *SATI* in Hindi. Appropriately the novelist dedicates the novel to Mother Teresa, the '*Mahasati*' of our age.

In the novel, Shri Satya aptly portrays the condition of women in our male-dominated society. Also, he exposes a host of age-old superstitions and irrational cruel customs like child marriage, immolation of widows and senseless religious rituals. At the same time, he does not shut his eyes to the fact that the post-independence generation has questioned the orthodox views based on blind faith. The novel depicts this conflict between the young and the old through heated arguments between Gopal and Radha Mohan. The new generation is represented by Gopal, who is dubbed heretic for his rational views. Radha Mohan, the protagonist of the novel, is superstitious and orthodox. He even performs witch-craft to cure diseases.

The plot of the novel revolves round the ideal true friendship between Radha Mohan and Gopal's father, Bhikam Chand. Radha Mohan belongs to a well-to-do family; but he lavishly wastes the parental wealth after the death of his parents. Soon he falls on evil days; and then it is his intimate friend who comes to his rescue. When he is rendered homeless, Bhikam Chand provides him shelter in his house and gives him moral and material support. It is through Bhikam Chand's vigorous efforts that Radha Mohan's marriage is solemnized with Paro, a beautiful virtuous lady steeped deep in Indian culture. Never does Radha forget Bhikam Chand's kindness and gratuitous help. He takes a vow to stand by his friend through thick and thin.

At this stage, the story takes an abrupt turn. Bhikam Chand goes mad because of the repeated shocks he receives from the successive deaths of his three sons. An epidemic breaks out in the village; and his youngest son, Gopal, is in the grip of the disease. Gopal's death seems imminent to his parents. Bhikam Chand's condition is further aggravated when the proprietor of the shop in which he works doubts his integrity and sincerity. He is accused of 'chopping the hand that feeds'. This false allegation levelled by the proprietor rends his heart and he loses his mental balance. Never does Bhikam Chand think, even in his dream, that the proprietor will doubt his loyalty and honesty. His condition becomes very pathetic.

No sooner does Bhikam Chand die, people start making extensive arrangements for burning his wife, Yashoda, in the leaping flames of the funeral pyre along with the dead body of her husband. The orthodox village society favours 'gruesome murder' in the guise of the '*Sati* ritual'. A frenzied, slogan-shouting mob of fanatics and fundamentalists dances around the pyre. The ghastly murder of Yashoda to be committed in the name of *Sati* is glorified alike by friends and foes of Bhikam Chand. Even the people who teased and harassed Bhikam Chand during his whole life, come forward to extend their full and 'generous' cooperation to Yashoda for committing the 'glorious' act. The proprietor of the shop, who has been responsible for Bhikam Chand's madness, procures a huge quantity of 'ghee' for the ritual.

But at the end, Yashoda's frantic bid to commit herself to flames under social coercion is foiled by an intelligent and sensible police officer. The officer's persuasion makes her give up the idea of becoming a *Sati*. Then the very people abuse Yashoda in the foulest language. The large crowd of people at the cremation ground tries to attack her when she changes her mind, However, she returns home under strict surveillance of the police. The next night, she dies of heart-break. The irony of it ! This time not even four persons turn up to carry her corpse for the cremation. In this manner, novelist is successful in revealing how backwardness and primitive faith have been preserved for centuries in our country's educationally-deprived areas.

No doubt, the novel is worth reading in the present context. It offers much we need to learn about our rural problems and social defilement.

The paper-back binding of the book is extremely defective. The pages disintegrate even in the first reading. The price is also exorbitant.

H. R. Israni is Lecturer in English, Govt. Ruia College Ramgarh-Shekhawati, Distt. Sikar, Rajasthan.

N—Bomb and Pakistan !

Has Pakistan got the bomb ? Or has it not ? How close is it to making it ? Recent news from across the border and from elsewhere have, once again, brought these questions to the fore. From all accounts, Pakistan's long search and secret obsession has come to roost, and Pakistan is on thereshold of joining the exclusive group of nuclear powers, whatever its other implications for the sub-continent or for west Asia and the world at large.

It is appropriate, therefore, that we should look at the various issues and implications as outlined in some books by students of the political game of nuclear weaponry, with which Pakistan has been involved since the seventies. Elsewhere, we publish two comments by research scholars of South Asia Studies Centre, Jaipur, on two books authored some time ago by an earlier generation of scholars in the hope that our interested readers and other scholars would continue the discussion. *—Editors*

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TWO POLITICAL PORTRAITS

A STORMY PETREL

V. S. Patil : NETAJI SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE
—His Contribution to Indian Nationalism

Sterling Publishers Ltd. New Delhi, 324 Pages, Rs. 250/-

Reviewed by V. L. Talekar

If Satyendranath Tagore was the first to accept the Indian Civil Service, Subhash Chandra Bose was the first to resign from the same, even though he passed the examination with fourth position in merit in the batch that appeared in July 1920. It was a surprise to him to know that not a single person had resigned from the service in the cause of freedom.

He accepted the challenge and answered it with firm determination. And so began his travails for the freedom of India, beginning with his participation in the non-cooperation movement and ending with the armed struggle against the British and their allies through his Indian National Army (INA) in the south-east Asian theatre of the second world war. Subash, an ardent follower of Swami Vivekanand, thus became the greatest revolutionary sacrificing everything following the philosophy of *Karma Yoga* of his Guru. In his own words, "I have not accepted politics or national service as any kind of profession. The way of liberation of my country is the way of my worship, my *Sadhana*, my salvation."

THREE PHASES

The three phases of Netaji's fight for Indian freedom, in India, in Europe and in South-East Asia, are dealt in detail in chapters 3, 4, and 5 of the book respectively with vivid clarity and documentation worthy of a research scholar with true spirit of research. The first two chapters deal with the formative period of his early life before he joined the non-cooperation movement of Gandhi. The Mahatma had been always an enigma to Netaji and their interaction had not been smooth, as is well known. Even his very first visit to Gandhiji in Mani Bhavan, Bombay, after Subhash landed on 16th July 1921 from England, marked the parting of ways ideologically. As the author puts it, Subhash was neither impressed nor inspired by the Mahatma, particularly in respect of the plan of the latter for getting *Swaraj* within one year. Subhash had his own way of thinking, living, feeling and judging men and matters. Finally, he left Bombay for Calcutta where he joined Chittaranjan Das, who eventually became his political mentor and guide.

With time, the differences between Netaji and Mahatma grew wider. This rift began when Subhash objected to the resolution for Calcutta session of Congress of December 1928. Then came the AICC meeting in August 1929 to select the President for the coming session at Lahore, in which Mahatma came out in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru against Sardar Patel. It was clear that Congress would thus be dominated by Mahatma and the President would be a mere dummy. Jawaharlal Nehru himself was annoyed and felt humiliated at that election, as he later wrote in his autobiography. However, since then, Nehru had been a consistent and unfailing supporter of Mahatma, and finally succeeded in becoming his political successor.

IDEAS

Parting of ways between Netaji Subhash and Mahatma were almost complete after 'Pattabhi affair' and the Tripura session of the Indian National Congress in March 1939. In spite of the personal appeal of Rabindranath Tagore after the session, Mahatma remained unmoved and curtly replied to his letter full of tenderness, saying that he has made certain suggestions to Subhash and that he saw no other way out of the impasse. All these letters and incidents are quoted by the author in the text (with original references) to bring out the full significance of the rift between the two personalities destined to play important roles in the Indian freedom movement.

Political ideas of Netaji Bose in respect of nationalism, socialism and fascism are extensively dealt in chapters 6 and 7, with a final evaluation in chapter 8. As is well known, nationalism is a sixteenth century issue and began with the revolt of the English people against the central authority of Pope in Rome. Next step was the American Independence in 1776, followed by the French Revolution of 1789. As against these nationalist revolutions, we have the latest revolution of of October 1917 in Russia. The former three revolutions evolved democracy as the way of life and governance in those countries. But the last one in Russia, led to a communist way of life and proletarian dictatorship as the form of governance with Stalin as an embodement of it. This resulted in distortions which Kruschev tried to correct, but failed; and now currently Gorbachev is engaged in the same experiment under the caption of *Peristroika* and *Glasnost*. Netaji, though came in contact with Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin, he never followed their dictatorial paths, but remained a true patriot and nationalist in thought and action all through his political career.

MYSTERY OF A DEATH

Pages 158 to 168 of the book in chapter 5, have been written with the conviction that Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the supreme commander of INA, died in a plane crash at Teipei (Formosa) on 18th August 1945. The authorities cited are mainly the two books on Netaji : Tatsuo Hayashide's (English Translation of Japanese) published in 1970 and N. G. Jog's published in 1969; together with statements of S.A. Ayar, who was Minister of Publicity in Azad Hind Government led by Netaji, but was not with Netaji in the so-called plane crash. True, officially according to the findings of the Shah Nawaz Committee of 1956 and again of

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(Continued) **Two Portraits—A STORMY PETREL**

the Khosla Commission of 1970, Netaji perished on 18th August 1945; and his ashes were kept in Rankoji Temple in Tokyo. All this, to put it most charitably, is based on the evidence then available. The history of Raj i.e. British Rule in India, pertaining the period prior to independence has remained shrouded in mystery till the end of seventies. Thanks to Harold Wilson, P.M. of U.K. who reduced by an Act of Parliament the period of secrecy of official documents from fifty years to thirty years, it has been possible to publish thirty years earlier, the secret documents of India Office dealing with the *Transfer of Power* (1942-47) in ten volumes by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. The first volume was out in 1970 and the last in 1981.

Much has been written about the so-called death of Netaji, since the historic public interest litigation, writ No. 902/1984 in the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan, Jaipur based on the secret documents mentioned in para supra. The writ was decided on 18th January 1986, and the respondent, Government of India, was orderd to enquire afresh into the disappearance of Netaji, an order for which Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Research Foundation (NSCBRF) Jaipur is pressing the GOI to do just that. The crux of the matter rests among others, on the Top Secret letter with note enclosed therein, dated 23rd August 1945, about the future treatment of Subhash Chandra Bose, written by Sir Mudie to Sir Jenkin, both high-ranking officers in the British hierarchy dealing with Home Department, New Delhi.

The author has missed to research the volumes of *Transfer of Power*, as is evident from the bibliography given at the end of the book. If he had done so, the pages of the book cited before would have been written differently. Though the author has written on page XII of Introduction, "His death itself is not established even now according to some", it is strange that he failed to probe further and research the secret documents of *Transfer of Power*.

In short, Subhash the revolutionary, first revolted against his own father by not joining the ICS under the British Imperialism. And then finally took on the mighty British power in armed struggle, ultimately resulting in its withdrawal from India.

Netaji and his INA formed a glorious chapter in the history of freedom movement to which the author has done justice. The book is written in the style of a research thesis, lucid and illuminating. Though it cannot be called uptodate in view of what has been said above, it is a must not only for every Netaji follower but also for his critics, specially those who, during his armed struggle, viciously dubbed him as a fascist and Japanese collaborator, using the official slang or the communist lexicon!

Prof. V. L. Talekar is Convenor and Founder Member of the Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose Research Foundation, Jaipur. This review has also appeared in the Sunday Magazine of Rajasthan Patrika, Jaipur on October 30, 1988.

MANY FACES

V. T. Patil (Ed.) : STUDIES ON NEHRU

Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1987, pp. xx 412, Price Rs. 200/-

Reviewed by A. B. Mathur

Jawaharlal Nehru was a signularly articulate man. He wrote copiously about himself, his family, friends, comrades-in-arms, India and the world, in his books, diaries, letters, articles and the unsigned leaders in his paper. He spoke in India and abroad to audiences, small and big, rustic and sophisticated, for nearly half a century. Leading newspapers in India, the U. K. and other countries wrote about him as a man and freedom fighter, as leader of India's teeming millions and as Prime Minister. Noted politicians, statesmen, journalists, publicists and men of public affairs recorded their views about him and his policies. A definitive three-volume biography and several volumes of his *Selected Works* have been published. But writing on and about Nehru has become a flourishing industry, and it may continue to thrive for reasons other than patriotic and intellectual.

A MYSTERY, A RIDDLE & AN ENIGMA ?

Why do people write about Nehru ? Is it to probe his ideas and examine his policies and to assess his contributions to modern Indian history ? Are his ideas so deep and recondite that, in spite of the best efforts by the best of writers, they have not been thoroughly understood and analysed ? Or, is it because he is the easiest of the modern Indian subjects to write about, needing only shuffling and re-shuffling the same ideas, persons, episodes and events, and drawing the same conclusions and passing the judgements ? Is it because of the fact that his charisma is so overpowering that, in spite of the passage of time—a quarter century after his death— he continues to fascinate writers, thinkers and intellectuals of all categories ? Whatever be the reasons, the more is written about him, the more is needed to be written, for Nehru continues to be a mystery, a riddle and an enigma, in spite of a very large and impressive cornucopia of his own works and of others about him.

VARIED THEMES : WITHOUT A PATTERN

V. T. Patil's edited work on Nehru consists of twenty-four essays, of which three have been written by the editor himself, including the conclusion or an assessment of Nehru's contribution to India's freedom struggle, two by C. P. Bhambhri and the rest by a team of assorted teachers and writers not carefully chosen. The subjects assigned or picked at random, according to each contributor's convenience, do not constitute a pattern or indicate a purpose based on a paradigmatic approach.

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. . . . OF AN ENIGMA

ON FREEDOM & DEMOCRACY

Patil, in his first essay, Nehru's Theory of the Indian National Movement, meanders through the familiar courses of contemporary Indian history, without making any effort at all to conceptualise freedom movement or even broadly indicate Nehru's conceptual framework, if any, about India's struggle for freedom. In the fourth essay, Raghuveer Singh discusses the Western concept of democracy with pointed references to Marx, Kelsen and Russell, and very adroity but hopelessly tries to relate it to Nehru's concept of democracy as it emerges from his *Discovery of India*. The essay is interspersed with stock-in-trade references to John Dewey, T. V. Smith, Ernest Barker and to the abiding western influences on Nehru and his 'Englishness' which, in the end, determined his concept of democracy in Indian conditions.

ON SECURITY

Iqbal Narain's approach to Nehru is high-falutin or absurdly pompous and pretentious. He links India's quest for security with the philosophical postulates of its political system, and examines them in the context of Nehru's approach. Neither India's quest for security has been systematically examined, nor the postulates of Indian political system, let alone their philosophical content. What is Nehru's approach, and how was it different from the approaches of his political adversaries and contemporaries ? It remain nebulous as ever in spite of tiresome prolixity. The effort is clearly to impress through obfuscation not clarity, and Iqbal Narain succeeds to a great extent, in confounding issues he ought to have examined in a clear and logical manner.

ON SOCIALISM

C. P. Bhambhri's two essays on '*Nehru and the Socialist Movement in India*" and "*Nehru and the Indian Political System*" can pass for good undergraduate exercise in essay writing. And, if Dr. Samuel Johnson, the celebrated wit and writer, is to be believed that an essay is a loose sally of the mind, Bhambhri's two contributions in the volume under review would squarely fill the bill. There is nothing to these essays—perspective, in-depth analysis, identification and comprehension of the basic issues—based on a careful study of history, culture and socio-economic structure of contemporary Indian society.

FOREIGN POLICY

Adi H. Doctor's essay on Nehru's foreign policy is of the same genre as Bhambhri's essay, a lugubrious effort at heaping words in the hope that some meaning, some sense, may by chance emerge from them. The next essay by Diethelm Weidemann, the German historian, encompasses a short period, 1919–27, in which Nehru's basic position in regard to India's foreign policy emerged. It is an essay worth reading, for Dr. Weidemann has employed both logic and insight to arrive at his conclusions. It is an essay with a perspective based on sound perceptions.

REVOLUTIONARY

Glenn L. Wood's essay, "*Nehru : Authority, Intimacy and Vocation in the Life of a Revolutionary*" is another good essay compelling attention of thoughtful readers. He has followed Erikson and Lasswell in analysing the problems of authority, intimacy and vocation. The impact of the first two, that is authority and intimacy, has been examined on Nehru's childhood and youth; and a whole section, the third, has been devoted to analysing Nehru's choice of the revolutionary vocation, and his struggle to sustain it. The essay turns out to be a thorough intellectual exercise, despite the somewhat doubtful credentials of Eric Erickson as a psychologist.

VISION LINKED TO SCIENCE

Nehru's preoccupation with science, scientific thinking and scientific approach to all things relevant in life has been very delightfully and imaginatively analysed by Ward Morehouse in his essay on "*Nehru and Science : the Vision of New India*". His early education at home in Allahabad and later at Harrow and Cambridge led him to believe that progress and science were synonymous and interchangeable terms. He laid the foundations of scientific research and planned development. Morehouse describes convincingly Nehru's vision of India set on the road to economic progress and social emancipation through scientific thinking.

SUMMING UP

Other essays are run-of-the-mill stuff, lacking substance and sustained intellectual effort to build or demolish a thesis, to criticise or admire an idea or point of view or to prove or disprove, uphold or reject a theory or conceptual framework, explore new facts and reinterpret the old ones in a reasoned manner. Had the editor taken care first to select the subjects in a manner that would cover broadly the multi-faceted personality of Nehru and his multi-dimensional contribution to the making of modern India and then assigned each subject to those who were deeply and thoroughly rooted in Nehru *oeurvre*, the result would have been heaps better than what has been achieved in the present volume. But all said and done, *Studies on Nehru* does provide a helpful peep into his life and work and his efforts at awakening India from the slumber and sloth of centuries.

Dr. A. B. Mathur is a former Director of College Education, Rajasthan and a visiting professor at the University of Jodhpur & University of Rajasthan.

Two more contributions on the NEHRU THEME follow.
—Editors

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INDIAN FEDERAL SYSTEM : NEHRU'S PERSONAL LINK

Jawaharlal Nehru : LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS 1947-1964.

General Editor : G. Parthasarathi (Volume I 1947-1949)

Oxford University Press, Delhi (1985) pp. 547 Rs. 150/-

A Comment by B. R. Nanda

In October 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru started writing a fortnightly letter to the Chief Ministers or rather the Prime Ministers, as they were then called, of the provinces of India. "In times of exceptional stress like the present", he wrote, in his first letter, "it is more than ordinarily incumbent on us to keep in close touch with each other so that we can put forth concerted efforts to overcome the grave dangers facing us." However, even in normal times, private correspondence between the heads of the central and provincial governments had been a regular feature of British administration in India. The Viceroy and the Governors periodically wrote to each other and the Viceroy exchanged weekly letters with his superior in London, the Secretary of State for India.

A FEDERAL LINK AT PERSONAL LEVELS

Nehru turned his fortnightly letters to the provincial premiers into an additional link in Indian federal system at the highest level, focussing their attention on urgent and important issues and setting in perspective events in India and abroad. This well-edited and well-produced first volume of Nehru's *Letters to Chief Ministers* provides an insight not only into the history of the first two and a half years after independence, but into his intellectual processes and the making of his domestic and foreign policies.

It is not easy for us today to realise the gravity and complexities of the problems which confronted the government of independent India during the years 1947-1949. The terrific explosion of hatred and violence, the massacres and mass migration of the minorities across the newly formed border between India and Pakistan, which accompanied the partition of ndia, the disorganization of the transport system, the invasion of Kashmir, the war with Pakistan, the uncertainties in Hyderabad, the border disputes with Pakistan, the scarcity of food and near-famine conditions in Madras, the political terrorism in Bengal and Hyderabad—all these posed formidable threats with which Nehru and his colleagues had to cope.

BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

However, it is significant that even in those dark days, Nehru was not overwhelmed by the immediate issues. "In spite of the more obvious problems that confront us," he wrote to the Chief Ministers in November 1947, "the basic problems still continue to be economic." A month later he reverted to the problem of poverty which "we had temporarily put in the second place in the midst of the preoccupation of communal disorder". On 1 April 1948, he mentions the "Central Planning Commission", which he proposed to set up. In the same month came the Industrial Policy Resolution. "Our future depends," he wrote, "upon our production. If our production does not go up, then we can't have progress". The river valley projects seemed to him "the most important work in front of us." The foundation of the Hirakud Dam in April 1948, the launching of a new ship, "Jal Usha" of the Scindia Steam Navigation thrilled him. In August 1948, he set up the Atomic Energy Commission with Homi Bhabha as Chairman and K.S. Krishna and S. S. Bhatnagar as members.

PROVINCIAL OUTLOOK & OTHER ISSUES

Adhering to the style of his days in the nationalist struggle, Nehru, even in his years of office, used these letters to inform, educate, exhort and warn the heads of provincial governments. On 1 April 1948 we find him writing, "Recently there have been indications of the growth of a narrow provincial outlook in some of the provinces. We have viewed this development with apprehension. If communalism was bad, as it undoubtedly was, provincialism could almost be equally bad." In another letter, he refers to "a strong opinion in the country with which I sympathise, that no political or religious organization, or rather no organization confined to a particular religious group and aiming at political ends, should be allowed to function." In May 1948 he draws the attention of the Chief Ministers to complaints from the public "about our inefficiency, inaccessibility, delays and above all of corruption. I fear that many of these complaints are justified. We are perhaps busy, as all of us are, in our respective offices. We are rather apt to grow self-complacent and imagine that all is well in the best of all possible worlds. I suggest that all of us should remember always Lord Acton's famous dictum about power."

He is refreshingly frank on the use of difficult Hindi words in political and administrative work. "There is no reason whatever", he writes, "why we should give up using well-known words even though they might be English and try to coin new and unknown words. Words get their inner content of meaning from use and a mere artificial coining is not enough."

CIVIL LIBERTIES & SOCIAL RE ORMS

He warns the Chief Ministers against the possibility of wide powers by executive and police officers, and reminds them that concern about civil liberty and freedom of the individual had been part of the ethos of the national movement.

He questions the feasibility of prohibition, not only because of the immediate financial stringency, or the difficulty of enforcing it. Even if prohibition was to be judged from any moral plane, he felt certain other social reforms were far more important than prohibition : "A large number of people are living in miserable hovels which are a disgrace to our country... We hardly provide them with any amenities of life... Surely it is far more necessary to progress along these other lines first..."

(*Continued on opposite page*)

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NEHRU CENTENARY — SOME STRAY THOUGHTS

—S. P. Agrawal

Jawaharlal Nehru's life was many-splendoured. One of the many facets of his life was his deep involvement with social issues, which should form the subject-matter and the central point of the Centenary Year; in addition, of course, to Nehru's interest in scientific temper. He left virtually no aspect of the complex social problems untouched; and having touched them, he tried to bring about a change for the better in the prevailing situation and tried to improve the quality of life.

He evaluated the social and political situation created by the death of Gandhi whose mantle fell on him inevitably. Nehru fully subscribed to the Gandhian ideal—

> To see a world in a grain of sand,
> And a Heaven in a wild flower,
> Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,
> And Eternity in an hour...

and adapted it as his goal in his quest of the "India of his dreams." At the same time, he came to the conclusion that Gandhi had raised the consciousness of the masses and made social issues vital. Like Gandhi, he tried in his own way to raise the level of the masses, wherever necessary at the cost of the privileged few.

Nehru had no doubt in his mind that the supporters of socialist and democratic changes should create a powerful force to make the people's quest for peace and democracy stronger. His social philosophy of life sought to cleanse the social system of the many ills which India was saddled with. His chosen path was the creation of a Welfare State, which would fulfil the aspirations of the people as enshrined in the Constitution right from its Preamble onwards. One of the objectives he had in mind was the constitutional imperative to secure to each one of us the various freedoms, including "Justice,—social, economic and political."

Nehru's countrymen still recall what he said at the dawn of freedom : "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time has come when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but substantially."

To his credit, it may be acknowledged that he never tried to make the running of the public affairs a one-man show. Whether it was in the social, economic or political field, he favoured the system of consensus, particularly in social reforms. Though the progress was slow compared to the present world's computer-race, each step was a sure one in the various spheres of reforms—on removal of social ills, achievement of national integration, and improvements in the process of education, the status of women and the role of youth.

Nehru pleaded for socialism, which meant for him a fuller and more satisfying life, in which standards in the various fields enlarge for everyone.

Toleration and appreciation of other points of view were the central themes in whatever tasks Nehru set to himself.

The day Nehru passed away, there lay on his bedside table an open book of Robert Frost's poetry with Jawaharlal's favourite lines underlined :

> The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
> But I have promises to keep
> And miles to go before I sleep.——

Until recently with the Indian Council of Social Sciences Research, Dr. S. P. Agrawal is now Member-Secretary of the Indian Association of Social Science Institutions c/o Institute of Applied Manpower Research, Indraprastha Estate, New Delhi.

Nehru's Personnal Link (*Continued*)

As early as 22 November 1947, we find Nehru telling the Chief Ministers "to finish the task of liquidating the *zamindari* system. We cannot take much time over every step for we have to go far." Two years later, he is, if anything, more emphatic: "The abolition of the zamindari system and land reform....is of the the highest importance as it affects millions of people and has already been delayed too long. It is the basis for further progress."

One may ask why, even though Nehru was able to identify some of these critical problems so clearly and so early, they have proved intractable. Was it because in a federal system, he lacked the power—or the will—to enforce the policies in the provinces ? Or was it the lack of adequate support from his own colleagues and party ?

Dr. B. R. Nanda is a well-known scholar and author of biographies of Mahatma Gandhi and the Nehrus.

[Note 1 : This comment had first appeared in the *Telegraph* (Calcutta) and is being reproduced (though belatedly) through the courtesy of the writer and the Editor.

Note 2 : Since we have not received subsequent volumes in this series, it has not been possible to publish their reviews. *(Editors)*]

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Deforestation and Exploitation of Tribal Women

Walter Fernandes and Geeta Menon :
TRIBAL WOMEN AND FOREST ECONOMY
Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, (1987)

Reviewed by O.P. Joshi

The present volume is the first of the "*Tribes of India*" *Series* published by the Indian Social Institute under the general editorship of Walter Fernandes. This is a joint effort by the Indian Social Institute New Delhi, and Gram Vikas, PREM and the Rural Life Programme, Orissa, based on field studies among the tribes of Orissa. It is the study of the role of tribal women in the "informal" forest dwellers' economy.

THEIR LINKS & LOWERED STATUS

It has been felt that the adverse effects of deforestation are felt in particular by women, since their links with the forest are closer than those of men. For the present study, two main hypotheses were proposed i.e., (1) Forests have a special stronger relationship with tribal women than with men. This has been seen in terms of their responsibilities in providing food, fuel, water, fodder, medicines and other requirements for their households. The tradition of shifting cultivation has, for instance, been termed as 'female farming system'. (2) The second hypothesis is that any alteration in the natural environment has a much more direct impact on the economic role of women than on men.

Independent to these circumstances, deforestation is taking place in the tribal areas, and this has resulted in the deterioration of social, physical and economic status of women. It has weakened tribal communities in general and the social organisation of their women, in particular.

RESEARCH — A TOOL FOR ACTION

The approach is oriented towards 'action' and 'research'. The study claims to interlink the two in such a way that 'research' becomes a tool for 'action', and a good variety of data emerge out of group discussions and the mobilisation process, and not merely from the traditional survey methods. This novel method can be a strength in one sense, while in the other form, it creates an impression that the study was more impressionistic rather than scientific. But the argument is that this type of study has a system of feed-back to the people who have been studied. They are not only the 'sources of information', but they are to be helped in the process of solving their problem. The 'action research' remained involved in the form of mobilization, and action presupposes a subjective understanding of the existing situation of exploitation and a value judgment which leads to the decision to work in favour of the exploited. The authors argue that of 'greater significance' in this methodology is the presupposition of a sense of 'equality' between the researcher and the researched.

The study is based on the survey of 49 households done in ten villages of three districts of Orissa. The interviewed respondents ranged in the age from 18 to 61 years, their average age being 32 years.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The major socio-economic variables under which the forest dweller women live are identified as (i) land, (ii) ownership of trees and livestock, (iii) income earned, and (iv) the pattern of indebtedness. Of the total sample, 46.39 per cent own trees; 43.2 per cent of these trees are *mahua* others are *tamarind* (25 per cent), mango, jackfruit, custard apple and guava. Of the total households, 29.00 per cent have taken loans. Due to interventions from a voluntary organization, indebtedness has been reduced considerably.

Women collect fruits, nuts, flowers and fire-wood. These have been important sources of food for the forest-dwellers for centuries. The study in 1948 revealed that, on an average, each family sells 124.42 kgs of flowers, 179.70 kgs of fruits and 120.79 kgs of seeds. The lower classes are forced to sell even what they need for survival. One can notice that the poor, who own little or no land, depend mainly on forest produce and have less access than the others.

DEFORESTATION — WOMEN — FARMING

Due to deforestation, three major consequences have come. The first is the reduction in the forest area; with this, the distance between the village and forest has increased and the availability of produce has decreased. The private ownership has emerged and non-availability of land and competition for land have become major problems.

Women do different types of manual jobs in settled agriculture i.e., preparing bunds, weeding, clearing, manuring, carrying seeds to fields, transplanting, reaping, collecting, carrying the head-loads and other sundry jobs. Agricultural activities for women have been reduced due to the increased use of better implements and scarcity of land. Authors have concluded that deforestation has increased the workload and lowered the status of women. They have to travel extra distance, but they earn less. Women work for an average of 15 hours, including 3-4 hours of walk to and from the forest, which was not needed in the past. Besides, all housework is done by women.

The authors have suggested many possible solutions of these problems *viz.*, involvement of voluntary organisations, reorientation of policies, and attitudinal change. There is a need of protecting the tribal society and forests from commercial and industrial exploitation.

(Continued on next page below Col. 2)

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FOREIGN ORIENTATION OF CONTEMPORARY INDIAN CULTURE

□ Subhash Chandra Sarker □

One characteristic that distinguishes India and our present culture from the rest of the world is the vulnerability to everything foreign that sets India apart from the cultures of great nations. When I say "culture", I use the term in its widest connotation to include all aspects of human enterprise—economic, political, intellectual and cultural. Whether it is the field or industry, or management, administration or in the government, or devising an educational curriculum, running a newspaper or building up one's cultural strength, it is the foreign element which dominates Indian life.

And not only in the field of technology, where in any case an element of the presence of foreign influence is perhaps not so difficult to understand. The foreign influence extends to the articles one reads, the books that are discussed, the persons who discuss the books for the readers in India, the photographs the newspapers publish and the topics the persons in positions of influence in government or business or newspapers choose to project before the public.

While anything concerning a foreign writer or actor becomes a matter of immediate concern to our newspapers published in the English language, the same sort of happening to an Indian author or actor (if he is not in the Hindi films) seems to be of no concern of the same media. Examples of such discrimination are galore. One factor behind the affront to the local culture is, of course, the domination of persons belonging to other cultures over the media. The other factor is the medium of the English language, which makes it an exceedingly easy task to lift anything from a foreign magazine or newspaper published in English. (This is not possible to be done for the non-English newspapers in this country, which have at least to take the trouble of translating the piece in the language concerned; the effort involved in translating an article is not a small one, by any reckoning).

It is this foreign-orientation that impels Indian intellectuals and the media to be greatly concerned with foreign books, whether it is *Lolita*, *Dr. Zhivago* *Spy-catcher* or *Satanic Verses*. None of these and many other works, which bother Indian intellectuals from time to time, are concerned with India or with Indian pursuits. Whether an Indian reads any of these is of no consequence whatever. Nevertheless, these become topics of fervent discussion in the Indian media by Indian intellectuals, pushing to the background matters of more urgent concern to the people.

If in the United States of America or the United Kingdom, no book not published within the country is ever reviewed by any newspaper, newspapers in India vie with one another to be seen as reviewing the largest number of foreign books by foreign authors (with the review also done by foreign reviewers in quite a large number of cases). There is no sense of shame in doing such a thing. On the other hand, there is a feeling of achievement (and this feeling is by no means confined to the editors; it is shared by a large number of the readers and advertisers as well). If in the process the efforts made by the Indians themselves not infrequently get pushed to the background, that does not seem to be much of concern to the media controllers in this country.

The resultant inertia of the Indian mind has assumed such a dangerous dimension that when last year (1987), the second volume of Nirad C. Chaudhury's autobiography, *Thy Hand Great Anarch* was published, a largely-circulated and highly-affluent Indian daily newspaper thought it befitting its dignity to publish a review (or what was passed off as a review) of the book done by a foreigner (that too was not an original contribution, but a reproduction of an already published article in a foreign paper),

Ramakrishna Paramahansa said that one could hope to attain divinity if one could free oneself of shame, hatred and fear. By this token, our media men and women can be said to have attained divinity, for they have already conquered shame for lacking in originality and courage, and they have no hatred for things foreign even when these threaten our society; and, by virtue of the rulers in this country being anglophile to the extent of being prompted even to disregard the interest of the mother tongue, have no cause to fear that the slight shown to any Indian language or culture would invite any punishment to the perpetrators of that cultural onslaught.

Subhash Chandra Sarker, until recently, Editor, the 'Commerce' Weekly, Bombay, is now a free-lance journalist. [Extracts are from his "As I See It" column in the Free Press Journal of 5th Oct., 1988]

(Continued from page 42) **Deforestation and . . .**

The study has touched many areas related to tribal women. It has been pointed out that several customs favourable to women have changed in this region. For example, a divorcee woman cannot remarry. Traditionally, many community problems were settled after a great deal of consideration by the *Kulo*. The women feel that today it is no longer concerned about their fate. Women are easily cheated in measuring and pricing at the time of the sale of forest produce.

The study is useful and informative though there is a lack of anthropological depth in analysis. It is recommended to all those who are concerned with the fate of tribal women.

Dr. O. P. Joshi is a faculty member of the Harish Chandra Mathur Institute of Public Administration, Jaipur.

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THE LIBERAL CONCEPTS IN ISLAM

Jamal Khwaja

AUTHENTICITY AND ISLAMIC LIBERALISM

Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.. New Delhi (1987) pp. 139, Rs. 100/-

Reviewed by Rajan Mahan

Judged from the criterion of brevity, Prof. Jamal Khwaja's '*Authenticity and Islamic Liberalism*' is a welcome contribution. This is a scholarly treatise, brief but clear and topical. In an age of growing fundamentalism, the author presents a commendable interpretation of **'Islamic Liberalism'**, which finds reflection in the opening paper itself, entitled,'*How I See the Quran*'.

SUPREME MYSTERY OF A SPIRITUAL SYMPHONY

Describing the Quran as the 'supreme mystery of Islam', Prof. Khwaja reviews 'faith in revelation' and argues that "in the final analysis, religious faith is an existential conviction which may dawn suddenly or gradually, like love, rather than a belief which could be inductively or deductively established or proved."

He claims that there is a similarity between faith in the Quran and appreciation of the beauty of nature, pointing out that "the verses of the Quran and the phenomena of nature both are called *'ayat*' or signs, which may evoke and reinforce faith in God for one who seeks truth with humility and sincerity." (*p. 6*) Hence, instead of condemnation or persecution, an honest sceptic unmoved by the power of the Quran should be given the same advice as the man who remains unimpressed by wonders of nature : "Please look or hear again with receptive humility; a fresh experience may lead to a new type of response or evoke in you a new chord; but please don't feel tense, guilty, inferior, or deficient in case your response remains different from mine". (*p. 7*)

Asserting that the holy text cannot be fully appreciated if one regards it as a 'systematic book', the author remarks that the Quran is a "collection of 114 '*Surahs*' which are not 'chapters' in the usual sense, but rather self-contained and complete compositions or units comprising '*ayats*' (verses) which may or may not have been revealed in one single revelatory episode". (*p. 8*) Once we start viewing the Quran as a "spiritual symphony which is meant to warn, sustain, exhort and illumine man in the task of learning an integrated response to the mystery of the universe", we realise that there cannot be any one ideal order of reading the Quran. Hence, except for the seven verses of the *Surah Al-Fatiha* (which has a unique status as the quintessence or 'mother of the Quran'), the author holds that no *surah* should be "selected for ritual recitation on the basis of convention. A Muslim must learn to respond to the Quran authentically in his own individual manner as one responds to music, poetry, or the beauty of nature." (*p. 10*)

WITH FAITH & TOWARDS RIGHT ACTION

For complete comprehension, mere literal adherence to the Quranic text is not enough. Rather we require both, a critical method of semantic interpretation of the Quran and an awareness of the Prophet's milieu (i. e. the socio-cultural conditions of Arabia immediately preceding and during his life-time, or the '*shane nuzul*', the historical situation and context of the Quranic revelation) for correctly understanding the Quranic message. In addition, the Quranic style, though generally simple and direct, becomes elliptical and perplexing in some cases where a literal interpretation sounds absurd. Hence, the author comes up with the following liberal prescription: "In view of the above complications, the intellectually honest Muslim simply must show tolerance and accept the principle of plural interpretations. The claim that only 'my' or 'the traditional' interpretation is true has in the past led to suppression of free enquiry and even persecution." *(p. 14)*

Jamal Khwaja distinguishes between the evocative verses of the Quran praising the glory and mercy of God and the exhortative verses which inspire the believer to be good and do the right. Emphasising on the exhortative verses, the author asserts that "the stress of these verses is undoubtedly on faith and righteous action (*iman wa amal e salih*), and, after this, on keeping up obligatory prayers and paying the wealth-tax for the benefit of the poor and the needy." *(p. 20)* In this connection, he comes up with a classic statement: "Faith without action is lame; right action without being rooted in some faith is blind. *Ad hoc* right actions are liable to be displaced by wrong direction. The Quran, therefore, stresses faith flowering in righteous action or righteous action rooted in faith." *(p. 21)*

The field of righteous action includes '*Ibadat*' (man's obligations to God) and '*Moamilaat*' (man's obligations to society) with the latter being the major area of righteous activity. Analysing social behaviour, the author highlights the Islamic concept of supreme vices and states that the cardinal vice, according to the Quran, is not "consuming alcohol/pork and fornication, but hypocrisy and backbiting". *(p. 22)*

MESSAGE OF TOLERANCE & KINDNESS

More importantly, he discusses the widely-held belief that the Quran prohibits Muslims from befriending non-Muslims. Arguing that this belief has "arisen due to confusing a conditional Quranic advice not to befriend or trust the aggressive and unethical opponents of the Prophet with a permanent ban on friendly relations with non-Muslims," the author concludes that "if the verses are read carefully to determine their exact import, and if all the relevant verses (which are scattered at different places in the Quran) are examined in the historical context of their revelation, it becomes pretty clear that the anti-humanist interpretation of the Quranic verses in question is not

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justified...the Quranic texts encourage inter-religious tolerance and universal kindness, holding that religious or cultural plurality is part of God's plan and that God could have obliterated all differences, had He so wished." *(p. 23)*

CREATIVE FIDELITY & APPRECIATION

The author also reviews the prescriptive verses of the Quran which deal with transcendental *'I—Thou'* matters, matters of personal and social law, and political and economic issues. He points out that "the general or open character of even the prescriptive or directive verses of the Quran" led to the view "that the Quranic prescriptions are inadequate as source of guidance to the believers, unless they are supplemented by the sayings and the example of the Prophet. In other words, it led to the bracketing of the 'Book' and the 'example' (*al-Kitab wal sunnat*) on an almost equal footing as the supreme source of guidance for the Muslim community in all matters." *(p. 25)* However, if we do not blindly follow the traditional approach, we would "realize that the proper role of the sayings and the example of the Prophet lies in the transcendental sphere rather than in the political, economic, social and cultural. In all the latter spheres, 'creative fidelity' to the spirit of the Quran is the only valid response of the Muslim in an ever-changing world." (*p. 25*)

Claiming that the bracketing of the Quran and the *Sunnat* and the holding of Islam to be a complete code of conduct for every aspect of human life has been the chief cause of injecting regimentation and rigidity in Muslim societies, the author calls for a rejection of this "totalist approach to Islam." He hopes instead, that the Muslim mind would soon accept that "the primary function of the Quran, and of religion, is inspirational and humanistic, rather than legal and authoritarian in the totalist sense." *(p. 26)*

In the concluding portion of this appreciation, Jamal Khwaja grapples with the various problems arising out of the Muslim acceptance of the Quran as an infalllible scripture, Herein, the scholar remarks that "the infallibility of divine revelation does not imply the infallibility of its human interpretations, no matter how learned or spiritually elevated a person might be." *(p. 27)* Contending that Quranic interpretation must be viewed as "a continuous creative process", the Aligarh philosopher asserts that the Quranic infallibility "does not rule out the possibility of plural interpretations of the text in the light of man's growing knowledge and insight, provided the interpretation is not forced and does not violate any clear and categorical Quranic injunction." (*p. 28*)

He concludes that "spatio-temporal traces or limitations (which are inseparable from all revelatory situations or processes) lead to 'nuclear' rather than 'molecular' infallibility. Thus the Quranic perfection is that of a seed that grows leading to new dimensions and levels of perfection, and not the static perfection of an inert prefabricated structure which is incompatible with any movement or inner growth." (*p. 29*)

DEEP ROOTS IN VALUE-CENTRIC FAITH

The author further reveals his liberal convictions in the next paper entitled, *'Authenticity and Faith in Revelation.'* He analyses the classical conflict between faith and reason in an extremely refreshing manner, keeping in view the concept of 'authenticity', perhaps the central notion of contemporary existentialism. He describes an authentic person as one whose "self-awareness not only extends to his surface thoughts or feelings, but penetrates into his existential depth, so that the faintest and most nebulous or inarticulate stirrings, attitudes, desires, aspirations, evalutions—in short, the multifarious human responses, just as they arise in man's almost inaccessible depths—get registered to some degree by the authentic person." (*p. 34*)

Although the neglect of authenticity has not resulted in any acute problem for Hinduism and other religions of Indian origin, it has extracted a dear price from Christians, and especially from Muslims, in terms of individual inner conflicts, repression, hypocrisy and even persecution at the hands of the establishment. For instance, how does one reconcile one's concern for authentic being and faith in the infallibility of Quran? The solution, says the author, can be attained "if infallibility is interpreted as 'value-centric' rather than as 'rule centric', for then, "no problem would arise for the committed Muslim who gives supreme value to authenticity in the existentialist sense." (*p. 41*) As such, authenticity (when regarded as the 'neutral constituent essence' of all religious faiths over-riding the multiplicity of creeds and religions) inexorably impels the liberal scholar to advocate the cause of religious pluralism. He concludes by observing that an authentic individual can have "deep religious convictions without the additional belief that the religious convictions of others are false, or that they ought to be substituted by one's own in the entire human family. Tolerance, permissiveness and genuine respect for religious convictions other than our own, are thus quite compatible with deep religious faith". *(p. 51)*

RELIGION IN HUMAN LIFE

In the penultimate paper *'The Religious Revolution of the 18th Century and Islam'*, he points out that until the 18th century, religion implied a "complete map of the good life; and religious piety meant that the true believer follow the map in all its details without questioning its validity or desiring its improvement in any respect. The map included every activity from personal hygiene to inheritance, marriage and divorce, commerce and war". (*p. 56*) Eventually, the civil power of the King triumphed over the ecclesiastical power of the Priest; the 'totalist tradition' suffered eclipse; and a profound alteration occurred leading to the liberal conception of the nature and function of religion.

IMPACT OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

How exactly was this radical transformation affected ? The author holds that this sea-change in man's conception of religion came under the impact of the

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scientific and industrial revolutions of the 18th century, whereby "advances in factual knowledge empirically confirmed and psychologically assured educated persons that all nature events obeyed exact laws, ascertainable by the scientific method, without any reference to Divine Will or to any other supernatural agency. The concept of Natural Law thus displaced Divine Will, purpose, or fiat in the working of nature and also greatly weakened the belief in miracles." Likewise, increased industrial productivity, in consequence of the application of science, "enabled man to satisfy his economic needs without depending upon Divine help." Progress in pharmacology and medicine "assured man that biological phenomena could also be controlled", and "led to the extension of the concept of natural causation to the biological and social spheres." The almost simultaneous emergence of the concepts of social sciences and social engineering further "enhanced the status and prestige of secular knowledge, as compared with theology, and of science as compared with metaphysics." *(p. 58)*

The author also establishes an interesting comparison between the historical method of Marx and Darwin's evolutionary method for the emergence of biological species, and states : "if Marxism can be called Social Darwinism, we could as well term Darwinism as Biological Marxism." *(p. 60)*

Indeed, Darwin's theory of organic evolution is perhaps the greatest single advance in human thought that has profoundly transformed man's classical religious perspective and philosophical world view." *(p. 60)*.

TOWARDS SECULARISM

These developments, later supplemented by the emergence of Pragmatism in U.S.A., and Analytical Philosophy in U.K., strengthened the tendency to disregard the medieval concept of religion as a detailed blueprint of the 'good-life'. Cumulatively, all this led to the recognition of the existentialist tenet that "Religious truth is the most vital form of subjectivity and the deepest and highest level of existential response to the mystery of the cosmos." *(p. 62)* He concludes with the assertion that the dynamics of the ever-evolving human situation impels the human family towards religious pluralism and tolerance.

Although the Muslim mind has not yet fully appreciated the crucial evolutionary postulates of the modern world, the learned scholar finishes on the optimistic note that ultimately, all religions will come to terms with the broad direction of history, leading to secularism and a plural approach to the religious aspects of human society.

The concluding article, "*Islamic Liberalism in India : A Brief Overview*", traces the genesis of the theme and discusses its prospects in the sub-continent. Defining **Islamic Liberalism** as a broader term than **Islamic Modernism**, the author claims that it implies three basic beliefs :

(a) acceptance of a monotheistic world-view of the special status of the Prophet as the 'recipient' of the Quran ;

(b) acceptance of a system of symbolic acts and beliefs fixed by the Prophet concerning man's relationship with God, and a few completely unequivocal directive principles and intrinsic values given in the Quran, but not necessarily any detailed policy covered every share of human activity ; and

(c) acceptance of religious faith as an individual's existential response to the mystery of the universe, implying thereby a sense of humility and fellowship with all sincere believers, whether Muslim or not, and sincere respect for the faith of others than any sense of superiority to non-Muslims.

The author contends that although Islamic Liberalism is presently "getting lost in the sands of contemporary fundamentalism", yet there are "good sociological reasons for holding that the present trends would be reversed and that the Muslim world would gradually return to liberalism, as a mature orthogenetic response to an ever-changing human situation". *(p. 70)*

A HISTORICAL VIEW

The author then proceeds to a concise survey of the growth of Islamic Liberalism from the 13th century onwards. While the historical review is generally competent, he does spring certain doubtful observations, as for instance, when he remarks, "What is Sikhism, if not the fusion of Hinduism and Islam in the Indian environment?"—a suggestion to which some could take serious exception. Despite certain limitations, the Aligarh scholar holds that in the medieval era, "religious liberalism in a broad sense, prevailed in Indian society, since the endemic struggles for short-term power ran on secular or regional, rather than religious or communal lines." *(p. 78)*

Problems commenced with the coming of the British. While the Hindus were able to adjust to the new rulers (as a result of their long interaction with Islam, which had loosened the grip of an ethno-centric and chauvinistic mentality and increased the receptivity of the Hindu mind to new ideas and values) the Muslim response was quite different. This was because the muslims/Mughals had lost their political supremacy to the British and were, therefore, hostile to the religion and culture of the victors. A combination of disillusionment with the present and despair of the future generated a sectarian militancy among the Muslims under the leadership of Sayed Ahmad Barelvi.

SIR SYED AHMED'S ROLE

In this background, the author finds the contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed and his Aligarh associates quite commendable, for they "created a wind of change and opened a new window to the contemporary human situation, enabling the Indian Muslim to think afresh on the central meaning of Islam in an ever changing world." *(p. 80)*. Syed Ahmed pleaded for coope-

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. . . . IN ISLAM

ration with the British and adoption of modern education, stressing upon the spirit of Islam, rather then merely following traditional rituals and customs. Unfortunately, his approach lacked "a social and political philosophy which could yield long-term political goals for Muslims and other Indians", and was "geared to short-term goals and the ideal of the loyal Indian Mohammandan, but not to the long-term needs and problems of the Muslim community and the country as a whole." (*p. 82*) Consequently, though he succeeded in initiating the "process of superficial westernization", his influence could not permeate to the core of Muslim society. The commencement of a separatist ideology shortly thereafter, strengthened later by the Pan-Islamic movement, gradually wrecked this liberalist philosophy, and ultimately culminated in the partition of India.

THREE OTHER IMPORTANT MUSLIMS

Focusing on the partition, the author analyses the careers of the three most prominent Muslims of the sub-continent during the first half of the present century—Iqbal, Azad and Jinnah. Although, "**Iqbal** could be called an Islamic liberal in a broad sense, his liberalism remained ambivalent and halting because he neglected the sociology of religion", and "accepted the totalist approach to Islam"; and hence his approach could not "satisfy the legitimate needs and interests of Muslims living in a plural society." (*p. 89-90*) **Azad**, on the other hand, presents an "interesting contrast with Iqbal in regard to the issue of the proper function and jurisdiction of religion." Though he also started out with a totalist approach to Islam, gradually "Azad veered round to the modern view of human society as a federation of plural functional associations—religious, political, economic and cultural—for satisfying human needs in different spheres without one sphere encroaching upon the other." (*p. 91*) As regards **Jinnah**, the political architect of Pakistan, the author claims that in his basic approach to religion, the Quaid-i-Azam was closer to Azad "whom he bitterly opposed as a 'showboy' on the chess-board of Indian politics" than to Iqbal, the spiritual architect of Pakistan, whose dream Jinnah converted into reality.

THE FUTURE OF ISLAMIC LIBERALISM

Dr. Jamal Khwaja devotes the last section of the book to analyse why Islamic Liberalism has been unable to make much headway in India, and its prospects in the future. In locating the reasons for the dismal record of Islamic liberalism in the past, he highlights 4 aspects : (i) the 18th century socio-political turbulence after Aurangzeb, (ii) the lack of a socio-cultural base for the emergence of Islamic Liberalism in the absence of any scientific, industrial and secular revolutions, (iii) the low level of literacy, and (iv) finally, the fear of the consequences of dissent from the religious establishment.

As regards future possibilities for Islamic Liberalism, the author highlights the encouraging record of independent India—the vision and statesmanship of Nehru, the dedicated services of Azad, Syed Mahmud, A. M. Khwaja, Rafi Ahmed Qidwai, the inspiring stewardship of Zakir Hussain, whereby the Aligarh University, which earlier "served as the arsenal for the fight for Pakistan", gradually "turned a fresh leaf in the direction of Islamic Liberalism."

Besides, the emergence of Bangladesh has enabled Indian Muslims to "realize that religion cannot be regarded as the sole bond for uniting people, and that language and culture do play a crucial role in human affairs". (*p. 96*)

Finally, the author cites several factors likely to strengthen the phenomenon of Islamic Liberalism in India : (i) The electoral power wielded by Muslims, as Indian citizens, with equal rights and responsibilities; (ii) the high offices of State that have been freely accessible to them, both in theory and practice; (iii) the prosperity flowing from the incredibly rapid developmental process in West Asia, apart from local opportunities in small and medium industry and commerce; (iv) the steady educational and cultural advance cannot but steer Muslims, in the long run, towards Islamic Liberalism." (*p. 96-97*)

Consequently, "the prospects of Islamic Liberalism are very favourable in democratic India, because a plural society is more conducive to the inner acceptance of humanism and secularism than a homogeneous society." (*p. 100*) Ultimately, the liberal movement would engulf most Muslim societies, for they would be simply unable to escape "some basic features of the '*zeitgeist*' or spirit of the age—liberty of the individual, human fraternity, dignity of labour, equality of the sexes, the welfare state, technology, and so on and so forth." (*p. 100*). It is the author's hope and belief that Islamic Liberalism would eventually triumph over the fundamentalist ideology, which largely reigns supreme in the contemporary Muslim world.

In sum, '*Authenticity and Islamic Liberalism*' offers an excellent initiation into a theme of enormous import. Though each paper apparently deals with an independent topic, they are linked together by a liberal existentialist approach to religion and provide a balanced exposition of the *leit motif*, Islamic Liberalism.

Despite the author's deep convictions, the treatise does not develop as a didactic discourse. Rather, it reveals restrained narration, mature argumentation and a sensitive treatment of a potentially provocative subject.

Dr. Jamal Khwaja has offered an "essential" reading for all optimists who are interested in preserving secular ideas and ideals, in promoting a non-sectarian, broad-based cultural ethos and thereby curing the 'pathological condition of fanaticism' which afflicts many today.

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N – Bomb And Pakistan

Brij Mohan Kaushik and O. N. Mehrotra

PAKISTAN'S NUCLEAR BOMB

Sopan Publishing House, New Delhi(1980)pp 228; Rs.75/-

Comment by Shashi Upadhyaya

This 1980 book attempted a critical examination of Pakistan's nuclear policy (*Ch. 2*) and a realistic assessment of its nuclear capability (*Ch. 3*). The author had also briefly alluded to India's nuclear policy and capability at the same time. The book was divided into 4 chapters,the first of which opened with a study of the problems and prospects of nuclear proliferation in South Asia,the various patterns of proliferation and efforts to check the same. The prospects of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) were also examined briefly before the discussion was rounded off.

Thus the exercise covered all important aspects of the debate in the early eighties. We have come a long way since then, and South Asian as well as West Asian scenes have changed a lot, now Pakistan's (Islamic) Bomb has become a reality. To that extent, the book has become somewhat dated, but it may still be useful for reference to give us a historical backdrop in understanding some of the basic issues involved in the then 'theoretical' but now very much a 'practical' debate on the nuclear march over Asia, especilly its south-eastern and west Asian horizons.

As the 1980 study showed, Pakistan has been largely guided by what is called the 'Indian factor'. The authors felt that the need and urge for 'image-making' in the comity of nations and in international politics were also significant—the image of acquired or borrowed if not real strength and leadership in the competitive game of power and modernisation. As regards Pakistan's nuclear policy (*Ch. 2*), according to the authors, it was characterised by several contradictions, though Pakistan has been ever so keen to attain parity with India,if "India keeps its nuclear option open so could Pakistan". Naturally there were many parallels and similarities in the policies of India and Pakistan with a strong political (and military) will to outsmart India and acquire nuclear capability at any cost. Pakistan went for it in a secret and clandestine mannner with many cover operations here and there, so as to gain its capability. (Most of the drama on the world and local stage, however, took place after the book had been published.)

In the last chapter, the "Islamic" content in Pakistani bomb was discussed. Why have the Pakistani leaders talked of nuclear weapons in relation to the needs and challenges of the contemporary "Islamic" civilization ? Some of the reasons given by the authors were that, first of all, nuclear weapons could give Pakistan the leadership of Islamic bloc. In the present context, nuclear weapons have a symbolic value in terms of international prestige. Pakistan has already been leading (or been ahead of) other Muslim countries in terms of technological infrastructure. By developing its nuclear weapons, in the name of Islam, Pakistan could hope to become a prominent "Islamic" power. Secondly, by associating Islam with nuclear efforts, Pakistan could hope to get financial support from the oil-rich Muslim/Arab countries. Some day, we would get to know how far these calculations have materialised and whether the N-bomb has given Pakistan the power and the clout it has been craving for.

The authors also suggested steps towards a regional solution by which Pakistan and India could keep the sub-continent free of nuclear weapons and also profitably complement their achievements in nuclear techology for peaceful purposes.

Thus, on the whole, the book was extremely topical and useful for future reference. In the present context, the book has become a bit dated but it would still serve as a historical back-drop in understanding the making of Pakistani bomb, especially the nearly 50 pages of its appendices about the Instruments of Agreements, including safeguards, leading to the transfer of technology. Pakistan is now much advanced in its nuclear weapon programme and it continues to inch towards an ability to make nuclear bombs, although the unclassified literature does not confirm that it has tested them or has built a nuclear arsenal.

Ms. Shashi Upadhyaya is a Research Associate in South Asia Studies Centre, University of Rajasthan.

V. D. Chopra and Rakesh Gupta

NUCLEAR BOMB AND PAKISTAN : EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL FACTORS

Patriot Publishers, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 127, Rs. 80/-

Review by Olive Peacock

The book under review is an attempt to analyse the myriad dimensions of Pakistan's nuclear policy. The authors have endeavoured to show as to how Pakistan's nuclear programme, in collusion with Beijing and other countries, is likely to have its fall-out on Asian peace and security. The book appears to offer an objective assessment of the developments and purposes of nuclear technology launched by the Government of Pakistan. However, it is difficult to disagree that Pakistan's nuclear programme has seriously affected the regional security scene.

(Continued on opposite page)

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N — BOMB AND PAKISTAN *(Continued)*

PAKISTAN HAS IT ?

The book contains ten chapters. First nine constituting the first part were contributed by V. D. Chopra and the last chapter, the second part, has been written by Rakesh Gupta. The first part deals with the external factors impinging on Pakistan's nuclear policy, while the last one with internal factors, particularly "Dependencia militarism", which intensify Pakistan's quest for more power. In chapter one, the author points out, on the basis of tentative evidence, that Pakistan has not only acquired nuclear weapons capability, but it also has the nuclear bomb. He has, however, not been successful in substantiating this claim.

INCONSISTENT U.S. POLICY & PRIORITY IN MILITARY AID

In chapter two, the author has tried to show how U.S.A. evolved its policies towards developing nations for the realization of its geo-political and strategic interests.

In fact, the U.S. policy should have been analysed within the frame-work of America's **global** geo-political interests. Right from the 1950's to the present day, there have been wide oscillations in the U.S. foreign policy between deep commitments and overt withdrawals. As a consequence, the U.S. foreign policy towards its allies and friends has not been consistent. This, of course, has had ominous implications for American security interests. The author has not been able to point out the underlying constraints and compulsions of the U.S. strategic policies in a fast changing international milieu The author could have, in fact, incorporated the latest data available with the U S. Pentagon, while listing the 'priority' countries getting military aid and equipments. For instance, Israel is getting the highest priority in U. S. aid allocations for military purposes, while Pakistan is number four in respect of U. S. military assistance. This clearly shows the U. S. order of priorities, and also reveals U. S. perceptions and policies towards the developing nations.

In chapters three and four, the author has pointed out the respective implications of the U S. military policy and SDI programme launched by the Reagan Administration in March 1983. It is true that the U.S. SDI programme is likely to affect adversely the process of nuclear disarmament despite the fact that Reagan and Gorbochev have recently concluded the INF Treaty. [*The review was written before the end of the Reagan era. —Eds.*]

Here, one thinks, that the author should have made an endeavour to relate the Star Wars scenario with regional nuclear programmes going on in different parts of the world. But he has failed to establish any linkage between the Star Wars programme and regional nuclear weapon capability programme. How could nuclear weapon-grade programmes be halted when the Reagan Administration has been adopting intransigent approach on the question of SDI programme ?

The American policy has failed in its objective of halting, or rather containing, nuclear proliferation in South Asia. It also merits mention that the U.S.A has been adopting double standards in dealing with India and Pakistan over their nuclear programmes. The author should have at least attempted to high-light the subtleties and nuances of U.S. nuclear policy towards South Asia, within its global strategic frame-work.

INFLUENCE ON MILITARISATION OF PAKISTAN

In chapter five, the author has pointed out factors and forces responsible for increasing the U.S. influence over Pakistan. But his observations are too general, too sweeping and too well-known to have any deep meaning or novelty for the academic and intellectual reader. Nor has he given any alternative thesis, while spelling out Pakistan's problems and psychological dilemmas resulting in her over-dependence on U.S. aid and investment for Pakistan's economy, both in public and private sectors. As a matter of fact, all military regimes sell out their economic policies to the great powers, which, in fact, helps them to sustain their own regimes.

Chapter six is devoted to the militarisation of Pakistan. The author has built up his theory around Pakistan's susceptibilities to external threats, and has also hinted at Pakistan's imperative need for strengthening its defence and security. But he has not succeeded in his attempt to discuss American aid to Pakistan in a proper theoretical perspective; nor has he taken into account key variables that inform the process of decision-making in Pakistan. The policy-makers of Pakistan have perceived the currents and cross-currents of global as well as regional politics in a myopic perspective. Perhaps this process will continue so long as military regimes continue to domina e the domestic as well as foreign policy of Pakistan. The author has also failed to pin-point the typical weaknesses of the military regime in Pakistan.

[*There are now some signs to suggest a watershed change in Pakistan since after August, 1988.—Editors*]

MILITARY ALLIANCES IN ASIA & THE PACIFIC : PAKISTAN'S ROLE

In chapter seven, the author has tried to depict the significant role of Pakistan in a new kind of military alliance in Asia and the Pacific. But the so-called concept of an "Eastern" NATO is not relevant so far as the security of Asia and the Pacific is concerned.

(*Continued on Col. 2 page 54*)

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Small Vows And Actions . . .

A REPORT ON

International Conference on

PEACE & NON-VIOLENT ACTION

at Ladnun (Rajasthan) India

—by Dashrath Singh

While inaugurating the *International Conference on Peace and Non violent Actions* at the Jain Vishva Bharati Ladnun, on Dec. 5, 1988, **Acharya Tulsi**, the well-known Jain saint, appealed to the world leaders to crusade for nuclear disarmament and for a peaceful world through moral regeneration, international understanding, non-violence and mutual tolerance. "Unless paths of peace are pursued", the Acharya said, "the planet Earth stands in danger of being annihilated, owing to nuclear race." He emphasized the importance of self-restraint and discipline of body, mind and soul; and in this context, explained the relevance of the *Anuvrat Movement* founded by him about forty years ago.

AHIMSA & ANUVRAT

This movement, he said, was not meant for the followers of any particular sect or faith, but sought to offer a code of conduct to the common man, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or community "The central spirit of the movement lies in *Ahimsa* (non-violence). Truth, non-stealing, abstinence and non-possessiveness are different aspects of *Ahimsa*. *Anuvrat* literally means small vow, or a nuclear vow. The purpose behind taking vows is imposition of self-discipline and subordination of aggressive human nature to moral law."

Supporting the Anuvrat Movement, **Yuvacharya Mahapragya** emphasised the importance of training in *Preksha* meditation and *Kayotsarga* as means towards the development of a tension-free balanced personality. "When there is an imbalance of glandular secretions in the body, people become violent", he said. A harmonious functioning of the pituitary, pineal, thyroid and the adrenal glands keeps a man balanced; and meditation adds in restoring the lost balance, according to the findings of modern biochemistry, he pointed out.

A LEGACY OF PEACE & ROLE OF WOMEN

The conference was attended by about 100 delegates from 35 countries including Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Holland, Iran, Nepal, Sweden, Thailand, Tibet, U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. etc. These countries were represented by various active organizations working for the cause of global peace and a nuclear-free world; for instance, "*Grand-mothers for Peace*", a California based peace organization having 3000 members, all grand-mothers in 28 countries.

"The sole purpose of the organisation is to end the madness of the arms race, eliminate nuclear weapons and remove violence from the world", said Ms. **Barbara Wiender**, Founder-Director of the Organization. "Peace is the greatest legacy we could leave for our children", added Ms. Wiedner. She said that grand-mothers could play a very important role in raising the childern and grand-childern in a non-violent and affectionate environment. She hoped that more grand mothers (and grand-fathers) would come out of their shells and lend their shoulders to the programmes of peace.

Dr. Stephen Waite, of the *Bahai* faith spoke about the inevitability of world peace. He said that man is essentially a spiritual being and is moving toward a global society and world government. He drew pointed attention to the role of women who constitute half of human race, in this programme. He pleaded for emancipation of women, equality of sexes, universal education, elimination of extreme disparity of wealth, and control of unbridled nationalism as essential steps toward international peace.

BANGLADESH EXPERIENCE

Then there was **Ata-ur Rahman**, the fraternal delegate from Bangladesh, representing "*The People's Development Efforts*" (*Gono Unnayan Prochesta*) an organization based in Dhaka with branches all over Bangladesh. Stated briefly, the philosophy of this organisation is based on the belief in the intrinsic value of each individual. At the same time, it recognises that no individual lives in isolation from the rest of the community, and hence the development of the individual is intimately bound up with that of community, in which he or she lives. Thus, G.U.P. works towards (a) the removal of causes of poverty and powerlessness (b) to help people understand their civil rights and obligations (c) to stimulate co-operative efforts to create resources and capital in the community for the promotion of a welfare society on the basis of self-reliance and freedom from exploitation.

THE FAMILY OF MAN

Mrs. Angela Zelter, representing the "*British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament*", said that action for effective world disarmament could start only at the micro level of the individual, family, neighbourhood and so on. She welcomed such conferences and hoped that such gatherings would be replicated in all corners of the world.

Representing "*The Council of Religious and Cultural Affairs of the Dalai Lama of Tibet*", **Reverend Pema Rigzin** said that he considered the world as one family; and asked the delegates to foster the feelings of universal brotherhood.

PLEA FOR A WORD GOVERNMENT IN PLACE OF ANARCHY

The highlight of the conference was the plea made by **Captain Tom Hudgins**, Vice-President of the "*World Federalist Association for the Formation of a Federal Govt. of World Democracies*" by the year 2000 A.D. He cited the example of the European Economic Community (EEC) which was now engaged upon seeking a

(*Continued*)

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★ ANUVRAT ★

. . . For Ahimsa & Shanti

formula for a political union after having developed a free trade market. He noted that Japan was trying to organize the Pacific Nations into a common market. He pleaded for closer economic co-operation between the nations of the world, and the need for common world citizenship. Such a Federation, he said, would drastically reduce global defence expenditure, which was the order of one trillion dollars per year.

Captain Hudgins was powerfully supported by World Citizen **Garry Davis** who said that, in the absence of an inter-national government, our world politically, is now a naked anarchy. Two global wars have shown that, as long as two or more powefrul sovereign nation states regard their own law as supreme and sufficient to handle affairs between states, there can be no order on a planetary level. Unless checked effectively, this international anarchy shall lead to a world disaster. He, therefore, considered himself a citizen of the world, and invited fellow delegates to become citizens of the world. He called for the establishment of a World Peace Corps as an option to national military service as being in conformity with Article One of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

ELIMINATING DEFENCE BUDGETS

Noting that Japan had made spectacular progress in economic and technological field since it was freed from the burden of defence expenditure following its capitulation on the conclusion of World War II, **Mr. Hooja** of the "*Citizens For Democracy*" *and* "*The Hindustani Andolan*" said that the key to the progress and prosperity of more than a billion people residing in the Indian sub-continent lay in the elimination of the defence budgets under which the poor peasants of the countries of the Indian sub-continent were grovelling, owing to mutual suspicions and unhealthy rivalries generated by western nations whose economy was based on defence production. He, therefore, pleaded for mutual understanding and welcomed the *SAARC Movement* and hoped that, in due course of time, it would lead to the establishment of a United States of South Asia (U.S.S.A.) with a common citizenship, currency, communication and defensive systems, while guaranteeing local or regional sovereignty to autonomous democratic States of South Asia in other spheres. The defence expenditure thus saved, he said, could be diverted to programmes of peace and development aimed at the benefit of the deprived and disadvantaged mass humanity inhabiting the SAARC countries. In this context, he referred to Vinobaji's dream of ABC Triangle in which 'A' stood for Afghanistan, 'B' for Burma and 'C' for Ceylon.

GLOBAL PEACE THROUGH SARVODAYA

Dr. Ramjee Singh of the *Deptt. of Gandhian Thought, Bhagalpur University* (*Bihar*) in his forceful speech pleaded for the establishment of global peace, which can be achieved by following the Gandhian principles of *Sarvodaya*. A society free from exploitation and all kinds of violence, and based on equality, justice and individual freedom alone can guarantee a stable peace in the world. But, for the creation of such society, we must adopt the non-violent techniques of *Gandhian Satyagrah*, Dr Singh added.

* * *

LADNUN DECLARATION FOR PEACE & NON-VIOLENCE

At the end of the three day's conference, a Declaration was issued by the delegates who,

recognising that they had a common over-riding goal of attaining peace and non-violence in the world;

and recognizing that action is fearful without direction and

recognizing further that once direction is determined, it is possible to take assertive and courageous action, made the following major recommendations :

1. Set up non-governmental organizations for peace reinforcing existing organizations,
2. Establish centres for training in non-violence,
3. Promote net-working between peace organizations,
4. Promote interchange of peace-activists and organizations at personal level,
5. Encourage study of peace and non-violence research,
6. Promote peace-oriented programmes (in the media),
7. Ban/Boycott sale and purchase of war toys,
8. Include teaching of History in the frame of non-violence,
9. Include Peace Education as part of curriculum,
10. Create People's Parliament for Disarmament in every country,
11. Protest against violence presently seen in mass media,
12. Make injustice visible,
13. Organize World Peace Brigades to be placed in potential areas of conflict,
14. Explore legal defences available for participants in civil disobedience using the possibility of world citizenship as a method, and
15. Substitute non-violent defence structures for violent national defence structures.

* * *

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DAISAKU IKEDA

A WORLD CITIZEN & A MAN OF PEACE

by R. P. Bhatnagar

The 1988 Anuvrat Award for International Peace was given to **Daisaku Ikeda**, *President of the Soka Gakkai International at the recent World Conference on Peace and Non-Violence held at Ladnun* (*Rajasthan*).

Born in Tokyo on January 2, 1928, Daisaku Ikeda graduated from Fuji Junior College in Tokyo and jointed Soka Gakkai in 1947. It is the largest organization of Buddhist lay - believers in Japan. He was inaugurated as the third President of the Soka Gakkai in 1960. For the next 28 years, the organization grew under his tireless leadership to its current membership of approximately 8 million households in Japan and some 1.2 million members in more than 115 countries throughout the world.

Mr. Ikeda has been Honorary President since 1979, and is concurrently President of the Soka Gakkai International. He is also the founder of Soka Women's Junior College, Soka Junior and Senior High Schools, Soka Elementary Schools, Soka Kindergarten, Min-On Concert Association, Institute of Oriental Philosophy and Fuji Art Museums.

Ikeda has received awards and honorary degrees from institutions and universities around the world. The list is impressive :

Awards :

Poet Laureate (December 1981)
United Nations Peace Award (August 1983)
Order of the Sun of Peru with Grand Cross (February 1984)
Kenya Oral Literature Association(KOLA) Award (September 1986)
China's "Peace and Friendship Cup" (February 1986)
Order of Christopher Columbus with Grand Cross (February 198/)
Order of Vasco Nunes de Balboa, Panama (February 1987)
G. Ramachandraa Award for International Understanding, India (July 1987)

Honorary Doctorates :

Moscow State University (May 1975)
University of Sofia, Bulgaria (May 1981)
Soka University, Japan (November 1983)

Honorary Professorship :

National University of San Marcos, Lima (April 1981)
Beijing University, China (June 1984)
Fudan University, China (June 1984)
University of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic (February 1987)

Besides, Ikeda has been made an Honorary Citizen in 61 cities including New York, Los Angesl, Chicago, Moscow, Trets in France, Panama and Lima.

AUTHOR & PEACE CRUSADER

He is also the author of many books in Japanese, in genres ranging from Buddhist studies, novels and poetry, to essays and travel diaries. Several of his writings have been translated into the major European languages like French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Danish, as well as Chinese, Korean, Malay, Indonesian and Thai. [A list of titles available in English is given elsewhere].

PLEA FOR EDUCATING DISARMAMENT EXPERTS

Over the years, Ikeda has made a number of proposals for disarmament and peace and on other international problems. In his proposal to the Third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on Disarmament, he made a forceful plea for initiating a UN Programme for Educating Disarmament Experts and Young Teachers :

"Promotion of disarmament cannot be left to governments alone. Making people aware of the urgency of reducing arms and alleviating international tensions is the key to achieving real progress in disarmament.....

"One specific suggestion I would like to make is the convening of a Disarmament Conference in Hiroshima for representatives of NGO's from around the world as part of the campaign for global disarmament.

"Education of disarmament experts is important, and it is also desirable that the United Nations set up a system under which more people who wish to work in various parts of the world for the sake of peace and disarmament, can obtain opportunities for study. Under this system, young teachers willing to promote disarmament education in developing countries would be invited to Hiroshima and Nagasaki every year in order to bring an added dimension of reality to their studies The greater the number of such teachers, the greater the influence they will have in furthering the cause of peace and disarmament."

AHIMSA : LEGACY OF PEACE

In accordance with the Buddhist philosophy of absolute respect for the dignity of human life, Ikeda is dedicated to the attainment of lasting peace.

In accepting the *Anuvrat Award* he said :

"In order to put up the defences of peace in the minds of all men, the idea of *ahimsa*, or the mental attitude of harmlessness toward all living things, which was born out of the rich spiritual soil of India, is a great legacy for the attainment of genuine peace".

Mr. Ikeda is truly a world citizen, a man of peace and an outstanding specimen of deep humanity and compassion.

Dr. R. P Bhatnagar retired recently as Professor and Head of English Deptt. Rajasthan University. He is now actively associated with the Rajasthan Branch of the Vidya Bhawan Society and the Anuvrat Movement launched by Acharya Tulsi.

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Our Eternal Quest for Peace

G. B. K. Hooja

Extracts of a submission made at the International Conference on Peace and Non-violent Action at the Jain Vishva Bharati Campus at Ladnun.

I agree with the sponsors that world today stands in danger of being riven by such fissiparous and divisive forces as terrorism, fanatacism, apartheid, religious riots, ethnic clashes and war-mongers, which threaten to push mankind to the brink of a catastrophe.

LIFE IS A BATTLE - FIELD

However, it would be naive to say that these threats are new or peculiar to the 20th century.

The duel between dark forces and forces of enlightenment has been a continuing feature of human history. As expounded by Shri Aurobindo (1872-1950) in his theory of Integral Yoga, life is a battle-field of constant struggle between the progressive evolutionary forces and atavistic or retarding forces of evil.

But the gravity of the situation, as it faces humanity today, has assumed very ominous proportions, paradoxically with the advancement of science and knowledge, since it has placed in the hands of unscrupulous elements nuclear weapons of destruction, capable of blowing the world many times over. This is what made an illustrious poet of our times pray for knowledge tempered by wisdom.

It has been truly said that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing; and no human being can claim to be all-knowing. That is what calls for the importance of *gurus* (teachers)—true *gurus* who may show light to the bewildered humanity, *gurus* imbued with the right religious spirit with compassion for not only mankind, but for the entire creation.

SCIENCE & SPRITUALITY

In this global society, there is a symbiotic relationship between various organisms, each of which depends for its existence on the other. To ignore this truth is to invite self-destruction, disaster. This is what made Einstein say that Science without Spirituality is blind, even as spiritualism unchecked by scientific temper may degenerate into fraud, self-hypnosis leading to dark alleys of blind faith. Thus, what humankind needs today as ever is a happy blend of Science and Spirituality. These are the two eyes which should guide mankind on its march through time and space.

But man (woman too) is not entirely a rational animal. Besides reason, he/she is governed by instincts, emotions, prejudices, predilections, genes—in short *samskaras*. This underlines the importance of education—formal, informal, non-formal—education to mould a person, to polish his/her psyche, not merely to impart skills or dexterity.

AN EXPERIENCE AT ALIGARH

Recently, I had an opportunity to meet a group of young teachers under the aegis of the Academic Staff College, Aligarh Muslim University. They had come from various universities from all over India for an orientation programme, instituted in the wake of the New Education Policy. It was a very lively, vibrant and socially awakened group.

I asked them to identify national problems facing the country, and perplexing them in the context of the objectives of their training/reorientation programme, especially :

(a) the significance of education in general, and higher education in particular, in the global and Indian context; and

(b) the linkage between education and economic and socio-cultural development with particular reference to the Indian polity where secularism and egalitarianism are the basis tenets of society.

PROBLEMS IN THEIR ORDER OF PRIOR TY

The young teachers, with their varying backgrounds, listed the problems in the following order of priority :

(i) Threats to National Integration; (ii) Linguistic Problems; (iii) The Bane of Political Pollution; (iv) Crisis of Character; (v) Over-Population and Unemployment; (vi) Adult Illiteracy and Lack of Access to Education; (vii) Low Status of Women; and (viii) Lack of Sound Leadership for the Youth.

It seemed to me in the group discussions which followed that the participants were in search for a social order free from ignorance, want and injustice.

They felt that threats to national integration emanated from lack of socio-economic justice, unemployment, lack of facilities for meaningful education, lack of young counselling and guidance, lack of women's education, over-population and lack of scientific temper. Terrorism, communalism, obscurantism and fundamentalism were rooted in lack of communication as well as in socio-political and economic discrimination.

WHAT UNIVERSITIES CAN DO

The participants felt that there was need for extending the boundaries of the universities and to spread education beyond the walls of the universities to cover the disadvantaged and deprived population living in the neighbourhood. In short, universities should undertake "Extension Activities" along with teaching and research.

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OUR ETERNAL QUEST FOR PEACE (*Continued*)

It was noted that despite the pious Directives of State Policy enshrined in our Constitution, despite noble aspirations spelt out in our successive 5 - year Plans, much to our shame, there is a pall of illiteracy and penury hanging over us. According to this measure, our educational system and the process of planning have failed. In fact, every deprived and disadvantaged young man or woman, who suffered under a sense of discrimination, is a potential threat to national integration, as long as he or she nurses a sense of alienation born out of fear and frustration, founded on social insecurity.

A related question which came up for examination was whether religious education should from part of the formal system of education. The consensus was that religious education could not be neglected, but it should emphasise moral and ethical values, based on a comparative study of various faiths and religions, since all of them sought to project self-evident and eternal values like brotherhood of man, mutual co-operation, social harmony and universal peace.

PHILOSOPHY OF ANUVRAT

In this context, I brought to the notice of the group the philosophy of the *Anuvrat* Movement, sponsored by Acharya Tulsi I pointed out that the central *mantra* (formula) of the Acharya was : *samyam hi jivan hai* (self-restraint is life). He believes that the society and the nation shall be reformed and regenerated, if the individuals are reformed I read out the 11 small vows prescribed for his followers, and indeed for all those who may elect to subscribe to them, as well as the 6 vows prescribed for the students and 5 vows for the teachers. While generally accepting the validity of the movement, questions appeared to arise over the impact of the social milieu in which the individual lives or his behaviour-pattern.

BOUND BY ENVIRONMENT

Thus, enigmatically, man is both the creature and the creator of his environment.

Experience shows that the average man (and woman) cannot be truthful, honest and unselfish under a tyrannical government, or a feudal system, or in an oligarchy or a capitalistic regime. Even the noblest saints and sages must commit some sins, if th y live in a society based on autocracy, injustice and inequality; see, for instance, the heroes of the Mahabharata. No one can entirely escape the influence of political and economic environment.

[*In the second part of his paper, G. B. K. Hooja referred to the life - experience and mature views of Har Dayal, the revolutionary philosopher of the pre-World War II era. That part would appear in a subsequeut issue of IBC.—Eds.*]

(*Continued from page 49*) **N—BOMB AND PAKISTAN**

The gravity centre in international economic system has shifted from Europe to the Pacific in the 1970s. Japan's booming economy seems to be a potential threat to international trade and commerce for the western industrialised world. As a consequence, the U.S.A. is especially trying to forge military links with Japan. This would perhaps make it impossible to have an "Eastern" NATO on the pattern and concept of the "Western" NATO.

PAKISTAN, CHINA & INDIA

In chapter eight, the author has attempted to show the convergence of military and security interests between Pakistan and China, but he has not gone beyond general observations regarding the nature of Pakistan's relation with China or *vice-versa*. In fact, China and Pakistan have divergent socio-political and economic systems which, theoretically speaking, might exhort us to draw the kind of inference that their friendship may not last long; but things are different when we analyse the policies of the two countries within the paradigm of their respective national interests. Unfortunately, the author has not mentioned anywhere as to what will be the nature and style of their nuclear cooperation; nor has he attempted to point out its implications for the region in general, and for India in particular.

Chapter nine is quite interesting and deals with India's security considerations and compulsions. But the author has failed to point out the weaknesses of India's security policy. He has also not provided alternatives and options for India's defence and security policies. This, of course, affects the quality and content of the chapter.

In chapter ten, Rakesh Gupta has dealt with military "dependencia" of Pakistan. He has also quoted Stephen P. Cohen to prove his point that the dependency status makes Pakistan adopt the policy of "offensive defence". Unfortunately, there is no force in his argument that Pakistan will have to continue the offensive defence policy. As any student of international relations must know, international politics is fluid, ever-changing and is also in the process of ordering and reordering. Hence it is difficult to apply the same doctrine, theory or approach with reference to a particular country for all times to come.

Despite its obvious weaknesses and limitations, the book provides useful information (which now needs updating) on some vital aspects of Pakistan's nuclear and strategic policies. It also provides interesting data regarding Pakistan's militarisation which,of course, can be used by scholars for further analysis of Pakistan's nuclear and defence policies as a whole.

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TRIBUTES TO JAI SINGH II

Promotion of Persian & Urdu in Rajasthan

A. F. Usmani

(in Urdu) *Arabic & Persian Institute, Tonk (Rajasthan)*

SPECIALLY IN JAIPUR

1. CONTRIBUTION OF NON-MUSLIMS TO PERSIAN LITERATURE IN RAJASTHAN
2. CONTRIBUTION OF NON-MUSLIMS TO URDU LITERATURE IN RAJASTHAN

Comments by Mushir Uddin Quraishi

It would require a great deal of time and quite a few volumes to write about the patronage of the rulers of Rajasthan to Urdu and Persian languages in their life-times, with special reference to their own contribution, and of others in the development of these two languages. Dr. Abul Faiz Usmani has written two books in Urdu '*Contribution of non-Muslims in Rajasthan to the cause of Urdu*', and '*Contribution of non Muslims in Rajasthan to the cause of Persian*' wherein, after a thorough research, he has traced the history of the growth of these two languages in Rajasthan. I am, however, confining my short comments on the advancement of Persian and Urdu languages in the erstwhile State of Jaipur.

Rajasthan, comprising of 26 big and small erstwhile states, is famous not only for its chivalry and valour, but also for tourists' attractions like the Pink City of India, JAIPUR; the City of Lakes, UDAIPUR; the Sentinel of the Desert, JODHPUR; the historic fort of CHITTOR; and many others. It has produced warriors like Maharana Pratap, devotees like Meera Bai and also scholars and poets like Abul Fazal Faizi, Sheikh Mubarak, Munshi Madho Ram and Pandit Devi Prasad, to name a few.

In fact, with the arrival of Sufi Saints into India, such as Khwaja Moin-Uddin Chishti to Ajmer (which was the headquarter of a Mughal Sultan, then a British ruled territory and now forms a part of Rajasthan) as well as the social and administrative links of the rulers of these states with the Mughal Darbar, the literary and cultural heritage of these states was also affected. Many rulers were themselves scholars of Sanskrit and Persian or mathematics and science.

The impact of Persian language which was the court language of the Mughals on the social, literary and administrative affairs of the State of Amber (Jaipur) started during the reign of Emperor Akbar around 1561. Mirza Manohar Das Tansvi, who was very close to Akbar, and was granted the estate of 'Manoharpur' (now a village of District Jaipur) was the first non-Muslim Persian poet of India.

Extracts from the following book throw light that Persian was the medium of communication between the Mughal Darbar and Rulers of erstwhile princely States.—('*A descriptive list of Farmans, Manshurs and Nishans addressed by the Imperial Mughals to the Princes of Rajasthan published by Directorate of Archives, Govt. of Rajasthan, Bikaner.*')

Here are also a few relevant extracts from the 'Introduction' written by N. R. Khadgawat :

(1) "The Rajasthan State Archives holds in its custody over three hundred *Farmans*, *Manshurs*, *Nishans*, *Sanads* etc. in original, issued by the Mughal Emperors to the various Ruling Houses of Rajasthan. There are also available over 170 copies of *Farmas* and *Nishans*. These documents were created in the course of administration and the Princes of Rajputana received them in their capacity of being the *Mansabdars* of the Imperial Moghul Court."

(2) "The period of these documents falls back as early as 1585 A.D. and the latest upto 1799 A.D."

(3) "The documents addressed to the former rulers of Jaipur are in all 290, out of which 140 are *Farmans*, 18 *Manshurs*, and the rest are *Nishans*. The *Farmans*, addressed to the rulers of Jaipur, start since the reign of Emperor Jahangir and continue right upto the reign of Bahadur Shah I. The subject matter, dealt in these documents, covers many aspects of Mughal activities in India during this period. The princely state of Jaipur had a historic past, and its relations with the imperial Mughal Court are well known."

(4) "These documents include the *Farmans* issued to the Raja of Jaipur during the War of Succession (1658-59 A.D.).....The largest number of *Farmans* available in the Rajasthan State Archives relate to the reign of Aurangzeb. After the earlier ones, we have included 18 *Manshurs* which he issued after his first coronation on 1st *Zilkada*, 1068 A. H., corresponding to 21st July, 1658. These documents unambiguously solicit the allegience of Amber, and depict the decisive role of Mirza Raja Jai Singh in the victory of Aurangzeb over Dara Shikoh."

(5) "The collection of more than a hundred *Nishans* issued by the various members of the imperial family relate to this very range of years. Among these, quite a large number were issued either by Dara Shikoh or by Aurangzeb...There is a *Nishan* from Prince Dara Shikoh expressing concern over the misbehaviour of Amar Singh, and thus causing a general distrust towards the Rathores of Jodhpur. Again, there is a *Nishan* from him, of a subsequent

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PROMOTION OF PERSIAN & URDU IN RAJASTHAN *Continued*

year, i. e. 1656 A. D., informing the Maharaja of Jaipur that the expedition against the Maharana has been withdrawn".

(6) "The Rajasthan State Archives has in its custody a complete translated version in English of all these documents along with their *Persian Text*; and thus keeping in view their importance, we have reproduced the same after making some necessary changes".

x x x

Mirza Raja Jai Singh I of Jaipur (1622-1688), besides being a good administrator, also had a good command over Persian, Arabic and Turkish languages. The public, especially the elite, of Amber also started taking interest in this 'court' language and the book *'Bostan-e-Khyal'* in Persian *inter alia*, was written in his time. As Maulana Abdul Haq writes : "Persian was the official language of Jaipur State in the beginning like other parts of India". (In those days, the capital of the state was at Amber.—*M.U.Q.*)

IN THE REIGN OF SAWAI JAI SINGH

Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, was perhaps the greatest mathematician and astronomer of his time.

Before he died in the year 1743, he had distinguished himself more as a statesman, a legislator, a man of science than as a soldier. He has been called a Chanakya or Machiavelli of his day. As an astronomer, Jai Singh is ranked with Euclid, Ptolemy and Copernicus. He was a contemporary of the great scientist, Newton, whose great work "*Principia*" was completed in the same year in which Jai Singh ascended the *gaddi* of Amber (1690).

Jai Singh got many Arabic books on astronomy translated. His books '*Gulpadaram*' and '*Jai Singh Naugun*', and his letters to his contemporary rulers also reveal his depth of knowledge in Persian language. Two books written in Persian during the period of Sawai Jai Singh II, namely '*Muntahul Adrak*' and '*Nuskha-e-Nujoom*' prove his love and patronage of the Persian language. (*Note* : It has not yet been possible to identify the authors of these books. —*M.U.Q.*)

One great ambition of Jai Singh as an astronomer was the rectification of the Hindu calender, the accurate prediction of eclipses and other astronomical events. The famous astronomical observatories popularly known as *Jantar Mantars* with various instruments were designed by Jai Singh II himself. With his instruments, Jai Singh was able to detect quite a few mistakes in the Tables of la Hire. The English writer, Arthur Garret writes : "Jai Singh revived Hindu astronomy and gave to its study an impetus not known in India since Brahma Gupta of the 7th century. He issued a revised catalogue of stars reformed the calendar and produced a set of tables of the sun, moon and planets of greatly increased accuracy".

Syed Sibah Uddin Abdur Rehman in his book '*Bazme Taimuria*' published in 1948 writes :

> "He (Jai Singh) studied Hindu, Muslim and European methods of calculations with a detached and unbiased mind, ('*Zaich-e-Jadid*' of Uloogh Beg of Samarkand; '*Tasheelat*' of Mulla Chand Akbar and "*Zaich-e-Shahjahani*" of Mulla Farid Shahjahani) and prepared a book "*Zaich-e-Mohd. Shahi*" containing three chapters. He was well versed in Arabic language also, besides knowing Persian. The work was completed after a seven years' research on the subject"
>
> (*page 313*)

Many books translated from Sanskrit into Persian in his time are safe in the City Palace Museum Jaipur. [*This exchange of knowledge and information was in keeping with the spirit of the age.—M.U.Q.*]

Jai Singh was also a very good town-planner. After ruling at Amber for 21 years, he felt the need of establishing a new and larger capital. So, together with his state architect, Vidyadhar, he planned the city of Jaipur.

In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "Jaisingh would have been a remarkable man anywhere and at any time....his works might have yielded rich results, if only an opportunity had been given to it to fructify".

URDU REPLACES PERSIAN

Urdu language took the place of Persian in Jaipur State by the time Maharaja Pratap Singh became the ruler of Jaipur (1778-1804). The ruler himself was a learned man, and used to write poems in '*Rekhta*'. During his time came *Soofi* saints, Maulana Hazrat Zia Uddin and Miskeen Shah Sahib, who were authors of many books in Urdu and Persian. The *Durgahs* of both saints are in Jaipur at Char Darwaza and Ghat Gate respectively. The court poet 'Raas Rashi', among others, belonged to his regime, as has been mentioned by Dr. A. F. Usmani in his books. Raas Rashi knew Persian also.

During the reign of Maharaja Ram Singh II (1835-1880) Urdu became the *official* language of Jaipur in place of Persian. Maulana Rashid Ahmed Faiz and Hafiz Mohd. Salim Uddin Tasleem were great scholars of Arabic, Persian and Urdu.

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SOME RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF JAIPUR

VEDIC, VAISHNAVA AND SHAIVA

Dr. Kala Nath Shastri

Since ancient times, by tradition, *Dharma* (often wrongly translated as religion) has been treated as the sole guide for the rulers all over India. The Jaipur Rulers, closely following this tradition, adopted the motto '*Yato Dharmas Tato Jayah*' for their official seal, thereby indicating that *Dharma* (or the external law) was the main guiding principle of their rule.

RESPECT & TOLERANCE

Sawai Jai Singh, the founder of Jaipur city was well-versed in Greek, Persian and Sanskrit languages and, through these languages, he had studied different religions of the world, more particularly *Vedic*, *Vaishnavite* and *Shaivite* Hinduism, Islam, Jainism and Christianity. He also lent a strong support to the efforts for achieving a synthesis or a common identity among the different sects of the dominant Hindu religion.

True to this tradition, the later rulers have also offered their respect to all religions. They worshipped all the Hindu deities and gave donations to churches and mosques alike. At the time of *Moharram*, a *Tazia* from the erstwhile ruling house would lead the procession. For generations, Jains occupied important positions in the State. As the rulers were themselves followers of the *Sanatan Dharama*, they were personally devoted to the *Vaishnava*, *Shaiva*, *Shakta* and *Vedic* religious traditions.

Vedic Religion :

Before the foundation of Jaipur City, the main deity of the ruling House of Amber was *Shila Devi* of Amber. The image was brought by Man Singh I from Bengal, which has since commanded equal and unfailing respect of all the succeeding princes. Before this, *Jamwai Mata* (perhaps a local deity) was being worshipped by the Amber princes. In this way, Shaktism appeared to be more prominent before Sawai Jai Singh–II. His father, Vishnu Singh, was a devout *Shakta* and had taken *Deeksha* from a celebrated *Shakta* of South India Swami Shivanand. Sawai Jai Singh's main interest in the Vedic religion is evident from his biography and records of the *Pothi Khana*. Not only he studied Vedic scriptures and was impressed by them, he also tried to put into practice different sacrificial performances prescribed in the *Vedas* He himself offered the *Ashvamedh Yajna* in 1734 A.D. In the chaste tradition of the *Vedas*, he performed *Jyotistomas* and *Choyana* of five fires. A tradition of daily *Yajnas* by Vedic Brahmins appointed for this purpose in the royal palace on behalf of the ruler, continued in Jaipur from Sawai Jai Singh's time till the time of late Sawai Man Singh II. His greater leaning in the later days towards Vaish-

(*Continued overleaf*)

PROMOTION OF PERSIAN & URDU IN RAJASTHAN *Continued*

At that time, Munshi Panna Lal Bhargava also used to write poems both in Urdu and Persian. He was the author of many books, namely '*Mazharul Maarat*', '*Qawaid Sarfo Nehv*' (poetry), '*Srimad Bhagwat Geeta*' (poetry), '*Jotish Prakash*' etc.

Munshi Hira Lal Moonis, younger brother of Munshi Panna Lal, was yet another scholar who knew Persian very well. He also started a press by the name of 'Hira Lal Press' where almost all the books of Urdu and Persian used to be printed. He was the author of Persian books like '*Awal-e-Soofia*', '*Katha Sambodhni*', '*Risal-e-Haiyat*',and '*Sirre-Akbar*'. The last named book '*Sirre-Akbar*' was an outstanding achievement of Munshi Moonis and was very much acclaimed by a renowned scholar of Sanskrit Swami Neelkanth. '*Dharam Karm Nishtha wale Bhagton Ki Katha*'. '*Yatra Darpan*' and '*Ath Khat Roop Mukat*' are the Urdu books written by him.

During that period, some other men of letters in both Urdu and Persian were Munshi Hardeo Prasad Hairat, Munshi Mana Ram Hatifi and Munshi Kundan Lal among others.

Munshi Kundan Lal's great literary achievement is the book captioned as '*Rarhatush Suara*', It is a collection of 25 '*Tarahi Mushairas*' containing poems of 26 poets of Urdu and Persian of Jaipur. These '*Mushairas*' were held between 1872 and 1874 and this book can rightly be claimed as the first collection of poems in Urdu literature.

(*Rajasthan Ka Awwaleen Guldasta-e-Sukhan* by Khudadad Moonis, published in '*Nakhlistaan*' of Rajasthan Urdu Academy).

× × ×

The foregoing account gives just a glimpse of what was done for Urdu and Persian languages in Amber-Jaipur state starting with the reign of Mirza Raja Jai Singh and after. I suggest that a book may be published on the subject after thorough study and research.

Mushir Uddin Quraishi is Vice-President of the Taraqqi Pasand Mussanafeen (Urdu Progressive Writers) in Rajasthan.

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SOME RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF JAIPUR *Continued*

navism, particularly the sect propounded by *Chaitanya Mahaprabhu*, which is called *Gaudiya* sect, has led many scholars to think that he was only a *Vaishnava*.

In fact, Jai Singh's main contribution lies in his efforts to synthesise the codes of different religious conducts of Hindu sects, specially the Vedic and Vaishnavite. This was natural to the psychology or mental make-up of a learned ruler who was deeply impressed by the philosophies of different sects among these, and who tried to find common grounds of faith, believing that the ultimate reality and the object of worship is the same for all religions. In those days, such trends of interfusion of *Vedic*, *Vaishnavite*, *Tantric* and *Yogic* modes of conduct and worship were already prevalent in the country. Sawai Jai Singh asked Hari Krishna Mishra, a Karnataka scholar, to write a treatise on the coordination of the Vedic and Vashnavite ways of worship. As a result, we have two books written by him, Mss. of which are available in the *Pothikhana*.

Vaishnavite Faith :

Jai Singh also sought to establish Rama also as an object of *Madhurya Bhakti* just like Krishna. He could see that the main cause of popularity of *Krishna Bhakti* in India was its 'romantic' appeal. He felt that this could be associated with Rama also. To achieve this object, he asked Kavi Kalanidhi Shri Krishna Bhatt to write a lyrical epic on the *Ras Lila of Rama*. As a result, we have '*Raghava Geetam*' in the style of Jaideva's '*Geet Govind*', which depicts Rama dancing amidst a group of damsels who loved him as their deity. This tradition continued in the Ramanandi temples at Galta for long. The followers of this sect used to put on peacock feathers like Krishna, though they were devotees of Rama. This cult won many admirers among the Vaishnavas of Jaipur in those days.

Another special object of Jai Singh's religious interest was the worship of *Kalki*, the Tenth incarnation of Vishnu. *Puranas* have it that this incarnation is yet to appear, but as this *Avatara* is said to be the principal deity for *Kaliyuga*, Jai Singh did not like to wait for the *Avatar* to appear. Instead, he thought it proper to consecrate an image of *Kalki* in a temple specially built opposite his royal palace. This was a unique event in those days. The temple and the image still exist, though the followers are few.

The Chaitanya Sect :

In Jaipur, the presence of a large number of temples has always attracted the local citizens and drawn the attention of tourists. This galaxy of temples consists not only of those devoted to Vishnu but also to Shiva, Durga, Bhairava, Hanuman, Ganesh, Varaha, Nrasingha, Surya, etc. The Sun temple of Galta, the Hanuman temple of Chandpole and the Ganesh temple of Moti Doongri are no less respected than the Vaishnava temples. This speaks well of the devotion of the people of Jaipur to the whole pantheon of the Hindu religion.

At the time of Sawai Jai Singh, a little extra edge that the *Gaudiya* temple achieved, of course, deserves mention. This was a time when the *Vaishnava* sects were spreading very extensively in north India. Out of these sects, the one headed by Chaitanya (1486 A.D.) was more prominent, due to its romantic appeal and greater stress on choral singing, and comparatively simpler ways of worship. The principal seat of this sect had recently shifted to *Vrindavan*. Jai Singh, who had held gubernatorial assignment at Agra and Mathura, came in contact wit the *Goswamis* (priests of this sect). Roop Goswami used to worship the idol of Govind Deva in Vrindavan, which had been honoured by Man Singh I also by erecting a temple at Vrindavan for it in 1590 A.D. Similarly, the idol of Gopinath was worshipped by Sanatana Goswami and that of Radha Damodar by Jeeva Goswami. These idols were brought to Jaipur and installed here with great celebrations.

We have on record that the idol of Govind Deva came to Jaipur in 1714 A. D. (even before the foundation of the new city); and it was placed in the Jai Niwas Garden around which the city of Jaipur was laid out. As Jai Singh was impressed by the *Gaudiya* way of worship the Jaipur House started treating Govind Deva as the real or *de facto* ruler of the State, the prince being only the '*Deewan*' of the deity. The idols of Gopinath, Radha Damodar etc. also came to Jaipur, and we have these temples enjoying vast following and regular celebrations till today.

This ruler (Sawai Jai Singh) also tried to set at rest the controversies of different sects regarding Radha. There is a school which believes that Radha was a lawful consort of Krishna. while the other believes that she was only a mistress (*Parakiya*). Jai Singh collected opinions of celebrated scholars and tried to strike a note of identity on this issue.

Other Vaishnava Sects

While at the time of Jai Singh II the *Gaudiya* sect came into greater prominence, there were some other important seats too *e.g.* of the *Nimbark* sect (at Parashuramdwara, Amber Road), the *Ramanuja* sect (Galta and Royal

(*Continued*)

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SOME RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF JAIPUR *Continued*

Palace) and the *Vallabha* sect (Gangori Bazar, Barhmpuri) and these retained their places for long in Jaipur. The followers of these sects continued to follow their respective priests, though the personal leanings of the rulers some times brought a particulor sect into bolder relief. For instance, Madho Singh–I showed greater respect for the *Vollobh* sect. We have on record letters addressed to this prince by Goswamis of Udaipur. The historian of *Pusti Marg* (Vallabh sect) maintain that at the time of Partap Singh (1834 V.S.) two principal images of deities of the *Vallabh* sect had their seats in Jaipur. Jagat Singh had a greater faith for the *Nimbarka* sect. He went to Salemabad in 1856 V.S. to offer his respects to the high priest of this sect, and by his blessings, he got Sawai Jai Singh–III as his son. Jai Singh–III also had great respect for the *Nimbarka* sect.

In spite of fact that all these Vaishnava sects had their seats in Jaipur, we do not find mention of any feuds among the priests. There appears to have been complete accord among them. One example of such an accord among the different Vaishnava sects is the fact that, on the *Ekadashi* of *Bhadrapada* month, the idols of Vaishnava deities used to be taken in procession to the bank of the Talkatora lake for a holy outing, when the devotees had the glimpse of their deities together.

Shaivism

At the same time, the *Shaivism* religion also flourished equally well. Since the time of Sawai Jai Singh, Jaipur had *Shaiva* temples. At Brahmapuri, the idols of Shiva and Ganesh were installed in temples after the *Ashvamedh Yajna*. From the very beginning, there has been a Shiva temple, called Rajarajeshwar Temple in the Royal Palace. The Tarakeshwar temple of Chaura Rasta has had the largest number of followers among Shiva temples.

At the time of Ram Singh–II, the *Shaiva* sect became more powerful. It is only at this time, that we have a mention of feuds between *Shaivites* and the *Vaishnavites*. [The chief priest of Tarkeshwar Temple, Bakshi Ram Vyas, who enjoyed great respect of the ruler, tried to exercise his personal influence to convert *Vaishnavas* to Shaivism. As a result, in 1972 V.S., the Goswamis of Gokul Chandrama Temple of *Vallabh* sect left Jaipur with the idol of the deity and went to Bikaner. It is said that their exit was made possible by the intervention of the then Viceroy, Lord Lawrence.]

But such instances were rare and exceptional. Throughout the history of Jaipur, we find all the Hindu religious sects growing side by side, and commanding equal respect and devotion from their respective devotees.

Nirguna Sects

Not only the Shaiva, Vaishnava and Shakta sects, but *Nirguna* sects, which originated before the fundation of Jaipur city in 15th & 16th centuries in the Amber rule, also developed very well in Jaipur State. Dadooji (1544 A.D.) the holy saint of village Narayana, who pioneered the *Dadoo Panth*, is well known. Jaipur is thus the birth place and the most prominent cenre of this sect. At Dausa, Sunder Das ji had been another Nirguna saint who is widely respected for his philosophic poems of the *Nirguna* sect. Other Nirguna saints associated with Amber-Jalpur were Agradas, Nabhadas, Rajjab and Gareebdas. The *Panths* of these saints had a large following in Jaipur, and they have left a rich legacy of philosophic treatise, codes of faith and traditions.

AKHADAS

Another feature of the religious traditions of Jaipur which deserves mention is the existence of 'military' organisations under the auspices of different religious sects. The Raghunath Temple of Balanad ji, on the outskirts of Jaipur City, which belonged to Ramanad sect, had raised a troupe of trained "*Sadhu* soldiers called *Nagas*, who were expert in wielding the spears and batons, and also had a systematic training in archery, swordsmanship etc. Another such regiment of *Nagas* is known to belong to the *Dadoo Panth*. These regiments were classified into different '*Akhadas*'. This unique 'militarisation' under religious organisations is a special feature, typical of the medieval times, which was perhaps calculated to equip the religious leaders with adequate defence potential to withstand the onslaughts of the heretic adversaries.

Socio-Religious Traditions : Fairs & Festivals

Jaipur has also developed many socio-religious traditions, which have bound together the cultural aspirations of its citizens and have given them a typical community culture. One of such important features is the holding of fairs (*Mela*) of Jaipur, which had religious origins, but later developed into social events.

The fair of *Surya Saptami* in the month of *Magha* was devoted to carrying out the procession of the Sun image of the Galta Sun

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SOME RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS OF JAIPUR *Continued*

Temple. It was a fair of astronomical significance, as it symbolised the marching of the Sun from the South to the North.

The fairs of *Teej* and *Gangaur* had their origin in the worship of Gauri; but they soon acquired purely social significance, and are still celebrated as merry get-togethers of the rural and urban people to celebrate the rainy season and the spring season respectively. The fairs of Narsingh and Varah in the bright half of *Vaishakh* were purely religious events and were connected with the Pantheistic cultural traditions of the Tarkeshwar Temple in Chaura Rasta.

There were some socio-religious traditions also associated with this temple of which a remarkable event was the display of curio decorations, pageants, tableaux etc. after the rainy season, called "*sanjhi*" which is a typical cultural trait of Vraj temples. It is said that Ram Singh II used to witness such displays with great interest

PARIKARAMAS

Another important social feature of the religious organisations of Jaipur was the 'pilgrimage or city-go-grounds' (*Parikramas*) which were originally religious customs of taking out the images of God for a round of the city, but were meant to give an occasion to the citizens to come together and visit all the worthy places of the beautiful city and its surroundings. Such "go-rounds" had different itineraries; some of them had a course of 16 or 24 miles. The *Parikramas* of Varahji and Madho-Bihariji are still known to the older generation of the city.

It was the endeavour of the ruling house that all religious endowments should be properly maintained, and the religious life of the communies should be guided by their respective scriptures.

CCDE OF CONDUCT & PERSONAL LAW

On Sawai Jai Singh's desire, Ratnakar Paundarika compiled a detailed compendum entitled "*Jaisingh Kalpadruma*". Such codes of conduet were for all sects.

For the management of Hindu endowments, therefore, a seperate Charity Department (*Devasthan*) was run by the State. In order to provide to the people the guidance of the scriptures about the religious conduct, the rulers had also formed a Tribunal of Pandits called '*Mauz-Mandir*', which used to entertain applications from people seeking guidance on matters like inheritance, marriage, adoptions, caste customs etc. and give them awards based on the *Dharma Shastras*. These awards were honoured by the law courts also, where Hindu Laws or succession issues etc. were involved. The fact is that this tribunal gave awards to the followers of different sects based on their own acriptures.

This bears enough testimony to the fact that the State's desire was that the people should follow their religions, in accordance with their own scriptures. There was a seat of *Shahar Qazi* looking after the administration of justice in the Muslim Community in the conduct of their religious practices, personal law and charitable endowment activites. The Jainas, Sikhs, Christians and other communities freely practised their religious practices according to the dictates of their priests and preceptors.

Dr. Kala Nath Shastri was until recently the Director of the Bhasha Vibhag of the State. He is now Principal of the Govt. P.G. College Didwana (District Nagour) in Rajasthan. An earlier version of this note has been included in J.N. Ashopa edited volume, "The Cultural Heritage of Jaipur (1979)."

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SANSKRIT SCHOLARS

During the reigns of Raja Vishnu Singh & Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh

Prabhakar Shashtri

[After the death of Mirza Raja Jai Singh I, and before his name-sake Sawai Jai Singh II came on the political and cultural scene, the period 1667 to 1700 witnessed two occupants on the *gaddi* of Amber (and by that virtue, in the imperial service of the Mughal Emperors) namely Mirza Raja Ram Singh I (1667-1688) and his grandson, Raja Vishnu Singh (1688-1699). Ram Singh's son Krishna Singh had died very young.]

Like his predecessors, Vishnu Singh also took a keen interest in the traditional patronage of learning. The poet **Kalanidhi Krishan Bhatt** in his epic *'Ishvaravilasa'* points out that Vishnu Singh was very fond of Sanskrit. He was keenly interested in *yajnas* (vedic sacrifices), and we find him performing many *yajnas*. His coronation ceremony has been described in the above mentioned long heroic poem.

The ancestor of the Goswami family, **Shivanand Bhatt Goswami** came to Amber during this period, and was granted Mahapura and other villages by Raja Vishnu Singh. He was a learned man, particularly in the field of *Tantra-Mantra*, and wrote about 42 works. Most of them are available in the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. These relate to *Tantra-mantra* (religious treatises teaching magical and mystical formularies for the worship of deities or the attainment of superhuman powers), *Dharmashastras* (code of laws), grammar, astrology, prayers and lexicon. Amongst the prominent works are : 'सिंहसिद्धान्तसिन्धु' 'ललितार्जन कौमुदी,' 'श्री विद्यार्चनदीपिका,' 'कुल प्रदीपं,' 'आचारसिन्धु,' 'आह्नीकरत्नम्,' 'तिथिनिर्णय,' 'व्यवहारनिर्णय,' 'प्रायश्चितनिर्णय,' 'कारककोशः,' तद्धितकोशः,' 'समासकोशः,' 'वैद्यरत्नम्,' 'बालविवेक,' 'मुहूर्तरत्नम्,' आख्यातविवेकः,' 'सिंहसिद्धान्तदीपिका,' 'सौन्दर्यलहरी,' 'शिवरहस्यम्,' 'ज्योतिषरत्नम्,' सिंहसिद्धान्तपद्धति etc.)

It is possible that all these works were not written under the patronage of a single ruler. We have no indication as to which work was written under which patron. A study of these works, however, shows that Shivanand Bhatt was a great scholar.

DURING SAWAI JAI SINGH'S TIME

Although, from the military and political point of view, his entire life time was one of struggle, Sawai Jai Singh's contributions in the fields of education and Sanskrit learning are no less memorable. He was also interested in *Yajnas*, as the performance of *Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha Yajna* illustrates. He invited scholars from all over the country to settle in his state. That is why his period is considered as a "golden" period in the annals of Sanskrit learning.

The list of scholars present at the *Asvamedha* and other *yajnas* is mentioned by **Pandit Krishna Ram Bhatt** in the great poem—*'Kachhavansha'*, which is the most reliable source of information. In the 11th chapter of the work, the poet has discussed the great *Yajna*. Just as the poet Kalanidhi Krishna Bhatt mentions **Ram Chandra Dravida, Vyas Sharma, Yajnakar, Gunakar,** and **Hari Krishna Sharma Chayani** in the epic *Ishvaravilasa*, in the same way Krishna Ram Bhatt mentions the names of **Ratnakar Paundarik, Kamlakar Chayani, Gokulnath Goswami,** *Adhvaryu Yajnakar-Brahma* **Hari Krishna Chayani,** *Hota* **Ramchandra Dikshit,** *Udgata* **Samrat Jagannath,** *Prostota* **Brijnath Dikshit,** *Maltravarun* **Keshav Dikshit,** *Achchavak* **Kanth Kanada,** *Pratiprasthatri Padodh-sthita* **Ram Chandra Dravida, Shri Tivadi, Anantdeva, Shri Ravi Dutt** son of Markandeya, **Prahlad Purohit** and **Nilakantha** and other scholars. Works of some of these scholars are available, and even if the others could not acquire fame, they were given due patronage by Maharaja Jai Singh.

A brief account is given below about the scholars whose works are available. (More detailed account can be had from an unpublished thesis :—*The Contribution of Jaipur to Sanskrit Literature (1699-1834 A.D.)*. There is an article about the interest of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh in *yajnas* in the Journal from Educational Trust Pilani *'Maru Bharati'* (the twelfth issue of January, 1965). The article mentions the following scholars during the time of Sawai Jai Singh:—

Goswami Shivanand Bhatt (patronised by Vishnu Singh and Jai Singh) : writer of 40 works on ethics, law, grammar, astrology and *tantra mantras*

Goswami Janardana Bhatt : 3 works (literature, ethics and incantation)

Goswami Chakrapani : One work (ethics and incantation),

Niketan Goswami : One work (literature)

Ratnakar Bhatt Paundarika : One work (law)

Sudhakar Bhatt Paundarika : One work (literature)

Brijnath Bhatt Dikshit : 2 works (philosophy & literature)

Kavi Kalanidhi Krishna Bhatt : 7 works (epics, self-contained stanzas, prosody, prayers and letters)

Harihara Bhatt : 1 work (historical poem)

Jagannath Samrat : 3 works (astrology)

Kevalram Jyotishraj : 5 works (self-contained stanzas and astrology)

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CONTRIBUTION OF JAIN WRITERS — by Narendra Bhanawat

During the reign of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh, various Jain *Acharyas*, *Munis* and *Shravakas* made their literary contributions. **Ramchandra Chhabra** was the Chief Diwan of Jai Singh. He had also accompanied his patron to Udaipur, when the Mughal Emperor, Bahadur Shah, had ordered the occupation of Amber (1707), thus forcing Jai Singh to take shelter outside his old domains. Ram Chandra's advice then enabled Jai Singh to reoccupy his territory. Ramchandra's role and contributions found a special mention in the 1713 A.D. work, *Pattotsava* by **Bhattarak Devendra Kirti.**

Though the Jain *Acharyas* and *Munis* do not reside at any one place for long, except for the rainy season, and prefer to roam from place to place most of the time, Jaipur has been long known for its wide and varied acquisition of Jain temple libraries and collections of arts and letters. In fact, Amber and Sanganer were long-established and well-recognised seats of Jain faith and learning, before Jai Singh came on the scene, and founded his new capital city, which soon attracted a fresh gathering of Jain spiritual and community leaders.

Among these was yet another luminary, **Acharya Jai Mall** (b. 1708 at Lambia in Jodhpur, Marwar State). He was ordained in 1731 A.D./ V.S. 1788, and hundreds of his writings, mostly of a religious or devotional nature, or relating to morals and ethics are prescribed in the Acharya Vinanad Gyan Bhandar in Jaipur. A collection has also appeared under "*Jai Vani*" title.

His disciple was **Acharya Rai Chand** (born V.S. 1796/1739 A.D.), a renowned saint-poet who composed about 200 works, big or small. Among these were sketches of *Ashadha Bhuti*, *Gautam Swami*, *Chandan Bala*, *Jambu Swami*, *Maitarya Muni* and *Evanta Rishi Charit* etc.

Sant Bheekhanji (b. *V.S.* 1783—1726 A.D.) was another philosopher-poet of the age. He took his *Diksha* under **Jain Acharya Raghunath ji.** Later he had some differences with his perceptor, which led to the founding (by him) of the *Swetambar Terapanthi* sect. His collection of nearly 35 thousand *slokas* (couplets) has been published in two volumes entitled *Bhikshu Granth Ratnakar*.

Pandit Daulat Ram Kasliwal (1692-1772 A.D. or V.S. 1749-1829) was another contemporary scholar and poet. He came from village Baswa near Jaipur, and wrote about 18 books such as *Padma Purana*, *Harivamsha Purana*, *Punyasrava Kathokosh*, *Adi Purana*, *Jeewandhara Charit Adhyatma Baarhakhari*, *Vivek Vilasa*, *Shraunika Charit* and *Shripal Charit* etc. His contribution to *Dhundhari* literature was also notable.

Pandit Todar Mal (1723 to 1770 A.D. or V.S. 1780 to 1827) was another renowned scholar and spiritual leader, who made remarkable contributions through his writings and commentaries in the local *Dhundhari* language entiled *Gomattsar*, *Atmanushasan* and *Triloksar*. *Mokshamarga Prakashak* was another popular and well-read treatise by him. His basic teachings were emphatic about self-discipline and self-purification.

Khushal Chand Kala (b. 1698 A.D. V.S. 1755) was yet another scholar who made much contribution in the development of *Dhundhari* literature. He wrote commentaries (in *Dhundhari*) on the *Puranas*. His other works included *Yoshodhar Charit*, *Jamboo Swami Charit* etc.

Jai Chand Chhabra was another eminent scholar who wrote comments in *Dhundhari* on Sanskrit and Prakrit books, and compiled over 16 works—*Vachanika Sangyak*. His two well-known commentaries *Samaya Sar Bhasha* and *Ashtapahud Bhasha* are on the Prakrit works of **Acharya Kundakunda**. Some other writings included : *Tattvartha Sutra Bhasha Vachonika*, *Sarvartha Siddha Bhasha*, *Vachanika*, *Apta Mimansa Bhash* etc.

(*Adapted from a short note in Hindi by Dr. Narendra Bhanawat, Reader in Hindi Deptt., University of Rajasthan*)

(*Contd. from page 61*)

Sanskrit Scholars

Hari Krishna Mishra : 1 work (Vedic/Vaishnava conduct)

Mayaram Gaur Pathak : 1 work (law)

Maharaja Jai Singh II (The Ruler himself) : 1 work (astrology)

Nayanasukha Upadhyaya : 1 work (astrology and literature) not avaiable

Harilal : 1 work (not available)

Mahidhara : 1 work (not avaiable)

Kashinath : 1 work (Ayurveda)

Amongst the scholars, the works of Kavikalanidhi Krishna Bhatt, Jagannath Samrat and Ratnakara Bhatt Paundarika are very important.

[*Note*—cullied out from a longer article by the author rendered into English by Ms. Anita Mehta of the History Deptt. included in J. N. Asopa edited volume. *The Cultural Heritage of Jaipur. Eds Dr. Prabhakar Shashtri was then a Reader in the Sanskrit Deptt. of Rajasthan University.*]

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THE JAINS OF JAIPUR : *AT THE COURT & AS ACHARYAS*

(Based on extracts from "History of the Jaipur City" by **Ashim Kumar Roy***)*

The Jains have held important positions in Jaipur both in the administration and in business from the very beginning. Indeed, in some other important States of Rajasthan also, such as Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bikaner etc., Jains have occupied high posts in the government from time to time.

Recently, the editors of *Veer Vani* (a journal published from Jaipur and dealing in matters of interest to the Jains) have compiled a list of Jain ministers of Jaipur. According to this list. the following Jains were ministers in the **court of Sawai Jai Singh** :

1.	Ram Chandra Chhabra	1692-1722
2.	Phatah Chandra Shah	1708-1714
3.	Choudhari Jagram Pandya s/o Ghasi Ram	1717-1733
4.	Tara Chand Villala s/o Keshav Das	1716-1733
5.	Rao Kripa Ram Pandya s/o Jagram	1723-1733
6.	Phatah Ram Pandya s/o Rao Jagram	1733-1756
7.	Bhagat Ram Pandya s/o Rao Jagram	1695-
8.	Nayan Sukh Terapanthi	1712-1713
9.	Shri Chand Terapanthi	1713-1714

Among these, Ram Chandra Chhabra and Rao Kripa Ram Pandya were well known. Kripa Ram, a worshipper of Sun, is said to have built 120 temples dedicated to Sun in various parts of the country, including the Sun Temple on the hill due east of the town.

The number of Jain ministers in the court of Madho Singh, son of Jai Singh, was also large. The invitation letter of the *Indradhvaja Puja* dated February 1764 proudly mentioned that :

दरबार के मुतसद्दी सर्व जैनी है और साहुकार लोग सर्व जैनी हैं। यद्यपि और भी हैं परि गौणता रूप हैं, मुख्यता रूप नाहीं। छः सात व आठ व दस हजार जैनी महाजनों का घर पाइए हैं। ऐसा जैनी लोगों का समूह और नग्र विषै नाहीं। यहां के देश विषै सर्वत्र मुख्य पणे श्रावगी लोग वसे हैं।

"All the courtiers are Jaina and all the merchants are Jains. Though others are also there, but they are in minority, not in the majority. Six, seven or eight or ten thousand Jain traders live here. Such a large gathering of Jains would not be found in other cities; and mainly the Saraogis live in this country."

The letter refers to a "self-satisfied" community exaggerating its own importance, but it confirms the fact that many of the court officials were Jains. This *Indradhvaja Puja* was celebrated with great *eclat* in Jaipur in 1764. Letters were sent to Jains in Delhi. Agra and other cities inviting them to join in the celebrations. The then ruler of Jaipur (Madho Singh) had offered that all the things required for the *Puja* could be taken from the palace stores. One of the attractions of the Puja was that **Pandit Todarmal** was to give his commentary on *Gommatsar*, an important and voluminous book on Jaina religon.

It is noteworthy that while most of the prominent Jains of Mewar, Marwar and Bikaner were *Svetambara* Jains, the Jains who were prominent in the history of Jaipur were mostly *Digambar* Jains or *Saraogis*. (G.N. Sharma, *Social Life in Mediaeval Rajasthan*, pp. 211-18.)

Most of the old Jaina families of Amber came down to Jaipur when the capital shifted here. Other Jains came from Sanganer, Chaksu and neighbouring places. (One of the oldest Jaina families of Jaipur, that of Mukimji of Dariba Pan, came here from Amber at the instance of Jai Singh and has a *patta* from him.)

Bakht Ram Shah who wrote *Buddhi vilas*, a book dealing with Jaina rituals, emigrated from Chaksu, about 12 kilometres south of Jaipur. Sanganer has been an important Jaina centre for a long time, Among the several Jaina temples there, one built of marble and sandstone is very beautiful. It was built in the 17th century. According to Bakht Ram Shah and one or two other authors of the eighteenth century, the *Terapanthi* sect among the Digambar Jains originated in Sanganer.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, there was a great sectarian controversy among the Digambar Jains in the Jaipur-Agra area. A reformist sect called *Terapanthi* was becoming popular among the more educated people. This was opposed by the orthodox Jains who were in their turn called *Beespanthis*. **Todarmal** was a *Terapanthi*, while his son Gumaniram started a new sect called *Gumanpanth*. (*Gumanpanthis* are no longer important, but the present Digambar Jain population of Jaipur consists of *Terapanthis* and *Beespanthis* in the ratio of 40:60. This, however, is only a rough estimate. Most of the families of Agarwal Jains are *Terapanthis*, while the Khandelwal Jains are *Beespanthis*.)

Bakht Ram Shah (the author of *Buddhi Vilas*.) was a great antagonist of *Terapanthis*. About *Terapanthis*, he wrote that "...they are frauds. ' . they cheat even the *Jina* (Mahaveer)... *Terapanthis* and *Beespanthis* fight like cats and mice..."

(As it is, there is not much difference between the two sects, so far as the religious beliefs are concerned.

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THE JAINS OF JAIPUR : *AT THE COURT & AS ACHARYAS*

The difference is mainly in regard to the **rituals** to be followed in the temples, the *Terapanthis* tending to be more puritanical. For instance, *Terapanthis* offer their *Puja* standing; they do not offer *Puja* at night; nor do they touch the feet of the priest. *Terapanthis* do not offer *Kesar* at the feet of the image; nor do they worship with flowers.)

The *Indradhwaja Puja* mentioned above was celebrated by the *Terapanthis*.

TODARMAL – An Early Writer of Hindi Prose

Pandit Todar Mal is said to have been born near about 1740 (?) A.D in Jaipur. The year of his birth is, however, uncertain. He died in 1767. Considering the number of his writings, it is quite possible that he was born earlier than 1740, for it is unlikely that he could have produced so much work in such a brief span of life.

Todarmal and his son, Gumaniram, wrote many books on Jainism. Todarmal's fame rests on his commentaries in *Hindi* on a number of Jaina books. The most famous of these are *Gommatsara* (38,000 *slokas*), *Labdhisara* and *Kshapansara* (13,000 *slokas*) and *Trilokasara* (14,000 *slokas*). He wrote in Hindi prose a commentary on these 65,000 *slokas*, which were written in some form of *Prakrita*, near about 1760 A.D. These were the early days of prose writing in Hindi/*Khari Boli*. It was quite a feat on his part to write the commentaries of these abstruse Jaina books in a language which had not until then reached maturity. Yet Todarmal's language was not weak. He also translated a Sanskrit work on aphorisms called *Atmanushashana* and also wrote a commentary on it. One example from this might be quoted :

भाषा टीका—अर्थ—पाप से दुःख होता है, और धर्म से सुख, ऐसे ये वचन सर्वजनों विषें भली प्रकार प्रसिद्ध हैं. सर्व ही ऐसे मानते हैं। इसलिए जो सुख का अर्थी है. जिसको सुख चाहिए, सो सदा पाप को छोड़कर सदा काल धर्म को अंगीकार करे।

भावार्थ—पाप का फल दुःख का है और धर्म का फल सुख ऐसे केवल हम ही नहीं कहे हैं बल्कि सर्व ही मतानुयायी कहे हैं। इसलिए सुख चाहो तो पाप को छोड़ो धर्म करो ॥ 8 ॥

Since his language is very close to modern Hindi prose, it might be said that Todarmal was one of the originators or pioneers of Hindi prose.

Another well-known Jaina writer of the eighteenth century was **Daulat Ram Kasliwal**. He was born in Baswa, a small town near Bandikui in the Jaipur district. He came to Jaipur in search of a job and was appointed the agent (*Vakil*) of Jaipur in the court of Jagat Singh, the Maharana of Udaipur.

बसुवा को बासी यहै अनुचर जय को जाति,
मंत्री जय सुत को सहि जाति महाजन जानि।
जय को राखे रण में, रहे उदयपुर माहि।
जगतसिंह कृपा करे राखे अपने याहि।

Ram Chandra Shukla, in his well-known "*Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas*", has wrongly taken Baswa to be in Madhya Pradesh and dicussed Daulat Ram Kasliwal accordingly Shukla has mentioned Daulat Ram as one of the first writers of Hindi prose and quoted an example of his style from his book, *Padma Purana*. It would, however, appear that Daulat Ram's prose had not yet reached the maturity of *Khari boli* style of his contemporary Todarmal. For example,

जब रावण ने ऐसा कहा तब इन्द्रजीत पिता की आज्ञा से पीछे बाहुडा। अर सर्व देवों की सेना शरद मेघ के समान भाग गई जैसे पवन कर शरद के मेघ विलय जाय। रावण की सेना में जीत के वादित्र बाजे, ढोल नगारे शंख झांझ इत्यादि अनेक वादियों का शब्द भया।

Daulat Ram wrote about 15 books, mostly on Jaina mythology. His most voluminous book is *Adhyatma Barahkhari*. The only copy of this book has been found in a *Shastra Bhandar* in Jaipur. From this it would appear that he spent a part of his literary life in Jaipur.

Jaipur thus occupies quite a prominent place in the early history of Hindi prose.

Tordarmal's son, Gumaniram, wrote in *Dhundhari*, the dialect of the Jaipur region.

JAIPUR LIBRARIES

Both Todarmal and Gumaniram worked mostly in the library attached to the Jain temple Badhi Chand. This temple, situated in Gheewalon ka Rasta, Johari Bazar, was constructed in 1738. The *Shastra Bhandar* (Library) attached to the temple contains 1278 manuscripts at present.

Dr. K C. Kasliwal, in his book *Jaina Grantha Bhandars in Rajasthan*, has listed about 18 such libraries attached to the various Jaina temples in the city. It is noteworthy that whereas the Hindu collections of manuscripts are generally found in the private libraries of princes, rich persons or learned people, the Jaina collections are mostly found in the libraries attached to the Jaina temples which, in many cases, were treated as belonging to the community, where others could donate books and manuscripts for preservation and study by the learned persons in the community.

Death of Todarmal

It is commonly believed that Todarmal was killed during an anti-Jaina riot either by a Hindu mob or under the orders of the ruler. (There is no document to confirm this). A number of such riots are said to have occurred during the period 1761-1770. They are described in *Buddhi Vilas*.

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BRAJ BHASHA *KHARI BOLI* *& HINDI*

A HERITAGE OF JAIPUR

Manohar Prabhakar & Jai Narayan Asopa

Early literature in this region, like other regions of Rajasthan, has been inextricably associated with the rise, recession and resurgence of the Rajput powers. Jaipur's contribution to Hindi literature has, therefore, to be studied and assessed against this background

As is well known, the rulers of Amber and Jaipur were great patrons of arts and letters, and a large number of poets, writers and scholars flourished under their patronage. They wrote devotional, philosophic, gnomic and romantic poetry in abundance, and contributed many works on a variety of subjects.

A Galaxy of Saint Poets

In the galaxy of saint poets, mention must first be made of **Krishna Dasa Payahari** belonging to the *Ramanand* sect, who was a contemporary of Prithviraja (1508–1527 A. D.). Payahari, who made his abode at Galta, is known as the author of *Jugal Māna-charita. Bharamara-Gitā* and *Paramatattva-Nirūpaṇa*. The latter two works propound the principles of *Ramanand* sect, while the first one describes the romantic pursuits of Radha and Krishna. An erudite scholar of Sanskrit and *Braj*, Payahari had a large number of disciples including Bālā Bai, one of the nine queens of Prithviraj, who often persuaded her husband to adopt the '*Bhakti*' of Rama for attaining the goal of salvation. [G. N. Bahura, *Literary Heritage of the Rulers of Amber and Jaipur*, Jaipur (1976), p. 76]

Krishna Dāsa Payahārī's disciple **Keelhā** also wrote devotional poetry eulogising Ram Chandra. He is known for his couplets written in *Braja* mixed with *Dhundari*, the local dialect of Jaipur region. [M. L. Menaria, *Rajasthan ka Pingal Sahitya*, Bombay (1958) p. 67.]

Another saint poet of significance of the early period was **Parashu Ram Deo**, a follower of *Nimbark* sect. He is said to have been born at Khandela and wrote as many as 23 books in *Braja* which are compiled under the title of *Parashu Ram Sāgar*. All these books written in a simple, lucid style are of devotional nature.

Another important saint poet was **Priya Dās**. He was a disciple of **Nābhā Dās** and wrote two very significant works entitled *Bhaktamāla kī Tīka* and *Bhāgvata Bhāshā*. The former is a commentary on *Bhaktamāla*, a source book for the biographical details of the saints of Ramanuja sect. [*Mishra Bandhu Vinod*, Pt.I, p, 359.]

Dādū passed his 12 years in childhood and then met his *guru* and came down to Sambhar in his 15th year (1568–69 A. D.) He left Sambhar because he did not like the Turks converting the Hindus. He came to Amber in 1575 A. D , when Bhagawant Dās was the ruler. Akbar called him to Fatehpur Sikri, and heard Dādu's discourse for 40 days. Dādu also preached in Haryana and Punjab, but was mostly active in Rajasthan He settled in Narayana (near Sambhar) in 1598 A. D. and died there in 1603 A D. To this day, Dadu's main seat at Narayana is a place of pilgrimage for *Dadupanthis*. [J N Asopa, *Literary Heritage of Rajasthan*, Jaipur and *Jaipur-History and Traditions*, Jaipur (1976). *Dadu and Dadu Panth*, an article by J. N. Asopa,]

Dādū believed in one **formless** God and criticized the sectarian gods belonging to different sects. He said that by dividing the Absolute in parts, they have distributed him in sects In spite of his advice against sectarianism, in his own life time, his disciples called his philosophy, **Dadu-***panth* or a sect, and themselves **Dadu-***panthis* Dādū's philosophy or religious belief may be summarised in a nut-shell : God is attributeless, as well as full of attributes, intransient as well as transient,as He is present in transient things also, and whatever is there is due to His glow An example given by him is that "in all the ten directions; there are burning lamps of His light without any wick or oil, and He resides in all as oil resides in the oil-seeds, fragrance in the flower and butter in the milk."

According to Dādū, liberation is a state of mind when a saint living in the world of illusion, remains free from it; and while attaining or not attaining a desired object, is free from the idea of I and mine, is devoid of pain and pleasure, attachment and jealousy, happiness and unhappiness, and the bodily happiness and riches cannot bind him, and he has no friend and foe, and treats one's own and others alike.

He did not believe in icon-worship, caste, pilgrimage and magical rites. He did not believe himself to be a Hindu or a Musalman He was influenced by Upanishads, as well as Kabir; but while Kabir was outspoken, he was very polite.

Dādū had many disciples even when he was living at Sambhar and those showing reverence for him were in thousands. Those who took part in devotional prayers with him belonged to all the castes of Hindus and even Muslims. **Janagopāla** in his *Dadu Janma-lila parachi* has described 52 disciples of Dadu, whereas **Rāhgod**s in his *Bhaktamāla* has described his disciples and his disciples' disciples as 152. The disciples whose traditional seats continued were 52. They are known as 5 pillars or branches.

From the point of view of ecstacy, among his disciples, **Rajjab** is very prominent. He belonged to a Pathan family of Sanganer near Jaipur. His father was

(*Continued overleaf*)

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a captain in the army of the rulers of Amber. He was born in about 1557 A.D. and lived for 121 years. When he was going to Amber for his marriage, in the foothills of Amber, Dādū was sitting in a state of meditation. He went to have his glimpse (*darshan*). When Dadu opened his eyes, he said a couplet addressing Rajjab that he was born for something else *i.e.* for service and remembrance, but he had forgotten that. Hearing this, Rajjab became free from wordly attachment. He gave up his bridegroom's attire and gave it to his brother and himself stayed back there. For this very reason, his disciples used to adorn themselves in a bride-groom's attire. In the company of Dadu, he also began writing poems. Rajjab wrote *Vaṇī* and *Sarvāngī*, both in verse. These works which are written in *Rajasthani* mixed with *Braja* consist of saintly teachings.

Another famous disciple of Dādu was **Sunder Dās** who became a disciple of Dādu when he was a boy of six. He belonged to a Khandelwāl Vaishya family of Dausa near Jaipur. Seeing his intellectual capacity, he was sent to Varanasi for his education. He is also famous for his contemplation of the supreme spirit with his six colleagues in Fatehpur (District Sikar). He has written sbout 47 books. His poems about *Vedanta* and calm of mind are considered supreme. He used a number of styles in versification and wrote simple and beautiful verses in *Braja* mixed with standard *Khari-Boli* Among his books, *Sunder-Vilāsa* and *Tāna-Samudra* are very famous. In these, there is a learned description of the preceptor, devotion of nine kinds, eight-fold-meditation, *Sankhya*, and non-dualism. The traditional seat of his disciples was first in Dausa, but now it is in Fatehpur (Sikar).

Sunder Das (1596-1689 A.D.) was a great scholar of Sanskrit, philosphy, grammar etc. He was a widely travelled man, and this explains the admixture of *Punjabi*, *Gujarati*, *Malwi* etc. in his diction. He wrote many books on a variety of subjects pertaining mainly to *Dādu panth* and philosophy. [See *Sunder Granthavali*, ed. by H.N. Purohit.] Sunder Dās was one of the greatest scholars of his times, and a poet of very high order. He spent his last days in Sanganer and breathed his last there.

Interestingly enough, another saint poet of *Dādu-panth*, **Jag Jeevan** also hailed from Dausa. It is said that he imparted initial training in verse-making to Sunder Dās. [Refer to *Panchamrita* by Swami Mangal Dasa.] Jag Jeevan's two compositions–*Vāṇī* and *Drisht-ānta Sākhī Samgraha* are deposited in Purohit Hari Narain Collection at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur.

Jan Gopal, **Bhikha Jan**, **Sant Dasa** and **Khema Dasa** were other important saint poets of this era. They composed verses mainly to spread the teachings of *Bhakti* cult. However, their works are equally important for their literary and linguistic aspect.

THE AGE OF JAI SINGH & LATER

Thus there was a living tradition of devotional poetry and philosophy when Sawai Jai Singh II appeared on the scene to give a further fillip to literary activities and scholarship.

Ramcharan, a Vijaivargiya Baniya by caste, was born in Soda village of Jaipur region in 1719 A.D; [J. N. Asopa, *Literary Heritage of Rajasthan*, Jaipur.] He was made a disciple by **Kriparam** in 1751 A.D. at Dantra in district Bhilwara. He opposed icon worship and thereby fell into difficulty in the State of Mewar and then came down to Shahpura and established the seat of *Ramasnehi* sect there. The Chief of Shahpura, Rajadhiraj Ramsingh got his seat established there. He had 225 disciples, out of whom **Ramjanji** succeeded him and ascended the seat at Shahpura. Ramcharan's poems have been collected in a book entitled *Anabhyavāṇī*. He was a saint pure and simple and lacked the knowledge of prosody and that is why his poems lack rhythm necessary according to the class of the verse. Although Ramcharan lacked stylistic presentation, however, his direct presentation in simple and spoken language gave him good popularity.

Besides the saint-poets, there were many others who wrote devotional poetry without renouncing the world. In this context, specific mention must be made of poetess **Brij Dāsi** who translated *Shrīmad Bhāgvata* in *Braja*. She was the daughter of Anand Ram, the Raja of the estate of Lavan and married to Maharaja Raj Singh of Kishangarh. Her *Brijdasi Bhagwat* gained considerable popularity because of the simplicity of diction devoid of literary jargon. [Munshi Devi Prasad, *Mahilā Mridu Vānī*, p. 94.]

A follower of the *Krishna bhakti* cult, Jaipur's ruler **Pratap Singh** (1778-1803) was himself a poet of very high order. He wrote devotional poems in Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and *Braja*. Due to his '*Rekhtas*' he is regarded as one of the poineers of *Khari boli*. He wrote under the pen-name of *Brajnidhi*. A collection of his works has been published under the title of *Brajnidhi Granthavali* by Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Kashi. Under the patronage of Pratap Singh, a large number of poets and writers carried their literary pursuits in Jaipur. In his times, the State *Pothi Khana* (Manuscript Library of the State of Jaipur) got enriched and was preserved with the utmost attention.

POETS OF LOVE AND ROMANCE

Jaipur has also had the credit of nursing a number of poets who enriched Hindi literature by their outstanding poetry of love and romance. These literary luminaries include Jan Kavi, Behari, Kulpati Mishra, Padmakar, Shri Krishna Bhatt and a host of others.

Jan Kavi was a direct descendant of Nawab Fatehkhan of Fatehpur, belonging to the Kayam Khani family.

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. . . A HERITAGE OF JAIPUR

His original name was Nyamat Khan and he assumed the pen-name of *Jan Kavi* only for literary purposes.

He was a prolific poet and writer who produced 75 works covering a wide range of themes. He was a profound scholar of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and *Braja*. Jan Kavi's compositions are based mainly on love and legends His graphic descriptions reveal qualities of a good story-teller. He did not indulge much in rhetorics and preferrred plain descriptive device.

One who wrote the finest couplets of love in the medieval age was **Bihari Lal**. His couplets have been compiled in *Bihari Satasai*, which contains 713 verses His verses are full of so many shades of meaning that by now, seven commentaries have been written on his work. The couplets, primarily about love, have a sprinkling of devotion and practical advice also.

Bihari was the poet laureate whose *Satasi* has stood the test of time. He was a court poet of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber. His works have a privileged position in Hindi poetry for their brevity of expression, refined diction, unique similarities and metaphors. His *Satsai* has been so popular that, even in the modern times, many poets try to compose couplets on his pattern. A large number of interpretative and research works written on *Satsai* are a glowing tribute to Bihari's out–standing poetic talent.

Bihari's nephew (sister's son), **Kulpati Mishra** also received liberal patronage from Maharaja Ram Singh I. His notable works include the *Ras Rahasya* and *Sangrām Sāra*. The former is a work of rhetorics, while the latter is a translation of the *Drona Parva* of *Mahabharta*. His *Yukti-Tarangini* written on the pattern of *Satsai* is also considered an outstanding composition of love and romance.

Padmakara Bhatt, who was a court poet of Maharajas Pratap Singh and Jagat Singh, was a poet scholar of outstanding ability. He composed a number of works, out of which *Jagadvinoda* is considered to be the best. Although basically it is a penegyrical composition, it is noted for its beautiful descripitve devices and stylistic presentation replete with original similies and metaphors.

The trends set by stalwarts like Bihari and Padmakar have continued until the beginning of the twentieth century, with Jaipur occupying an enviable position in the realm of letters. It is on the foundation of these glorious traditions that the edifice of modern Hindi writing is being erected.

Dr. J. N. Asopa has been long associated with the University of Rajasthan, and the Rajasthan History Congress.

Dr. Manohar Prabhakar is now Director of Public Relations, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

A Plea for an Indian Calendar

[*An abstract of* **Smt. Aparna Sharma's** *article "Bhartiya Rashtriya Samvat" (Indian National Era) published in Shodhak (Jaipur) Vol. 15 Pt. A Sr. No 43, 1985*]

India needs a "national era", which may also give it its distinct identity and national integrity. An era can be regarded as national if, first, it is made use of in a large part of the country; secondly, some national feelings are associated with it; and thirdly, if it is associated with an event of historical significance.

None of the thirty eras like *Kalchudi, Gupta, Amali, Bengali Sen, Harsha, Chalukya, Lakshman Sen, Shiv Singh, Raj, Shaka, Vikrama* and *Christian* adopted from time to time, in one part of the country or another, can be regarded as India's national era

Though the *Vikram Era* is a "native" era of India, it has not been adopted or used by the modern political administrative circles, and so it cannot be regarded as India's national era.

The Government of independent India appointed a Calendar Reform Committee to recommend an era which the government should adopt as the national era. The Committee recommended that the *Shaka Era*, with some modifications, be adopted as the country's national era. The Committee found various defects in the Christian Calendar, in which the length of the solar year is regarded as 365.25876 days, though actually it is only 365 2422 days, and the error causes a mistake of three days in a period of 400 years. The Committee prepared a calendar in which all such mistakes were removed.

Though the *Shaka Era* was adopted by the Government of India as India's national era on 22nd March 1957, there are reasons why it cannot be regarded as national era. Among other things, its calender opens in different months in different parts of the country. It is the era of a foreign race which came to India as aggressors; and it has not been adopted by a number of Indian communities like the Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jains.

The *Shaka Era* has not found much support also. First, the Government has not published calendars based on the National Era. The students are not being familiarized with it at any stage of education from the Primary to the University level And it is sparingly used even in the Government offices; and almost all the officials use the Christian calendar.

We may do well to declare the *15th August 1947* as the day on which the National Era began. We can re–date all the events of our history on the basis of this first day of the new Era and divide them as in the pre-National Era and post–National Era incidents. We can popularize the calendars of this era through their wide use in government offices, and through text books, radio, television, press and so on.

Ms Aparna Sharma is a Lecturer based at Hapur. We are grateful to Sh. Brahma Datta Sharma Deptt. of English, SSU College, Hapur (Meerut University) for sending us this abstract. —Ed.

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COMMUNICATION ARTS

AS THE CARAVAN MOVES ON . . .

[Recently an old journalist friend, Satindra Singh (formerly of the *Tribune*, Chandigarh, and now a free-lance columist) sent us a wide range of zeroxed off-prints of some of his columns published by a variety of Sunday editions/magazine sections of newspapers in different parts of the country. These carry tributes or obituary notices, as also memories of moments shared with old friends as some of them step forward to take their final bows

We have culled out a few of these sketches for our readers with a thumb-sketch of another living companion of our journalist friend. —*Editors*]

A REBEL POET

Until recently I was never afraid of dying, though I have had a brush with death on several occasions. Twice I was involved in serious car accidents in which my skull, temple bone, jaws and ribs were fractured. I had two massive heart attacks in quick succession. Every time my friends and well-wishers thought it was the end of me. But I obstinately defied death. But, of late, I am ashamed to admit, I am constantly tormented by the fear of death. Perhaps this is because for almost a year now I have been going to the cremation ground at least once a month to witness the corpse of one friend or the other being consigned to the flames. Only a few weeks ago, Fikr Taunsvi and Dev Raj Dinesh died. This week Hazara Singh Gurdaspuri followed them. (*This piece was written in the middle of November 1988, and appeared in the Free Press Journal-among other papers-on 20th Nov. —Ed.)* Of these three creative writers, Hazara Singh, although the least known outside his home State, Punjab, was decidedly the most outstanding as well as the most colourful.

Hazara Singh was a particularly unusual man. Though a lean man with hungry looks, he was no Cassius. On the contrary, he was open - hearted, generous, jovial, witty and had a rare sense of humour. He could laugh at himself and take a joke Long years in British jails had not made him bitter or cantankerous. While still in his early teens, he joined the do-and-die group led by Sardar Bhagat Singh, the legendary martyr. Arrested in the Gurdaspur Bomb Conspiracy Case in the early 1930s, he was mercilessly tortured by the police, but he refused to divulge any secret or turn approver despite lucrative official offers. He was sentenced to life imprisonment by a special court.

During his sojourn in several jails in undivided Punjab, he not only read extensively, but also blossomed into a peerless writer of *Vaars* (heroic ballads) in Punjabi. After his release from jail in the late thirties, he continued to participate in the freedom struggle and wrote exquisite poetry in Punjabi folk idiom of which he was a master. But unlike most of his comrades-in-arms, he never aspired to any political office or sought official patronage. He also never set up any business. He lived by his poetry. Though a semi-literate by normal standards, he wrote several well-researched treatises on the history of Punjab in his mother-tongue. Each one of these was an instant success and won much critical acclaim in academic circles.

Being a born rebel, Hazara Singh cared a fig for social censure. Unlike other politicos, he drank openly—and heavily. When past sixty, he eloped with the wife of an armyman who filed a case against him with the police. For several years, Hazara Singh was on the run until the humiliated husband abandoned his efforts to get Hazara Singh booked. This prolonged fugitive's life did not dampen Hazara Singh's spirit even a wee-bit.

A COMPLETE JOURNALIST

Dhiren Bhagat (31), the only son of his parents, died in a road accident in New Delhi on November 24. I met him for the first time about six years ago. He was on his way to Punjab to do some articles for *The Sunday Observer*. He did not impress me at first sight. He was shabbily dressed, stammered quite a bit and spoke Punjabi with an accent. Three hours later when he left, I was thoroughly impressed by the youngman. He had no hang-ups and wanted to know as much as possible about Punjab, especially the Sikhs. His questions were pointed, his supplementaries searching. Later, when I read his articles on Punjab in *The Sunday Observer*, I developed a healthy regard and respect for his professional competence, integrity and secular approach to a highty communalised problem. During our subsequent meetings. I and Dhiren seldom agreed on various issues except those pertaining to Punjab. But this did not embitter our relations. He continued to address me as Guruji and I contiuued to regard him as my wishful dream-boy in Indian journalism.

Dhiren was a vegetarian fadist. He never drank or smoked. I also seldom saw him in female company. In fact, he always seemed to be rather ill at ease in such company. He was only obsessed with the story either in hand or on his mind. In spite of his fleeting obsessions, Dhiren was never partisan. He was always as objective as is humanly possible. And, he wrote very well. What is more, no subject — economic, political or cultural—was beyond the reach of his penmanship These were the reasons which made him into a front rank Indian journalist in a short span of six years. His two scoops — payment of crores of rupees by the Indian Government to the Tamil militants of Sri Lanka and the clandestine import of arms and ammunition by the country's intelligence agencies for use by their secret squads against Sikh terrorists — will be remembered for quite some time. In fact, these will find a

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& FELLOW-TRAVELLERS PASS BY . . .

place in every book written about our current life and time in the years to come. *(Also published in the Sunday Free Press Journal in Dec. 11, 1988. -Eds.)*

"UNCLE" FRANK

Frank Thakurdas, the doyen of teachers of political science in the country, died on December 14. Because of his amiable manners, helpful nature and erudition, he was lovingly called "Uncle" by his colleagues as well as his students. He took active part in Delhi University's social life. He was the founder-member of the Hindustani Theatre. Before the Partition, he was connected with the Indian People's Theatre Association at Lahore, and after independence, with the Delhi Art Theatre.

In spite of his multifaceted activities, "Uncle" never neglected his intellectual pursuits. He wrote five major scholarly works including *Recent English Politicat Theory*, *German Political Idealism* and *Essay in Political Thought*. In recognition of his contribution to the subject, he was twice elected president of the Indian Political Science Association. Among his students were Lok Sabha Speaker, Balram Jakhar, movie super-star Amitabh Bachchan, theatre director Rajendra Nath and character actor T. P. Jain.

Paradoxically, though a brilliant student, Frank's academic record did not show it. As he held non-conformist views and had an inquisitive mind, he got a third division in his M. A. in political science. But recognising his intellectual calibre and potentiality, authorities of the Forman Christian College, Lahore, employed him as a lecturer. He amply justified the confidence reposed in him. After the Partition, he migrated to Delhi and taught at Kirori Mal College for nearly three and a half decades.

I came in contact with "Uncle" Frank in 1941. I was then a member of the Communist Party of India and he was a fellow-traveller. Five years later when I won the Punjab Political Science Society's scholarship to do research on the origin and growth of the Indian middle class, I sucessfully persuaded Principal G. D. Sondhi of Government College, Lahore, who was also head of Punjab University, Lahore's political science department, and Dr. J. N. Khosla, then a Reader in the same department, to utilise "Uncle's" talent, notwithstanding his poor academic record.

With his departurece I have lost another friend with whom I could share my nostalgic memories of Lahore, discuss my youthful lapses without any embarrassment and exchange dirty jokes. *(Also published in the Sunday Free Press Journal of Jan. 1, 1989. -Ed.)*

NIKKA'S PROGRESS

I can claim the privilege of watching *"Nikka"* (callow Rajender Puri's nickname) grow from a shy and reticent college student into a self-reliant and aggressive *"Wadda"* (mature) during the past three and a half decades. Throughout this long association, I have always found him single-minded or a one-track mind, if you like to put it this way. As a student, he was obsessed with tennis. After leaving college, cartooning became his obsession. No sooner did he achieve recognition as one of the country's best cartoonists than he turned to writing on the contemporary Indian political scene. His two books, *Crisis of Conscience (1971)* and *The Wasted Years (1975)* were best-sellers.

Some years later, Puri began to concentrate on satire. Today, his satirical column and his cartoon strip are syndicated across the country. The reason for their popularity is that Puri is never overity flippant. He is always maliciously serious. He makes one laugh because he has the uncanny instinct of expressing our unsaid innermost feelings and thoughts.

Anyone else in Puri's place would have become smug and rested on his oars. But he is a born crusader, with boundless energy. Being a "chronic" bachelor, he needs to sublimate this vast resource. Therefore, about 10 years ago, he turned to active politics, soon becoming a founder General Secretary of the Janta Party and later of the Lok Dal. Still later, he joined the Bharatiya Janata Party and held an important office.

But being a man of uncompromising convictions. Puri soon got disgusted with the BJP's camouflaged Hindu fundamentalism and its RSS supporters, and floated his own political organisation, Ekta Party. But it remained more or less a one-man show. Left with no alternative, he has now joined the Janata Dal. I can safely prophesy that he will soon leave this too. He is too upright, too individualistic and too assertive to be keeping such company for too long.

It was a great pleasure to read Puri's latest book, *Government That Works and How (Scan Publishers, New Delhi, 1988, Pg. 212, Price Rs 100)*. It is a collection of the satirical pieces written by him during the last two years or so. It would be presumptuous on my part to comment on its contents. But I cannot resist the temptation of quoting Puri's own assessment of the book, given in the *Introduction* : "When I started writing I was young. I wrote for the thrill of seeing my name in print. Soon I matured. Then I wrote to express my very own views. Now I am wiser. I write to make money". A man who can laugh at himself cannot fail to make others laugh. *(May also see Sunday Magazine, Free Press Journal Feb. 12, 1989.)*

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AS THE CARAVAN MOVES ON...

"*BABA*" NIAZ HAIDER

"Baba" Niaz Haider, 75, a noted revolutionary and a well-read poetaster is no more. He breathed his last on February 3. Although I cannot count him among my friends, I have shared a common past with him. Both of us started our adult life as avowed communists: I as an activist in the All-India Students' Federation; he was a versifier of the cause of the deprived and the down-trodden. Both of us started drinking heavily and openly, more to publicly exhibit our contempt for bourgeois values than for any other reason. Not unexpectedly, both of us turned bohemian later

Here ended our 'commonality'. Grudgingly, I began to earn my bread, butter and wine by the sweat of my brow. But Niaz Haider persisted, both with his talk about the inevitability of a red revolution in India and with his parasitic existence. In fact, he perfected the art of parasitic living. He became a *Baaton ka Saudagar*, a peddlar of dreams. He never failed to cast his wordy spell over every one he met, and made him or her pay for his food (which he seldom touched) and his drink (which he loved). Sometimes I envied him for getting more out of life without doing a jot of work than I could ever get even after slaving for 12 hours every day. But this envy would disappear whenever I heard his one-time admiring victims talk disparagingly about him as "a pest and a parasite" and "an intellectual prostitute".

Whatever may have been his other faults, none can deny that Niaz Haider well deserved his honorific of "*Baba*" (the esteemed one). His self-confidence, his bushy, grey steel beard, his luminous eyes and his poetry and his talk went well with the totem figure. His deep study of Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and Hindi and of the western literatures helped him to give his translations of the classical Indian plays – *Shakuntala*, *Mitti ki Gadi* and *Inder Sabha* a contemporary ring.

In all, Niaz Haider wrote or translated over 12 plays. He also scripted a TV serial, *Jan-e-Alam*, based on the life and time of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, the last Ruler of Awadh who was deposed by the British in 1856, on charges of gross mismanagement of the affairs of his state. But the serial was nothing much to rave about. For one thing, in his nationalistic fervour, Niaz Haider had falsified history. He had made Wajid Ali Shah into a national hero, who was actually no more than dapraved and debauch. Secondly, over-drinking obviously had begun to take its toll of Niaz Haider. Otherwise, earlier, he had written some very competent scripts for art films live Shyam Benegal's *Arohani* and Sumitra Mehta's *Sanjhi*.

Also notable was Niaz Haider's role in the revival of the Indian Theatre. Starting as an activist in the Communist-sponsored Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA), he later founded the Hindustani Theatre in the mid-fifties, in association with (the late) Begum Qudsia Zaidi. In no time at all, this theatre group eclipsed all other Delhi theatre groups. The audiences for Niaz Haider's plays included Jawaharlal Nehru, Marshal Tito and Col Gamel Abdul Nasser.

The most appropriate epitaph for him would be: Here lies 'Baba' Naiz Haider who lived only for a drink and for a never-was red revolution. *(March 1, 1989.)*

POETS' CORNER

Traveller

That lonely traveller
that mischievous wayfarer told me :
You write poetry even when
children laugh at you and your friends
leeringly look at you
go and sell vegetables or cigarettes
or indulge in shrewd business
why even that beggar gives you wicked looks !
The relentless traveller, the lonely maudlin traveller.
Then he said, after a long pause
With a naughty twinkle in his eye
Life is a huge poem
like a ripple in the ocean
lik the whistling wind
like the toothless grin of a servant's boy,
And then the truth dawned on me finally
that the traveller and me were the same.

With Poetry...

With poetry I soar : like the starry skies
like the wintry skies
I dance : to the tune of my friends
to the tune of beauty
I moan : like the whistling wind
like the call of the hills
I cry out : like a lover
like an inarticulate child
I die a hundred deaths
I die a hundred deaths
Poetry is all hocus pocus too.

Thief

A. I'm a thief
I steal a line from this poet or that one
S. and compose poems
I'm a thief
G I fall in love
U With someone else's
H Wife, woman or sister
A and cast lewd looks at her
I'm a thief
I borrow ideas from critics
to lecture my students
Why listen awe-inspired.
Day after day
I plead
I'm a thief
I'm a thief
make a fuller human out of me.

A. S. Guha "Mitali" Laitumkhrah Shillong-793003 (Meghalaya)

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SOME RECENT INDIAN WRITINGS

Reviewed by Madan Gupta

The three books I am going to talk about in this piece are *Tales From Firozsha Baag* by Rohinton Mistry (published by Penguin, Canada; price U. K. £ 3.95), *The Saga Of Dharmapuri* by award-winning O. V. Vijayan (published by Penguin India; price U.K. £ 3.95)) and *Paro, Dreams of Passion* by Namita Gokhale (published by Pan Books Ltd. London; price U. K. £ 1.95). The only thing common in the three books is that the writers are all Indians.

Rohinton Mistry : TALES FROM FIROZSHA BAAG

Bombay born Rohinton Mistry, author of *Tales From Firozsha Baag*, migrated to Canada in 1975, and began life as a bank employee. His literary career started in 1983, and since 1985 he has devoted himself exclusively to writing. The eleven stories included in this collection are about the Parsi residents of an apartment complex in Bombay – Firozsha Baag—and present a rich mixture of humanity. There is humour in the stories and pathos. And above all, for those familiar with Bombay living, there is more than a peep-hole view of community living.

AUSPICIOUS DAY

"Auspicious Day", the first story, is the story of Mehroo, a girl from an orthodox Parsi family who was married when she was sixteen to Rustomji, a man more than twice her age. Writes Mistry sarcastically "Rustomji, a successful Bombay lawyer, had been considered a fine catch by Mehroo's parents. No one had anticipated that he would be wearing dentures by the time he was fifty. Who, while trapped in the fervour of match-making at the height of the wedding season, could imagine a toothless, gummy mouth, morning after morning, greeting a woman in her absolute prime ? ..".

The auspicious day—*Behram Roje*—is spoiled for Rustomji early in the day. While sitting on the commode in his toilet, a generous leak from the commode in the flat above, lands on his head. And as if that was not enough, while getting down from a bus, he gets splashed with *paan*-juice. Mistry describes the scene thus : 'A mouth chewing tobacco and betel-nut, a mouth with a surfeit of juice and aching jaws crying for relief unburdens itself on Rustomji's *Dugli*..." All poor Rustomji can do is to shout "*Saala gandoo !* Filthy son of a whore ! Shameless animal—spitting *paan* from the bus ! Smash your face I will, you pimp ." The bus moves off ignoring Rustomji's indignation. By way of sympathy, all he gets are remarks likes : "Bawaji get *paan-pichkari* right on his white *dugli*..." or "Bawaji, Bawaji, *dugli* looks very nice now, red and white, just like in technicolor..." The story is a delight. While exposing Rustomji to ridicule, Mistry also ably portrays the anguish, the anger and the frustration of the man.

BETWEEN IDEALISM & MATERIALISM

Another story which deserves mention is "Lend Me Your Light". It brings out effectively the struggle between idealism and material success. Percy, an idealist, is devoted to doing his bit for the villagers in India. Jamshed has migrated to USA and speaks depreciatingly of everything Indian. Says the worldly-wise Jamshed to his idealist friend, who has had a slight set-back in the work he is doing in a village, "I told you in the beginning, all this was a waste of time and nothing would come out of it, remember ? Every time we met we would talk about it, and you used to make fun of me wanting to go abroad. But I still think the best thing for you is to move to the States There is so much you could achieve there. There if you are good at something, you are appreciated, and you get ahead. Not like here, where everything is controlled by uncle-auntie, and...". The friend, Percy, is unrepentent. His answer to his friend is to ask his mother to serve dinner because he has to go to his friends to decide their next move in the village. "Lend Me Your Light" is a well constructed story and a true-to-life portrayal of the young generation in India.

"*Tales From Firozsha Baag*" is a delight to read. Its pen-portraits are bold, colourful and penetrating.

O. P. Vijayan : THE SAGA OF DHARAMPURI

The second book, "*Saga of Dharmapuri*" by cartoonist and writer Vijayan, is a novel with a flavour of its own. The book written originally in Malayalam could not see the light of day in 1975, because of the Emergency. In 1977, after the lifting of Emergency, it was serialised, but was cried down as lurid, obscene etc. It had to wait till 1985 to be published as a book. The English translation, done by the author, was published by Penguin India, in 1988.

Dharmapuri is a recently de-colonised State with a President. All it has to show for itself is talk about its glorious past. "At a banquet by the departed coloniser," writes Vijayan, "Dharmapuri's President went on to assert that, of their two countries, his was richer in tradition and wisdom The Great White Father was used to such brag from the tiny Presidents and midget Emperors who ate at his table and would never dispute their claims even while choosing one of their countries for carpet bombing. He would tell his prospective victim, with much bowing and clinking of glasses, 'It is true your Tiny Excellency, the New World has a good deal to learn from your ancient civilization ' Satisfied, Dharmapuri's President and his entourage gorged on the desserts, and in an attempt to undo the past wrongs of plundering imperialism, hunted among the gold and silverware for souvenirs."

(*Continued overleaf*)

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SOME RECENT INDIAN WRITINGS

Many times one cannot escape the feeling that one is re-living the dreaded days of the Emergency. A woman is being questioned by the Secret Police in front of her son. The policeman cannot control his libido and starts disrobing the woman. Her resistance exasperates the policeman and he gives up, ejaculating into the floor in the process. The dialogue between the policeman and the woman runs like this :

"Do you realise," he said, "it is treason to frustrate thus a servant of the state ?" .....

"Pardon my folly, sir," Laavannya said, "I shall no more resist a servant of the state."

She undressed and stood naked and dazzling, before her assailant and her son.

"Look away my child," she said. "Whatever your mother is doing is for the country, and countries make demands that are often inscrutable to their citizens."... ... ...

Vijayan is a master craftsman. His pen has the sharpness of a sword and he uses it fearlessly and mercilessly. Khushwant Singh said about this book, "Not the kind of novel you forget in a hurry."

[*In the October 1988 issue Prof. R. K Kaul had also commented on this book. —Editors*]

Namita Gokhale : PARO, DREAMS OF PASSION

Paro, Dreams of Passion by Namita Gokhale, published as a paperback by Pan Books, is a novel about contemporary middle-class young Indians in Bombay and Delhi. The depiction of the Bombay society, the commercial hub of India, and of Delhi, the bureaucratic jungle, is realistic and intimate. Power brokers and permissive women, who know where to go for their pound of flesh, dominate the scenes of this novel.

Some of the characters have a familiar ring. Describing a party in Delhi, Ms Gokhale writes : "The crowd was a carefully orchestrated mix of the right people. The mandatory politician, artist, business-man were there...Everybody was slightly high .. Paro's smuggler friend who, it was whispered, was the cocaine king of Delhi, was getting into a heated argument about Nehru with some young intellectuals... Suresh was busy toadying up to some government officials, and a bearded barefoot artist was busy making charcoal sketches of Paro, most unflattering ones, which, however, she seemed quite delighted with .. Suddenly, something electric seemed to grip the air. Paro was breathing a little harder than usual...Staring at her across the room was the ugliest, grossest and vilest man I had ever seen. He was black as the night, black as the carpet, and his belly protruded obscenely from his chest, like a fat rotting pear. All this was balanced on the thinest, spindliest legs possible. An immaculately starched white *khadi topi* nestled on his thick, suspiciously black hair. He was dressed in a starched white *khadder kurta* with a jacket, below which he wore an almost transparent *dhoti*. .. He looked at her directly, with undistinguishedly speculative sexual interest On Paro's question, who he was, his reply was 'Myself Shambhu Nath Mishra—you might have seen my name in papers sometimes' ...For the rest of the evening, he and Paro were inseparable After a while she rose to leave with him...She left in an almost mesmeric trance and returned more than an hour later.. She looked fucked, used, what Suresh would have called a G. B. road type . "

Thus goes on the depiction of the emancipated society of Delhi and Bombay educated middle-class Swaying with the winds, these grafted plants are unable to comprehend what their aim in life is, what they are after, what they wish to achieve and how they wish to achieve it.

Although the novel occasionally gives the impression of being a loosely connected collection of episodes, Namita Gokhale does manage to sustain the reader's interest. As a first novel, it deserves attention.

Madan Gupta is a Delhi-based retired civilian who now shares his reading with the I. B. C. fraternity

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Detective Tales For Children

Satyajit Ray : THE ADVENTURES OF FELUDA

Penguin Books, 1988, pp. 267; Rs. 60/-

Reviewed by T. N. Dhar

One of the lesser-known aspects of the protean personality of Satyajit Ray is his talent for writing stories and detective fiction for children in Bengali. Prodosh Mitter, popularly known as Feluda, is his creation of a detective in the classical mould. Constantly smoking a Charminar, Mitter is sharp and knowledgeable, delights in adventure, has a strong ratiocinative power, and a charming sense of humour. *The Adventures of Feludo* consists of four short novellas, competently translated into English by Chitrita Banerji. Since they were written for children, Ray wrote them under self-imposed restrictions to keep them "clean" : "No illicit love, no crime passional, and only a modicum of violence." In spite of these bindings, they make gripping reading.

In "*Golden Fortress*", Feluda goes to Rajasthan with his cousin Tapesh and his friend Ganguly to give chase to Hajra, because he has taken with him a young boy named Mukul to find a lost treasure. Feluda and his companions get involved in a series of difficult and risky situations in the deserted roads and terrin of Rajasthan, but because Feluda cracks a mysterious-looking code, they not merely survive, but also succeed in unmasking the fraudulent Bhabananda who had been masquerading as Dr. Hajra.

"*The Buccaneer of Bombay*" has the flavour of a *filmi* story from Bombay. Feluda and Tapesh go there on a pleasure-trip on the invitation of Ganguly, to see the city and to witness the filming of one of his thrillers. But Feluda smells a rat when one Sanyal in Calcutta gives Ganguly a packet to be delivered to a person who would be waiting for him at the Bombay airport. The very next day that person is found murdered in a lift. In the ensuing fast-paced action which moves sinisterly between shooting sequences and plotted happenings, Sanyal is found by Feluda to be Gore, the producer of the film, and the packet which Ganguly had carried he had mistakenly given a wrong one to the man concerned) contained a very precious necklace which had been smuggled in a carved book.

In the third novella, Feluda solves the mystery of a theft in the room of Nihar Datta and the death of Dastur, who was Nihar's rival at Michigan University.

The last one is quite a complicated piece of detection with a Poesque atmosphere about it. Feluda has to explore genealogical table to locate the person who frequents a graveyard to get hold of a precious watch which had been buried along with one of his ancestors. The story is full of reversals, and takes the reader into dark alleys, unfrequented roads, a hair-raising world of spirits and turbulent graveyards.

Two interesting side-thrusts of the *Adventures* are: one, Ray provides educative discussions on subjects such as parapsychology, criminology, and the art of detection; two, through the comic figure of Ganguly, Ray hits at the cliche-ridden films of Bombay.

As stories of mystery and detection, the four novellas are vastly entertaining. The English translation will make them accessible to a larger readership.

Prof. T. N. Dhar is Reader in English, Kashmir University, Srinagar.

BOOKS RECEIVED

ASHISH PUBLISHING HOUSE,
(8/81, Punjabi Bagh, New Delhi-110026)

Pramod Singh : Problem of Wasteland and Forest Ecology of India (1989)

Dr, (Mrs) Mumtamayee : Rural Ecology (1989) pp. 214 price Rs 200/-

S.K. Ghosh : Police Administrators : Reminiscences (1989) pp. 209 price Rs. 150/-

Dr. Ram Vichar Sinha : Economic Development of India (1989) pp 268 price Rs. 250/-

Dr. R. K. Trivedy : Ecology and Pollution of Indian Rivers (1988) pp. 447 price Rs. 350/-

Dr. Harish Kumar : Management Information System (1989) pp. 188 price Rs. 150/-

Basantibala Jena & R.N. Pati : Health and Family Welfare Services in India (1989) & pp. 379 price Rs. 300/-

K. S. Padhy & P. C. Satapathy : Tribal India (1989) pp. 143 price 100/-

I. Mohan : Environmental Awareness and Urban Development (1988) pp. 256 ptice Rs 200/-

RAVI DAYAL PUBLISHER *New Delhi,*

Ranga Rao : An Indian Idyl and Other Stories (1989) pp 122 Price Rs. 55/-

DOABA HOUSE *Jalandhar*

S. Naqi Hussain Jafri : Aspects of Drayton's Poetry (1989) pp. 210 Price Rs. 95/-

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A FABLE OF A YOUNG WORLD

Bina Saksena : A TALE OF TWO PRINCES

Writers Workshop, 1988, Hardback Rs. 80/-.

Comments by O. P. Bhatnagar

In the context of Indian Drama in English, *A Tale of Two Princes* can easily be traced back to the tradition of allegorical plays by poet-playwrights like Aurobindo, Tagore, Savarnkumari Devi Ghosal, P.A. Krishnaswamy, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Shanti Jhaveri and S.J.Bhatt to enact the presence and importance of some truth or moral as a principle of human existence. The dramatist herself describes the play as "a fable of the days when the world was not yet old", thus making clear the nature and form of the composition. But behind all its feigning, fantasy and magic lies a clear pattern of thought and belief which demolishes magic and fantasy in search of the higher virtues and noble attainments of life.

It is a tale of the two sons of King Jyotirmaya of Vimalapuram, Chandraketu and Hiranyamaya. While Chandraketu is assigned the care of kingdom; Hiranyamaya is taken care of by a *rishi*, Shukratma, for developing the finer virtues of life in the prince. The war between King Vikatakantaka of Tungadrika is called off and Princess Katankata of Tungadrika is married to Chandraketu as part of peace in the region. After Chandraketu becomes the King of Vimalapuram, the Artificer Bhringaraja is able to help Chandnrketu bring his kingdom to much material progress and prosperity The wilful and unyielding Katankata is not happy with this superficial progress and prosperity, and wants to go back to the more organic and simple living of her tribal kingdom. In the meanwhile, Chandraketu is married to a second woman, Mandakini, the Goddess of Love, the daughter of King Kamatananda of Satyabhoomi. The Artificer Bhringaraja advises Chandraketu to attack Tungadrika and wipe out the savage tribe forever. Mandakini denounces the whole plan. But, before long, Vikatakantaka launches attack on Chandraketu. Mandakini, who befriends Katantaka, is killed, leaving in her son the meaning and symbol of love, for the kingdom.

Hiranyamaya, on the other hand, grows to be a man devoted to the pursuit of higher values of life through patience and persistent hard work. Shukratma trains him in all the healing arts and fine arts leading to the good and welfare of humanity. The devastations of war unite Chandraketu and Hiranyamaya with Mandakini, the Goddess of Love, informing from the skies the way Chandraketu and Hiranyamaya "are one soul, one being in two mortal bodies". Similarly, Shukratma advises Bhrngaraja to work for "a new city to design and build from its ashes" on love, both from "without and within".

The play is highly allegorical with characters symbolizing life functions in the larger framework of human existence. Chandraketu as man of action on the physical plane and Hiranyamaya as man of renunciation on the spiritual plane are the two coexisting and corresponding forces working for unity in the perfection of life. Certain rough hewn and unyielding forces like Katankata can only be assimilated in the act of living through love; thus both may stand in good stead them aintenance of the physical order of life, represented by Chandraketu. Similarly, Chandraketu needs wisdom of Shukratma in the creation of the total human order. Mandakini may be killed in the upheavals of life, but she leaves her son behind to guide the course of life and society symbolizing continunity. There may be wars and devastation, but the spirit of reconstruction survives. The allegorical element in the play could also apply to the present political situation in the region emphasizing the need for a new order based on love, patience, and compassion for peace. Incidentally, the same drama is being enacted in reality in the political arena of the world today—with Russia, America and China moving and vying for peace.

I will be underrating the play if I go on elaborating upon the symbolic richness and the philosophic depth (extended by the application of Aurobindian tenets of conscious and supraconscious etc.) of the work without considering its dramatic art. The play is in three acts. The first act deals with the nature of the two sons and the roles assigned to them according to their character traits. The second act deals with the pursuits and the progress made by Chandraketu and Hiranyamaya in their respective fields The third act deals with the clashes and conflicts arising out of the pursuit of material power and prosperity; reconciliation and reconstruction. The dramatic movement is evenly divided in an ascending drive in the first two acts reaching its climax in the third act. Although it is allegorical in form, it is compact in its structure with admirable unity of time and action, moving most economically between the palace and hermitage. Since the characters are symbolic of attitudes and values, they do not rise beyond their abstractions Though the locale is remote, its action and concerns are contemporaneous. The dialogues are short and functional without being rhetorical The use of language is simple and relaxed, and it seems that the dramatist has excellent control over her dramatic art. To get into the spirit of the play would need the same suspension of disbelief as any of Shakespeare's romances and its successful presentation on the stage a matching imagination.

Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar is a well-know poet, writer and cruitic based at Amravati.

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Generals, Admirals & Air Marshalls

Autobigraphical Writings of Indian Military Men

Comments by Mohinder Singh

"When India became independent, many of us found ourselves transformed from lowly workers in the field to staff officers interpreting policies, formulating plans, and implementing and enforcing programmes", says P.C. Lal. *(My Years with the IAF, 1986).*

How did the so-transformed go about their new roles ? What manner of men were they ? Here we look into their autobiographical writing—autobiographies, memoirs, reminiscences—for some clues.

The Air Chief Marshal's account (edited by his widow, Ela Lal) is the latest. Other premier military autobiographers are : Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul (*The Untold Story, 1967*); Gen. J.N. Chaudhuri (*Autobiography* as narrated to B.K. Narayan, 1968); Admiral R.D. Katari (*A Sailor Remembers, 1982*); Lt. Gen. S.P.P. Thorat (*From Reveille to Retreat, 1982*).

"*Thimayya of India*" (*1960*) by Humphrey Evans is evidently a biography, yet a good portion of the account can well be construed as autobiography, or what Thimayya seems to be telling Evans. Brigadier J.P. Dalvi's book (*Himalayan Blunder, 1969*) is not meant as a record of a life; it is more an insider's retelling of a blundered battle. M R.A. Baig (*In Different Saddles, 1967*) comes off the army "saddle" too soon, within six years of his mounting it. Numerous other personal narratives of military life have come out in recent years. Few, however, would qualify as extensive, full-fledged autobiographical life accounts.

Autobiographies of their Pakistani counterparts have a decided relevance. The writers share common origins. Their organizations continue to be fairly similar. Thrice the two armies have clashed since they parted; and the spectre of a future clash is rarely absent from their posture or planning. Gen. Mohammed Musa's *Jawan to General* (*1986*) can be taken as a representative one.

WHAT THEY SHARE IN COMMON

War memoirs manifest certain common strengths and weaknesses. They constitute a useful source of information, arising out of the memoirist's intimacy with the actual events. More so with wars getting increasingly dehumanized—the exchanges are mostly of long-distance firepower—the personal accounts of participating generals and other combatants have a positive role in throwing welcome light on this area of public interest. On the other hand, war memoirs often do not turn out as good as literary, jail, or "feminine" memoirs. A real battle is fought somewhat differently than its subsequent narration. One's cowardly or mean acts are rarely divulged. George Orwell was once constrained to remark, "Autobiography is only to be trusted when it reveals something disgraceful."

Often the autobiographical impulse is triggered by a seemingly unmerited reverse, or what can be termed as 'un-met' expectations in life. Pressure from family and friends is all right; but commonly there lurks somewhere an inner compulsion, compulsive enough for one to undertake such a weighty enterprise.

"Old Men Forget", that is the way Duff Cooper heads his story. Chaudhuri, Thorat, Katari, Musa: they were over seventy when they wrote. Chaudhuri besides was recovering from a stroke. Only Kaul was in his early fifties when he began that three-year stint for his magnum opus. Not that great autobiographies have not been written at seventy or over. (In a way, these can be more truthful—the older one gets, the lesser the number of people one stands in fear of. And then the aging autobiographer, "with murder in his heart", may be rather relieved to find so many of his contemporaries dead,) But that assumes considerable reserves of energy combined with mental alertness, and preferably a prior practice of writing It is anybody's guess whether Thorat and Chaudhuri could have penned far superior books, if the exercise had been taken up a few years before.

Our premier autobiographers are contemporaries, born between 1908 and 1912 (except for Lal, in 1916). They grew up fashioned by the same environment and the spirit of the times. All hailed from middle-class families (the ethos of those days wouldn't really allow a boy of much humbler origins to get through those hurdles of nominations and interviews). Chaudhuri, Thorat and Lal came from affluent, advanced homes, while Katari, Kaul and Musa experienced the customary problems plaguing middle-class set-ups—resources fully stretched to meet matching ambitions.

GROWING UP AND TRAINING TO BE SOLDIERS

All are in a bit of a hurry to get to their account of selection and induction into military life. Childhood and early boyhood is mostly skipped. Yet, one can

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safely surmise that none suffered any debilitating privation in home comforts or any parental neglect. All fared well in studies—Katari and Thorat were more studious—but much of their strength lay in physical alertness and outgoing confident personalities. Games, scouting, drills play no small part. Broadly speaking, it is a group somewhat different from the one entering the ICS. where an early and sustained lead in studies is usually a pronounced feature.

Those were the early days of the '*Indianization*' of the officer corps. The rulers weren't sure how all this would work ? How loyal and capable the new recruits will prove ? What about possible friction between them and their British counterparts ?

Our autobiographers bestow a good deal of space and attention to their election interviews—what was asked for and replied to. And their pre-entry institutional training, whether it's Sandhurst, "Dufferin", or even the wartime makeshift Orientation Course for Flyers at Risalpur. Whatever they may have felt and undergone in that process of being drilled to command men, they uniformly recall the period as useful and interesting; what Churchill would say about his Sandhurst stay, "a hard but happy experience".

LEARNING PROCESS

Actual army service used to start with a year's secondment to a British unit on a tour of duty in India; presumably to inculcate in the new subaltern some tradition of orthodox British soldiering, and to acquaint him with the ways of the British troops who, at times, constituted nearly one-third of the subcontinent's fighting force. To John Prendergast (*Prender's Progress : A Soldier in India, 1979*), "the value of this arrangement utterly escapes me. How much better it would have been to have joined my ultimate Indian unit immediately ?" Officers in Indian regiments shouldered heavier responsibilities than in British regiments, because there were far fewer officers as compared to corresponding British units. Our autobiographers voice no critical comments on this point. Their hosts behaved fair in official dealings, even if somewhat discriminatory in the social sphere.

And thereafter, the regular posting to an Indian army regiment—out of the ones thrown open to *Indianization*. (Gorkha regiments were all excluded). Our autobiographers concede, this practice of initially congregating Indian officers in selected units than dispersing them all over turned out more workable. By and large, none experienced any work-level or racial difficulty in getting along with his British bosses and colleagues. Maybe, the persons who had difficulties got shelved or weeded out ! In any case, they aren't there writing their memoirs.

Jawans and other ranks had been conditioned to regard their British officers as paragons of decisive leadership and fair-mindedness. A concern for the susceptibilities of men had been particularly cultivated in the aftermath of the Mutiny. There was usually a special bond between the Colonel and his doughty Risaldar-Major. And through this relationship, colonels kept a tab on what was happening around. Our autobiographers, the early Indians, necessarily started with a slight handicap, but were soon able to win the trust and confidence of their men through character and capability. Once the initial disadvantage wore off, links of language and race did the rest. In fact, later, they—especially Thimayya—were occasionally instrumental in toning down misunderstandings between the men and their British officers.

ARMY LIFE IN PEACE TIME

Army life, more so in the pre-independence days, operated under a stiff set pattern (unless disturbed by world wars). Units moved for assignments; and it seemed they moved a lot, often from one end of the country to another. And the exercises were carried out with their time-bound tradition-sanctioned regularity. Officers went on numerous courses and chunks of leave. All this entailed much travelling, bulk of it by trains. The books tell us of those interminable train journeys; elaborate packing and unpacking of those days, Spencer's catering and the special meal-halts, Wheeler's bookstalls, slabs of tub-filling ice, orderlies in attendance, and that over-riding concern for correct company, if faced with any, in the first-class room-like compartments.

Over years, there had been no real fighting. No one inside the country or around had the gumption or the strength to give the Imperial Power a fight. So it was left to the North-West Frontier region to provide some test of shooting and tactics. This was primarily treated as a game—a dangerous big-game at that—than a war where fortunes hung in balance. Frontier campaigning could be weary and scary, yet it was mostly taken in the spirit of an adventure. Everybody wanted a crack at it; good for service prospects and something to talk about. Thorat did a brilliant ambush, but then he had the cool courage of a hunter who is practised in stalking quarries.

In those days, the army was far less called upon to aid civil power. In fact, there were very few signs of military occupation. None of our autobiographers, in any case, was called upon to quell an internal disturbance. Kaul, who dwells at length on his nationalistic fervour and anti-imperialistic views, thus escaped being presented with any possible dilemma of conscience.

The cantonment life operated under a set daily routine. Fixed weekly days for parades, games, mess dinners, and the like. Each activity meant a prescribed dress. Much time and attention went to getting in and out of clothes, even if their care and arrangement lay in competent hands of orderlies. A lot of life centered around the mess and clubs. While mess facilities were open to all regimental officers; local civilian clubs were often barred to our autobiographers. And this perhaps was the one issue which rankled most.

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— & AIR MARSHALLS

Whereas Chaudhuri does not prudishly hide his lively interest in a pretty ankle, others are rather severely reserved. "The way people write about themselves, brothels would have gone out of business". A bit disappointing for those readers who go to autobiographies for "that extra degree of privacy".

Games played an unbelievably important part in one's life and career, more so in early service years. The pride of place went to hockey (to what depths the game has sunk of late ?) and polo. You played hockey twice or thrice a week with your men; and if you played well, you had an easier job commanding them. Units and formations competed heart-and-soul for supremacy in the game—there was really little else to compete. Polo was played with greater gusto and determination to win than wars "We," says Churchill, talking of his regimental days in Bangalore, "devoted ourselves to the serious purpose of life. That was expressed in one word—Polo."

BAPTISM & REAL ACTION

The first real chance of fighting—at least, learning first-hand the war game—came our autobiographers' way with the Second World War. Policies, strategies, tactics were decided by people above; our heroes' involvement was limited to leading at regimental level or below. Chaudhuri did join in a campaign against the Italians in Africa; but it was more of witnessing a couple of bouts from the safety of staff postings. Kaul could not manage even a peep at war. Only Thorat (the most decorated General) who led a particularly bold assault against the Japanese entrenched on a Burmese hill feature Of course, by this time, the Japanese were in retreat, but they were no ordinary fighters. Thorat proved himself gutsy and intrepid under withering fire. The event is graphically recaptured as he had seen and felt; and for such things, no account can match a good autobiographical account. Katari was not involved in any significant naval battle. Lal flew reconnaissance flights in Burma; but by then, Japanese had no air force operating there.

FIGHTING NEARER HOME

Hyderabad "Action" turned out to be no military action; the Indian army casualties totalling under ten. Chaudhuri, who led, himself jocularly admits- "the rehearsal was more exacting than the actual campaign."

Goa's "Take-over" was no feat of arms either. With the Portuguese not fighting, it became more of infighting among our generals in their bid to take credit and reap rewards. Kaul makes an unnecessary line dash to the "front", and chuckles at Chaudhuri's discomfiture in being denied a direct Portuguese surrender. Chaudhuri, possibly in disgust, devotes only eight words to the Goa operations, though he was the area commander.

INDO-PAK ARENA

Pakistan was conceived in communal distrust and took shape through communal bloodshed. Forty years have gone by. The distrust—now perhaps more between the two governments than the two people—continues unabated; periodic armed conflicts replacing rioting bouts. Without such antagonism, one sometimes wonders, how dull the sub-continent's military life would be ?

The three Indo-Pak conflicts of 1948, 1965 and 1971, present a few special features. No one ever admits of starting one. Our autobiographers—you can't fault them for that—duly voice the national version. Anyhow, wars are started by politicians, rarely by generals in uniform. Again, every time (the clear-cut Bangla Desh conclusion excepted) both sides claim they won. In the controlled fighting conditions (super-powers see to that), the whole thing looms more like a sharp boxing bout where a victory on points is the next best to a knock-out. One can't imagine the two countries crazy enough for a long-drawn slanging match like the one that raged between Iran and Iraq.

It is amidst this scenario and the accompanying claptrap that our heroes have to fit in what they have to say. Gen. Musa, presumably pious and God-fearing, lays the entire blame for communal orgies on Hindus and Sikhs. Recounts at length the atrocities heaped on Muslims in East Punjab, without a word on similar horrors perpetrated by Muslims in West Punjab. Kaul and Thorat, though in a little less emphatic way, press our side of the story. Lal and Katari stay less vocal; may be, sailors and airmen view these things a bit differently—at least distantly. "How did we perform in December 1971 ? Well, can generally say, we did not do so badly", sums up Lal.

In all the three conflicts, India had a marked edge in numbers and weapons, notwithstanding any qualitative lead that Pakistan had in some items of military hardware by 1965, and thereafter. Yet the best we gained each time in the crucial western sector was a draw. If jawans on either side are rated as roughly equivalent fighting material, then perhaps we did not produce the type of generalship, bold and innovative enough to destroy the enemy's fighting machine, accepting that territorial gains wasn't the prime objective. One gets an impression that, whereas leadership at company and regiment level was impressive, the coordinated use of larger units like brigades, divisions, corps had yet to be sufficiently grasped and learnt. And here, you had the confidence, you were vastly bigger and stronger. Pakistan, strictly speaking, was not any longer in the same "power class" as India.

THE 1962 DEBACLE

While accounts of Indo-Pak wars are somewhat wrapped in rhetoric and emotion, our Chinese debacle of 1962 is discussed more professionally (even if it was not fought professionally). Thorat details at length his reasons (he has Thimayya's support too) disfavouring the Forward Policy, seemingly pursued by Krishna Menon, but surely backed with its share of technical advice—some say of Kaul. Dalvi and Kaul present their own versions and views. It is a pity Menon could not write his.

(*Continued*)

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Politicians come for some blame (though in their defence, it can be said that they knew precious little about wars). And the general public, for hustling for a show of force at the inhospitable and so inaccessible Indo-Chinese border posts. (The "sentry" Himalayas were turning out more a barrier for us than the enemy.)

Yet no realistic military commander could have positioned a brigade at such an untenable place as Thagla Ridge. How did the professionals go along with something so patently indefensible ? And persisted in keeping it there, despite the fast approaching winter and the repeated, almost desperate, pleas of the local commanders. The whole army morale at senior levels seemed to have caved in; all on-the-spot initiatives and flexibility of response frozen by orders "from above".

Kaul is evidently not so much to blame for his poor showing as the new Corps Commander, but for his manifest role in the degenerative process where professional military thinking stood superseded. With all the improvements in communications and weapons and the acclimatization of men since then, major battles may still have to be fought lower down, if Chinese ever come again overwhelming token forces at border points. Anything militarily more ambitious would be very expensive.

Kaul himself admits, troops were rushed up those heights without adequate winter gear and other essentials. One can well understand a shortage of sophisticated weapons and supplies, but to run short of the necessary protective clothings for a division or two at that stage of India's development is organizationally inexcusable. Once you lower troops' morale in this manner, and your local commanders, morale by not permitting them to make field decisions, a rout that NEFA witnessed becomes a reality. Clearly, Dalvi and his men up there were asked to fight in unreasonable conditions; and this, good commanders usually seek to avoid.

"India has a near unbroken record of military failures through the ages," says Dalvi. No invader was ever actually repulsed, whether he chose to come once or again and again. Is inept political leadership, or lack of nationalism to blame ? Or does it stem from an almost total no-tradition of methodical military thinking ?

MERCURIAL MENON

The one person about whom our heroes talk the most, is their mercurial Defence Minister, Krishna Menon. There is the rare unanimity that working under Menon was irksome, to say the least; he treating his service chiefs like "school boys". (We don't have Menon's version). Besides his acerbic tongue and unearthly hours, he is most criticised for his habit of dealing direct with subordinates (not uncommon with ministers wanting to circumvent their reluctant top men, short of firing or replacing them). Menon, India's most active defence minister—with a sharp mind and surprising vigour—did some good things, such as giving fillip to indigenous arms production. But he nearly succeeded in wrecking the service morale of his chiefs. Only yes-men could flourish. And, not all our autobiographers were cut out for that. Thimayya put in his papers. (It's another matter, he later withdrew). Katari seriously contemplated following suit. Thorat was eased out; robbed of his chance as C-in-C. Lal was most unceremoniously weeded out. Chaudhuri had his share of pinpricks. Kaul was perhaps the only one who felt less uncomfortable, but then others call him "a political general"; the one who "never heard a shot fired in anger".

Kaul really can not refute the charge of playing politics. His book mentions Nehru hundreds of times; his many talks with Nehru, and the numerous assignments given to him by Nehru—when Kaul is not the head of the army to merit such frequent and close confidences of a prime minister. Even an impression of political proximity has damaging ramifications.

ON MILITARY MATTERS

Our autobiographers do dilate on general military matters. Chaudhuri highlights some aspects of desert and jungle warfare; desert with no protective flanks aiding the attacker, while jungle is deemed neutral. Lal delves into the complex role air forces are often called upon to play in ground fighting. In the Indo-Pak context, with planes so costly and few, and the impending spectre of their attrition, every sortie demanded a searching balance-sheet. Lal has the felicity to discuss the issue in a reasoned, rather non-partisan way. One wishes Katari could have given us more insight into the dimensions and uses of naval power by India.

LITERARY EVALUATION

How do these autobiographies measure up as literary pieces—their style and language, and the truthful telling of a life ? Kaul's book (the only one running into four editions; the book's controversy angle helped) is well written. He seems to have worked hard over the material and its presentation. And he has the flair of language too. The book is, however, marred by its propensity to score points and to silence his detractors—with corroborative documents and helpful quotes. A good autobiography has the confidence of its truth, and memory alone is the ordering and sifting principle.

Katari's reminiscences are written in a cosy, light-hearted vein. He succeeds in conveying the picture of a humane, balanced being—*prima facie* honest with himself and others—who put in a high quality performance without fear or fuss. All that a good sailor should be. Militarily it may not be information packed, but it remains a racy, readable narrative.

Thorat and Musa are excellent professional soldiers; their style of writing is simple and direct, more in line with their personalities. Thorat has a livelier style;

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India ! Our India ! What Next ?

James R. Roach

INDIA 2000 : THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS

Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.. New Delhi, 1987.

pp. xi+228, Rs. 175/-

Comment by Ashim Kumar Roy

The twelve essays in this volume were written for a seminar at the University of Texas at Austin, USA. The essays have been arranged in four parts : Part I is an Overview; Part II deals with Traditional and Popular Cultures; Part III is on Unity and Diversity : Society and Politics; and Part IV on the Economy.

All the essays are readable and interesting. The writers try to envisage how Indian economy, culture, religious outlook, outlook of the minorities, etc., are likely to develop in the remaining years of this century.

Two of the essays might be considered in detail.

CROSSING THE HINDU RATE OF GROWTH

Professor Raj Krishna died in May 1985. His essay in this volume, 'The Economic Outlook for India' is one of his last writings. Raj Krishna had earlier coined the phrase, 'The Hindu Rate of Growth'. He had noticed that India's economic growth was stable. It had veered round the figure of 3.55 per cent from 1951 to 1985. Raj Krishna called this the Hindu Rate. This, along with a population increase of 2.2 per cent per year, had meant that the per capita income of India was going up at the rate of 1.3 per cent per year. This was a dismal picture. In the present essay, Raj Krishna speculated on the possibility of the country climbing out of the pit.

It is likely that Raj Krishna would not have felt very unhappy with the performance of the economy during the four years since his death. Indian economy grew at a rate higher than 3.55 per cent in all these years. In fact, the growth rate was 5.1, 3.8, 3.6 (anticipated) and 9.0 (provisional), respectively in the four years. The two years in which the growth was low were drought years. Even then the growth was above average. Have we climbed out of the pit ?

THE MINORITIES PROBLEM

Myron Weiner has written on "Indian Minorities: Who are They ? What do They Want ?" Usually it is thought that the problem of minorites in India was confined to the identity crisis from which the religious minorities suffer. Weiner has analyzed the matter with many statistical details. He found that the people who felt that they were minorities were not only religious groups, but also linguistic, tribal and caste based groups. Often, the minorites felt that they lacked security. At other times, they demanded a homeland. Some times even the majority, i.e., the caste Hindus, felt that they were being discriminated against. At times, even all India leaders exploit these tendencies for narrow political ends. The author feels that the problems would become more intractable unless the central and state leaders, particularly the latter, demonstrate more skill.

The other papers are; 'On Living a Revolution' by M. N. Srinivas; 'Traditional Culture, New Mediums, Interaction, Diffusion' by Narayana Menon; 'The "Indian Scientist": Some Reflections' by Swadesh M. Mahajan and E.C.G. Sudarshan; 'The Puzzle of Religious Modernity' by Lawrance A. Babb; 'Indian Cinema: Dynamics of Old and New' by Chidananda Das Gupta; 'The Language Issue Revisited' by Robert D. King; 'Centre State Relations in India: The Federal Dilemma' by Paul Wallace; 'Paradoxes of Planned Development: The Indian Experience' by C. T. Kurien; 'Environmental Protection and Economic Development in India' by Susan G. Hadden; and 'Women in Contemporary India: The Quest for Equal Partieipation and Justice' by Gail Minault.

Dt. Ashim Kumar Roy, a retired civilian–turned Indologist, is a regular contributor of reviews and comments.

(Continued from page 78) **GENERALS . . .**

it stems from a more varied personality. Musa is no writer, but makes up with his vast experience and seriousness of approach. It is a pity that he skips narration of the 1965 war. (We know he wrote another book on that). In any case, he need not have answered his critics of that war at such length here.

Chaudhuri's autobiography starts beautifully. The first half can be rated as good literary writing. It is the later portion which is somewhat bedevilled with cliches, self-projection, and things that don't ring true. It seems he is tired and in a hurry to conclude. A well-read, well-informed man with confidence that looks, money, position and social success brings. A ready wit, an ease of language.

Lal must be gifted with a very keen mind, possibly the sharpest of them all. It is a pity he died before giving a final finish to his book.

Mohinder Singh retired a couple of years ago as Secretary to the Government of India to revert full-time to his love for books. For quite some time now, he has been studying and writing about "autobiograpies" of well-known and not so famous Indian men and women.

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Ramesh K. Srivastava : NEEMA

Writers Workshop, Calcutta 1987; pp. 219, Price Rs. 100 (Hardback) and Rs. 60 (Flexiback)

Reviewed by Madhusudan Prasad

Ramesh K. Srivastava (Professor of English, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar) has already published plenty of critical writings on American, English and Indian-English literatures. He has half a dozen critical books, besides several research papers, to his credit and is a well-known figure in academic circles. He is the fourth professor-turned fictionist in English, the others being Professor Chaman Nahal, Professor M.V. Rama Sarma and Professor V.A. Shahane.

Neema is the maiden attempt of Ramesh Srivastava at novel-writing, although he has already come out with three volumes of short stories—*Love and Animality* (1983), *Cooperative Colony* (1985) and *Men and Masks*(1986)—published by the Writer's Workshop.

For a first novel, *Neema* strikes as quite remarkable, far exceeding our expectations. With this very first novel, Srivastava has gained the honour of standing alongside Mulk Raj Anand as, after Anand's *Gauri*, Srivastava's *Neema* is the second novel in Indian-English literature written by a male and exploring the sensibility of a female with stupendous conviction and confidence. It is in the first-person narrative, in which Srivastava has delved deep into feminine psyche with an astonishing artistic finesse.

TRAVAILS OF A YOUNG WOMAN

Neema relates the pathetic tale of a young woman who marches forward, braving several hardships, and battling against numerous social hurdles created by threadbare morality of middle class. Neema, the chief protagonist in the novel. is loved by quite a few persons. Wherever she is, she is looked upon as a sex-object.

She loves Chaman Lal but, because of the hindrance caused by the caste system, she fails to marry him. Considering the misery of her old father confronted with the problem of dowry, she marries a widower who is a poet. Her husband, Jeevan Jyoti, had once run into trouble with a politician whose henchmen had made him impotent. Though old values make her hesitate to have extra-marital sex, Rasik Lal, her husband's cousin staying in the same house, takes advantage of the situation and seduces her. When her husband charges her with having illicit sex, she justifies it, giving several examples when even Gods had it. She gets pregnant (by Rasik Lal). As her pregnancy advances, her mother-in-law beats her and ultimately drives her out. Jeevan Jyoti dies of shock and shame.

She goes to Pushpendra Kumar (her cousin's husband) who had once offered to marry her—but it was too late. Chaman Lal is kidnapped by dacoits, and she discovers Rasik Lal in jail, who refuses to acknowledge her as his wife. After a lot of trials and tribulations, she ultimately finds solace with her old friend Sunnoo. who has come back from Dubai with lots of riches. He marries Neema before she gives birth to her child.

A WOMAN'S TALE.... & OF

Ramesh K. Srivastava

MASKS AND MEN : Stories

Writers Workshop Calcutta (1986) pp. 107

Hardback Rs. 60.09

Review by M. L Mehta

Masks and Men is the third collection of short stories by Ramesh K. Srivastava, the earlier two being *Love and Animality : Stories* and *Cooperative Colony : Stories*. With the publication of *Masks and Men*, Srivastava's reputation as an 'Indo-English' story-writer stands fairly vindicated.

Woven into a unique pattern, all the eight stories in the book focus on the nascent truth about modern life : men as masqueraders. The title itself is self-explanatory and suggests the *leit-motif*—"Masks". Grounded in a penetrating study of the tainted milieu, the stories—fictional re-creation of felt experiences—highlight Srivastava's penchant for of satirical portrayal of a society plagued with moral duplicity and hypocrisy. Today, life is a masquerade and men masqueraders who hide their greed, lust, venom and treachery behind the mask of affability, respectability, public service and piety. Their only craze is money; their chief weakness is sex and their only sin in life is self-aggrandisement. These wolves in sheep's skins are worse than those in their original who, like Gurmel in "Lasting Victory" and the trio in "Rescuers" make no pretensions about their lasciviousness or lechery.

(*Continued on next page*)

NEEMA (*Continued*)

Throughout, the novel is highly gripping no doubt. There are several bends and twists in the narrative that keep our interest from flagging. The theme is bold and meaningful, and it tries to sanctify a woman's extra-marital sex in case her husband is incapable of meeting the basic demand of her over-powering instinct of motherhood. Demonstrating technical maturity, Srivastava dexterously handles this out-of-the run theme that substantially contributes to the cause of middle class women's emancipation from constricting social taboos and obsolete morality.

The effort merits credit. Chapter 19, giving illustrations of extra-marital sex of Gods from Indian mythology, has been deftly worked into the thematic texture of the novel. The structure of the novel is well-built. What is really admirable is Srivastava's complete identification with the chief protagonist in the novel. He so realistically depicts her sensibility as well as her natural response to various situations that we forget that the writer of the novel is a male. Certainly, this is no mean achievement This novel makes a positive contribution to Indian-English fiction, and we justifiably look forward to some more novels from the pen of Ramesh K. Srivastava.

Dr. Madhusudan Prasad teaches at the Allahabad University.

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MEN AS MASQUERADERS

WRITER AS AN ANGRY YOUNG MAN AND CRUSADER

From the book under review, one can deduce that Srivastava writes like an angry man who has suffered at the hands of social snobs and sharks, a man who, like Sudama in "Masks and Men," has learnt to wear a mask in order to unmask others. His tone in the stories is satirical; his method ironic. His irony is pervasive : power-drunk politicians, unscrupulous academicians, piously impious priests and sex-starved swindlers posing as friends—none escapes its darts. It won't be an exaggeration to say that Srivastava wields his pen like a surgeon's knife to restore the sick society to its health. For all the ire which has gone in their writing, the stories are not just an angry vituperation.

Every Dhanak Lal is matched by a Sudama; and Kaiso Singh by a Mahipal Dass. A believer in poetic justice, Srivastava thinks there is some hope still for humanity. All is not lost. One can, like Miss Vimla Tewari in "Lasting Victory," still wage a relentless crusade, even if single-handed, to expose moral duplicity and win a lasting victory. What is imperative is strength, stamina and moral courage.

In fine, Srivastava's fictional art is characterized by his affirmative vision, his judicious use of irony, his genial humour and evocative imagery. The situations are realistic and the characters life-like. What makes his stories highly readable is the element of suspense, surprise and ironic reversals in them. No wonder, the stories tend to have a sting in the tail, and the narrative devices like parallelism, contrast, flashback and foreshadowing impart them the technical finesse.

THREE TALES IN THE RURAL SETTING

Three of the stories "Road to Prosperity," "Confession" and "Seeds of Democracy" have a rural setting. Sarpanch Kaiso Singh in "Road to Prosperity" and Lokendra Singh, a feudal lord-turned-politician in "Seeds of Democracy" wear the mask of public service, but actually work for their own advancement. Stifling the very spirit of democracy at the grass-root level, they symbolize political exploitation, which implies the negation of Gandhi's idea of demoracy.

Of the three, "Confession" deserves a special attention. The story centres around the motif of craving for motherhood Lajwanti, her very name has symbolic-ironic connections, a barren woman, is guilty of pilfering, adultery and attempted murder; yet she wears the mask of *Laj* (modesty) as characterstic of a traditional wife. She eventually gets unmasked and, in death alone, makes a confession of her moral aberrations. The story exudes the rural inasmuch as Srivastava has evoked the atmosphere through characterization, imagery and rustic idiom. The imagery is not without Freudian tinge. since dung-manure, seed, land (barren or otherwise), pumpkins and papayas seem to have been used as latent sex-symbols. Even rain and wick-lamp images are highly symbolic. So are the names, Lajvanti and Sajjan. The story has the seeds that sprout in Srivastava's novel *Neema*.

A TEENAGER'S REVENGE

Of the remaining stories, "Rescuers" is about Neeru, a teenager who, after she has been raped by Father Joseph Sault, her rescuer, comes to believe that "the world is inhabited by wolves, some in their original, some in sheep's skins." The story unmasks animality wearing the mask of piety and compassion. Neeru uses her darts and knives to avenge herself on her so-called Messiah, Joseph Sault who has already used his dart and knife (latent sex symbols) to taint her physically. Srivastava uses zoologico-ornithological imagery (wolves and hawks) to unmask the rescuers. The story is rich in irony and ironic reversal of roles.

In "Masks and Men," Sudama learns from his experience that to unmask Dhanik Lals who wield their power and position to inveigle the needy innocent into a sinful living, he has himself to wear a mask. There is no other go. It looks like masks have become a way of life with men in the present-day world.

... & A LADY OF COURAGE

"Lasting Victory" exposes the hypocrisy of our educationists. It is about the courage shown by the protagonist-narrator Vimmi, a lady lecturer in a boy's college, in her struggle to win a lasting victory over the wolves masquerading as academicians. Far from being a temple of learning, the college is a den of moral turpitude. The very opening sentence sets the tone of the story : "A beautiful, fair complexioned, young lady lecturer in a predominantly men's college is like a lovely cat in a kennel of hungry hounds." Once again, the writer makes a judicious use of animal imagery to suggest the moral depravity of people, this time of the so-called intelligentsia.

"Friendship, Love and Marriage" and "New Generation" expose the hypocrisy and hollowness of human relationship, the sanctity of which is desecrated by the mercantile mentality and commercial at itude of an acquisitive society

One is, however, pained to find the book cluttered with printers' devils (*pp 13,18,27,43,46,59,62 82,98 and 106*)—a reflection on the seriousness with which our publishers take up their job. And there are signs of crude constructions and hasty/slipshod writing, besides. To quote some of the glaring instances : and he with himself (*p. 19*); she went once to him, having a long sigh (*p. 20*) he not marry Lovleen, going to go back (*p. 25*); I dread my happiness may *not* be short-lived (*p. 48*); to pay *a* price for being a teacher (*p. 59*); that trouble awaited me *at an early date* (*p. 62*); she *wauld* her head (*p.* 77); Father Sault close to her (*p 79*). The minor linguistic blemishes notwithstanding, the stories published in the book bear ample testimony to the fact that Indo-English writers today are no mean wielders of the pen in creative writing in English. "Confession," "Rescuers," "Masks and Men," and "Lasting Victory" verily the best of the lot in the book, are comparable to the best written by any Indo-English writer.

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A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION

J. P. Singh : PATTERNS OF RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION IN INDIA

Inter-India Publication, New Delhi, 1986, pp. 275, Rs. 250/-

Reviewed P. M. Mathew

The theories of development in economics and other social sciences have been pre-occupied with many tautologies and 'should be's. The developing economies have been synonymously described as agrarian societies, and industrialisation has been considered as the panacea for backwardness. While these basic premises have often been proved correct by the historical experiences of many countries, analysis of the causatives of under-development and the specificities of strategies of development have often proved faulty and misleading. More precisely, these faulty and misleading conclusions lead us to the political and ideological dimensions of development.

MIGRATION—A SYMPTOM OR A PROBLEM ?

The discussions on urbanisation and rural-urban migration in the academic and policy-making circles have led to concrete measures, such as the 'anti-poverty' programmes and the development of the 'informal sector' since mid-197ᴗ's. The impacts of such policies have been continuously evaluated in most of the developing countries. Many authors have pointed out that industrialisation will lead to the growth of a large urban proletariat which will, in turn, demand structural changes in society. Rather, as Sutcliffe (1971) points out, the urban unemployed or the dispossesed class which already exists may, if it can become politically organised, produce political movements, one of whose demands will be for the creation of industrial jobs. This demand should be examined against the development experience of many countries where, whatever industrialisation that has taken place, has been by and large, of the labour-displacing variety. It is this fact, along with the rapidity of population growth that makes migration a crucial area of concern for current-day social science. In fact, migration is the symptom, not the problem as such.

The major preoccupation of most studies in this area has been selectivity in migration. It has been often studied in terms of any of the four streams : 1) rural-urban; 2) urban-rural; 3) urban-urban; and 4) rural-rural. Such studies depending on Census data have often been based on the related definitions of "rural" and "urban" and of "migration". Though definitions have changed over time, the main criteria defining an "urban area" have been : a) population; b) administrative status; and c) occupational structure of the population. Similarly, definitions of migration also vary considerably.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE : CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS

This study, "a partly revised and up-dated version of a Ph.D thesis submitted to the Research School of Social Sciences of the Australian National University, claims to analyse the issues relating to migration in a perspective which is new to studies in the area, and particularly in the context of India. However, based on the past three decadal Censuses, the study confines itself to rural-urban migration in the specific context of three States : Kerala, West Bengal and Bihar.

In a book of 275 pages and eight chapters, the real analysis of the problem is confined to four chapters only. The author rightly admits that "methodologically.... a cross-cultural analysis is very useful strategy for a deeper understanding of the differing pattern of selectivity in migration", and that, "... the different characteristics of the migrants are greatly conditioned by the inter-lay of numerous social, cultural and economic factors." Therefore, "...the phenomenon of rural to urban migration cannot be objectively explained purely in terms of economic variables" (*p. 200*). However, the author apparently falls into the trap of much of the conventional development theory which distinguishes between "non-economic" and "economic" variables. In fact, a perspective of political economy alone can lead to a fruitful analysis in such a multi-factoral context.

PATTERNS IN KERALA, WEST BENGAL AND BIHAR

The book gives certain ideas regarding the pattern of migration in all the three States in a conventional sense. **Rural to rural migration** is the dominant form in all the three States. It accounts for more than three-fourth of all migrants in the country. Bihar and Kerala are out-migrating States and West Bengal an immigrating one. The outflow of movers from Bihar are mostly directed towards West Bengal, Assam, U.P., Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. On the other hand, migrants from Kerala have gone almost everywhere in the country. The inflow migrants to Bihar and Kerala, which constitutes a lesser proportion than that of outflow, has come primarily from the neighbouring States. Kerala tends to differ from Bihar and West Bengal in that **single male movers** constitute a higher proportion than in the other two States. Besides, the sex ratios of in-and out-migrants to and from Kerala are highly masculine, whereas, in the other two States, it is not so.

These are the layman's observations too. What is of academic interest in this context is the causatives of such a pattern of migration.

The author gives some explanations which cannot but be called *simplistic*. He says..."the relative economic deprivation ensuing from a slower growth rate in trade, commerce and industries in Bihar and Kerala, largely accounted for a heavy out-migration from these State to other parts of the country. Besides the economic factor, a higher level of literacy also propelled outmigration from Kerala. (*pp. 201-2*).

The **preponderence of males in rural-urban migration** is greater in West Bengal than in Kerala and it is still greater in the State of Bihar; but the main contrast in sex selectivity in migration is between Bihar and

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RURAL—URBAN MIGRATION

West Bengal on the one hand, and Kerala on the other; the book says. This low masculinity ratio for Kerala and the big ratio for the other two States has been attributed to different value systems between the North and the South. The objective economic situations between the regions which provide differing permissive and compulsive sequences in migration have been conveniently ignored by the author.

RURAL PUSH & INFORMAL SECTOR

It is, in fact, the ideological position which views dichotomy between town and country rather than the economic space as the essential characteristic of a productive system that leads to such simplistic explanations of migration. Various Indian studies in the context of metropolitan cities have shown the significance of rural push which necessitates creation of 'informal sector' activities in the urban areas. Some studies have also shown that most Indian migration is rural to rural. In Madhya Pradesh, for instance, civil construction work is arranged during the lean season to allow small farmers and landless labourers to join in. The farmers still see agriculture as their principal occupation, and travel hundreds of miles to take this work *(IBRD, 1975)*.

STEP-WISE MIGRATION

Inter–Censal comparison of the pattern of migration in India have shown that the relatively backward States, including Kerala, have high rural as well as urban out-migration. Besides, unlike the conventional view of continuous migration, it has been **step-wise** *i.e.*, from villages to the smaller towns and then from smaller to larger ones. This has resulted in the fast growth of a large number of small towns and the emergence of several new towns during the seventies around a few metropolitan cities (*Kundu, 1986 : 2007*). This phenomenon has been substantiated by the fact that the percentage of **life-time inter-State migrants in the urban areas** by the place of last residence has declined in 1981 over the previous decade; so too migration by the birth place definition.

PATTERNS OF LABOUR USE

The pattern of migration has high implications on the development experience of other countries too. Simon Kuznet's hypothesis of economic growth and structure is well known. Implicit in this hypothesis is that as the structure of the economy changes, the composition of the work force also changes. In fact, the Indian experience shows the presence of many patterns of labour use. Most rural workers combine wage employment and self-employment. (*Bardhan, 1977; 34-5*). A deeper understanding of the growth and structure of the regional economy against the wider macro-level experience alone can give us a realistic insight into the processes involved in the phenomenon of migration.

KERALA EXPERIENCE

The growth experience of Kerala shows how unrealistic the assumption of dichotomy between the town and country is. According to Kuznet's hypothesis, a spurt in the growth of the tertiary sector succeeds that or the process of rapid industrialisation through structural diversification of the economy. (*Kuznets, 1974; 76*). The development experience of Kerala, which has been known in development literature as "Kerala Model of Development", presents a contrary picture, which is unique in the history of India and of most developing countries at large. Both in terms of the size of the work force and of the State Domestic Product, the share of agricultural sector has been disproportionately shrinking and of tertiary sector rising, given the stagnancy of the industrial sector.

The unique experience of Kerala should be examined against the all-India phenomenon. A significant structural change in the pattern of growth has taken place in India over time. However, a pronounced change is confined to a category of States (consisting of Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu) where the structural change in labour real location has been accompanied by a higher than national average increase in per capita value added in the factory sector of industry. Kerala does not even come near those States in terms of the level of industrial development. While the annual growth rate in value added (at current prices) at the national level between 1960–61 and 1970–71 was 13.5 per cent, the respective figure for Kerala was 11.3 per cent. In the next decade, the relative growth rate in Kerala has been much lower, by 9.6 per cent as against the national level of 14.1 per cent (*Subrahmaniam and Pillai, 1985 : 5*).

POVERTY LINES : RURAL & URBAN

This unique sectoral growth pattern of Kerala has significantly influenced the spatial distribution of economic activites too. The growth experiences of most countries reveal that industrialisation and urbanisation go hand in hand. The stagnancy of the industrial sector and the rapid growth of the tertiary sector has significantly blockaded the process of economic growth and urbanisation in the State.

This has obviously influenced the urban and rural poverty ratios in a specific way, along with a unique growth pattern of the labour market. While Kerala has the tenth position among States falling below the poverty line, in 1977–78, it stood first as regards the extent of urban poverty. Even in Orissa, which stood first as regards overall poverty in this year, the respective position for urban poverty was only the sixth.

SHARING OF URBAN JOBS & WAGE RATES

Though adequate explanations to this phenomenon have not come so far, this can probably be because of the fact that the "magnetic effect" offered by urban centres is much absent in Kerala, where the tertiary sector prevails over the secondary sector, which is considered to be the propellor of growth and generator of massive employment. In the ultimate analysis, this suggests a *ratchet effect* in the labour market in the particular context of Kerala. Thus, while jobs in the urban services have been shared among the 'urban'

(Continued overleaf)

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(*Continued from page 83*) **MIGRATION . . .**

labour and those from 'rural' areas (who are well integrated with the urban centres through a highly developed transport and communication system), mobility of 'urban' labour to the rural areas has often been made difficult by various political and cultural factors.

This interesting phenomenon in Kerala has obviously been reflected in the historic movement of wage rates. According to studies conducted by the Department of Economics and Statistics, Government of Kerala, relating to two productive sectors, construction, and trade and commerce, the yearly percentage increase in wage rates over the period 1970–71 to 1980–81 was higher on an average in the 'urban' than in rural areas. It should also be noted that the absolute rates in the 'urban' sector during the base year was not significantly higher than that of the 'rural' sector.

NEED FOR FURTHER ANALYSIS

The first step towards a realistic understanding of the phenomenon of migration should be the realisation that it is *not spontaneous*. At least, some studies have proved the reserve army, 'cheap labour' and 'subsidy' functions associated with the process of migration. What this reviewer drives at is not that the Marxian scheme and its specific categories alone will help to arrive at a realistic analysis of the phenomenon of migration. The rural-urban dichotomy itself is subject to debate. Development of a more fruitful analytical frame and more in-depth empirical studies are the need of the time. The crucial questions that are of interest on the academic and policy fronts are not the ones raised by the book. The objective of the book itself is to study who the migrants are, and how they differ among themselves as well as from non-migrants in terms of age, sex, occupational status, marital status and education. However, these are only the visible manifestations of the underlying social and economic processes. It is an analysis of these processes that one would expect from a book of the same title.

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CIVIC POLITY IN INDIA

★ In The Context of Literature

P. C. Shastri

[*This article is based on a two-volume study conducted by* (*late*) **Dr. Rangeya Raghava** (*original name was Thiruvallur Nimbakam Raghavachari*) *entitled as* **Mahayatra Gatha—Andhera Rasta** *and* **Chanda and Rein.** *While the first volume deals with the age that saw the rise and decline of slave class* (*which was essentially a domesticated one as compared to the institutionalized slavery of the Greeks and the Romans*) *the second volume deals with the 'progressive' and decadent phases of the feudalism or* **Samanta Pratha** *in India guided and motivated to some extent by the forces of the international trade and commerce and the rise of Turk and Muslim traders and invaders who soon manopolised all the land and water routes of foreign trade, thus throttling the viality of Indian society and polity.—P.C.S.*]

The purpose of this article is to make an earnest plea for re-creating an 'intellectual' and rational history of the civic polity of ancient India with the help of our classical literature on the lines suggested by "cultural Marxist" *Antonio Gramsci* of Italy, who also made this plea that the ruling class dominates the other classes, of course, with the help of a powerful ideological support base. In our case, the intellectual class, which was essentially Brahamanical, did try to idealize and synthesize the whole history of India. Adi Shankaracharya, Badrayana and Veda Vyasa of *Srimad Bhagwad Geeta* fame did play the pioneering role in this context.

Our plea is that a whole galaxy of Hindi litterateurs including Sankratayan, Rangeya Raghava, Bhagawat Saran Upadhyaya and Acharya Chatursen Shastri and others, did try to re-create the intellectual, cultural and political history of India in their own fashion; and the social scientists ought to make a critical study of their accompalishments. We must try to perceive the Indian social reality, of course, with the help of our vast indigenous literature thus paving the way for creating a bridge, say between the social sciences and the Indian vernacular literature. We hope that we would then be able to indigenise the social sciences in India to some extent.

RANGEYA RAGHAV

We should first give a brief life-sketch of Rangeya Raghava. He was born on January 12, 1923, at Agra in a Tatachary family. He took his master's and doctorate degrees from the St. John's College of Agra. The title of his thesis was *Guru Gorakhnath and His Times.* The world view of Dr. Raghava was quite vast and open, because his father, Raghavachary, first initiated him into the world of ancient Indian classical learning that gave him an 'insight' into the psyche and a 'feel' of the Indian mind. Besides that, he could also drink deep the literature of the Allwar saints who set in the process of the '*Bhakti movement*', which later dominated the social scene in north India. Thus he got that unique and rare distinction of having a command over both the oriental as well as the occi-

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AN INTERACTION OF RACE, RELIGIOUS AND LANGUAGE— ✱

A Case Study of Dr. Rangeya Raghava

dental traditions of the world, that broad-based his world-view, which was essentially *liberal, scientific and humanistic.*

Raghava wrote his first comprehensive work i.e. '*Prachin Bharati Parampara Aur Itihas* in 1950. It also exposed the inner structures of his mind. He dealt with problems of the Indus Civilization i.e. around 3500 B.C. in his novel entitled *Murdon Ka Teela* (Mound of the Dead). He further grappled with realities of the age of "pre-trade" or the "slave dominated" India in his novel entitled *Andhere Ke Jugnu.* In his novel entitled '*Partidan*' he highlighted the Brahman–Kshatriya conflict. He also painted a sketch of feudalism, say during the era of King Harsha, in his work i.e. *Chivar.* He further dealt with the nature and status of Aryan power after the great conflict of the *Mahabharata.*

In 1959, he began his long journey towards writing an "intellectual" history of India in about a dozen volumes; but he could complete only two volumes by the year 1961. And this brilliant chapter of his life closed on September 12, 1962, when he breathed his last in a Bombay hospital.

A CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORLD VIEW

The basic contention of this article is that Dr. Rangeya Raghava neither followed the Max Weberian world-view nor the world-view of Karl Marx. He evolved his own view-point, which was essentially a "humanistic" and "progressive" one. He placed human welfare above everything else. That is why he does not fall into the categories of "mechanistic—deterministic" Marxists; yet his appoach is essentially dialectic cultural–anthropological.

ON CASTE SYSIEM & TRIBALS

And he did believe in painting the role of one caste or *Varna*, which has essentially got the "class characteristics" in this society as only black one or the white one. He also believed in the philosophy of grey one, so that he would argue that the Brahman–*Varna* or the priestly "class" played a progressive role after the Mahabharata period, when they exhorted the feudal class to work assiduously for making big empires, or, in other words, to work out an Indian mode of civic polity. But later on, when the 'international' land and maritime trade routes were occupied or dominated by the Turks and other Muslim rulers, then the role of the priestly class became retrograde, and the whole system went into insulation.

Now, it is a well-known fact that many tribes were "introduced" into the folds of the caste system, while many "non-ruling" castes were also thrown into the folds of the tribal system. Raghava would like to cite the example of the conversion of the Nagas (whose sociological totem was a serpent) into the folds of the caste system in India, which process of assimilation continued, say, until the beginning of the Mahabharat war. The Nagas were assimilated into the Indian society in three ways:-(i) First, some of them joined the ranks of the non–Aryan Jaina religion. Second, others joined the Kayastha-Mathur stream of the Hindu social system. Third, rest of them could not be assimilated and they went to the hilly tracts of Assam and Nagaland.

INTERACTION OF RACE, RELIGION & LANGUAGE

Thus, his attempt was to understand the nature of the emerging civic polity in India, of course, with the help of the sociology of religion, cultural anthropology and the social history of India. Hence his world-view was quite comprehensive, in which there is a close interaction of factors like race, religion and language. Even if we take the example of the changing framework and contents of the Sanskrit language in India, we come across different stages of social development. Panini, the great lexicographer, was not simply a grammarian, but he was also a keen student of the developments of civic polity in India. The million dollar question is when does a society decide to standardize the format or the structure of any language ?

It is also a fact that, at the time of the Mahabharata, or say at the time of Gautama Sakya Buddha, not many persons could make much out from the *Vedic Sanskrit texts*; and at that time, *the Laukik —Sanskrit* became the vehicle of effective expression. Later on, Gutama Sakya Buddha and Vardhaman Mahavira chose the medium of *Pali*, *Prakita* and *Apbhransa* to make their message communicable. That is how and why even the rise of the Hindi can be attributed to the anti-Brahman saintly traditions of India. It is our misfortune that no social scientist is looking into this close inter-action of race, religion and language factors in India. And here one would like to salute Rangeya Raghava who made certain pioneering studies in this field, of course, in his own literary way.

The purpose of this article is to draw the attention of our social scientists (whose credo now-a-days is for indigenisation of our social sciences) to the fact that Dr. Rangeya Raghava did also contribute in his own humble and constrained way to the creation of an intellectual history of India. For example, he did say that when one myth, as for example, of Lord Varuna, Indra, Vishnu, Krishna and/or Rama is replaced by another myth by the ruling class and the masses, it also signifies a change in the nature and context of social forces at work. And it would be interesting to note how Lord Varuna was challenged and thrown away by Lord Indra with the help of Ashwin Kumars or Maruts or Upendra. i.e. Vishnu Hence he would like to argue that if we want to understand the nature of the emergence of civic polity in India, then we will have to understand it with the help of sociology of myths, totems and masks in India. For that, we will have to look deeper into the intricacies of our cultural anthropology.

P. C. Shastri, Assit. Professor-cum-Translator in a University Deptt. has been recently making a detailed study of the Hindi writings of Dr. Rangeya Raghava.

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A HISTORICAL NARRATIVE IN VERSE

L. S. Rathore

VEER DURGADAS RATHORE : **An Epic**

The Thar Bliss Publishing House, Jodhpur(1987) Rs. 100

Reviewed by O.P. Bhatnagar

Veer Durgadas Rathore is a long narrative poem in English, welcome after Mahanand Sharma's *A Rudraksha Rosary* and Narsingh Shrivastava's *Lyla and Majnu.*

The poet has provided in great detail an account of the life and times of the Rathore warrior in his introduction to the poem. Since the poet is an eminent scholar of political science, much of the account can be taken to be relevant and authentic for the visionary frame-work of the poem. Its main thrust is on the re-creation and assertion of the struggle for freedom put up by Durgadas Rathore exhibiting extraordinary valour, sacrifice, devotion and integrity of character in the pursuit of his goal and ideal. As the poet himself writes—"For the poet, *Durga* has been a fathomless source of inspiration and boundless joy. It is with this intensity of feelings that the poet has composed these verses on *Veer* Durgadas Rathore."

Similarly, the poet takes on a mission for himself to say—"Make haste, Oh friend ! make haste ! discard thy old frailties and cultivate calm and solemn feelings in the elate metre of Durga's music, before thy dust falls to the urn. This then, is the message of my passion poesy". The poet calls his composition an epic, and goes on to claim that "The true merit of this epic, in my opinion, is the sublime expression of a message of human life", and much more.

The poem has been composed in 38 sections, covering various episodes and events in the life of Durgadas. There can be no debate on the chronology of events and the authenticity of happenings which have been narrated quite exhaustively. But what is debatable is the relevance and priority of the selection of these events and episodes from the point of view of poetic cohesion and aesthetic intensity. What makes for an epic is not the number and 'numerousness' of happenings, but their selection through selective exclusion, with an eye on the poetic grandeur achieved through compression and the vision derived from intensity. The 'epicality' of a theme or a subject is in its conception and not in its history or its historicity. For example, section 4, **A Windfall for Durga**, begins details of the hero's life as—"Born in theyear 1638 A.D./In the hamlet of Salva/125 kms. north-east of Jodhpur." which could easily be relegated to *Introduction*. Besides, there are many facts and happenings represented in section 5, **Glory to Jaswant**; section 8, **Strange are the Divine Ways;** section 22, **Thus Fell the Brave Champavat Sonag;** section 23, **The Valorous Champavat Ajab**; section 24, **The Untiring Champavat Udai**; section 30, **Durga cut-off Shamsher Khan's Head**; and section 32, **The Death of Emperor Aurang**, which are not only redundant, but also diffuse the unity and intensity of the poem.

Yet, the poem has certain basic merits of sincerity. By its passion, the poem speaks of the love of the poet for Marwar and its great heritage of spartan valour, loyalty, honesty, courage, determination, sacrifice and magnanimity of heart, referred to in the narrative, time and again, and as symbolized in the character of Durgadas. The poet is at his best in the evocation of the spirit of **Maroo.**

The poem in its uneven tempo of movement sags and rises to varying effects. After section 2, the narrative picks up once again from section 9, **Durga's Historic Flight**, presenting the poignant movement with a verve that beats through the succeeding sections to section 10, **Maroo in Flames.** Some of the scenes of **Maroo** in flames are as living and firmly artistic as the scenes in section 24.

The narrative also reveals some of the major concerns of the poet with freedom, and the need to maintain it all cost. But the poet's exhortations directed to the people in contemporary India, turn the narrative from poetry to sermonizing as in section 38, **Repose ! In Durga's Bower.**

Similarly, the attempts to create a mystique of Durga in sections 36, 37 and 38 weaken the poetic intensity of the narrative. In fact, the narrative seems to bank more on history than on the poetry and pathos of the situation, scene and character. The elegiac note in section 36, **'Durga Lives And Lives For Ever'** and the comparison between Durga and Gandhi in section 34 seem forced and jarring. More often than not, the poem turns into a ballad than an epic. However, there are a few occasions when the poet is able to offer us the taste of the epic through his fine images and similies like—*'Like an unbodied joy flowering under a veil'*; *'The Mughal chased in swarms like angry bees'*; *'Helter-skelter the courtiers scattercd like a colony of termites.'*

Though the life and character of Durgadas by itself is epical, its feeble conception and treatment in the poem do not allow it to rise beyond a historical narrative in verse. May be, the historian in the poet is unable to concede to the poetry in the poet.

Similarly the ignorance of handling English in poetic contexts pulls down the poem from attaining epic heights. Mistakes in the forms of words, like Sati's for Sati, or 'For ever' for Forever; in usage, like 'shattered into powder' and 'sectarian lanes devised' and many others, could have been avoided.

The structure, unfortunately, is loose. The climatic and the dramatic are missing. Yet the poet can be credited for introducing afresh the heroic in Indian poetry in English. This endeavour by L. S. Rathore is worth serious attention.

Dr. O. P. Bhatnagar is a well-known poet and critic based at Amravati.

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A DIALOGUE EXTRAORDINARY

J. Krishnamurti : THE WAY OF INTELLIGENCE
Krishnamurti Foundation India, Madras, 1985 p. 242, Price Rs. 95/-

Comments by Daya Krishna

This is a verbatim record of Dialogues held between November, 1978 and December, 1982 at Varanasi, Madras and Rishi Valley on such themes as *The Future of Man*; *The Nature of a Religious Life*; *Insight into Regeneration*; *Intelligence, Computers and the Mechanical Mind*; *Listening is Transformation and Illusion and Intelligence*. Yet, whatever the theme or the place or whoever the participants may be—and many of them are the most eminent in their field—the message remains the same, reiterated again and again, sometimes with subtle variations, sometimes even without them.

A UNIQUE QUEST

J. Krishnamurti was one of the most well-known spiritual personalities of our time, and to be able to be present at these dialogues with him at *leisure* without the *overpowaring presence* of his personality is a challenge which few persons interested in the spiritual quest or even the problems of the world today should miss. Imagine a discussion on *The Future of Man* in which intellectuals like Rajni Kothari, T. N. Madan, Romesh Thapar, Ashish Nandy, Sudhir Kakkar and Kapila Vatsyayan, amongst others, were present, Or, the one on *Insights into Regeneration* where persons like Ivan Illich, who has devoted a lifetime of thought to this problem, took part. There is a freedom in the discussions which normally does not prevail when people converse with a spiritual personlity of the status of J. Krishnamurti. And, for his part, the spiritual master remains the perfect gentleman displaying rare humility most of the time and respectfully addressing the persons around him as "*Sir*" all the time.

THE GURUS & SHISYAS

Yet, in spite of all this, there is hardly any real dialogue as Krishnamurti's position does not change or even grow over the successive dialogues recorded in the book. Ultimately, therefore, the "*Guru*-attitude" persists, even though it is explicitly and continuously condemned. Sometimes, though very rarely, even Krishnamurti seems to suspect that it is so. And in a certain sense it cannot but be so, for the presupposition of the "*Guru-Sisya*" syndrome is that there is someone who *has found the truth*—complete, integral, whole, unmodifiable, uncorrectable in principle. If someone claims that, then he cannot but be a "Guru", whether he wants to be one or not. And, at least sometimes, though very rarely, even Krishnamurti passingly suspects that he might be behaving like one.

Yet, how can there be *Gurus* without *Sisyas*? Surely, no one can possibly accuse the participants in these dialogues of being the traditional *Sisyas*—no, not even those like Pupul Jayakar, Achyut Patwardhan or Sunanda Patwardhan, who may perhaps be regarded as closest to being disciples, as they are present in all the discussions recorded in this volume. In fact, Pupul Jayakar, who has perhaps known him the longest in this group, is the freest of them all.

Yet, in a deep sense, they *are* all disciples, for they accept almost all the moves the Master makes, and do not question the statements he makes, or the presuppositions that lie behind them. And, here are all the moves, the stock-in-trade of most spiritual masters, small or great. First, that everybody seeks happiness. The second, that the world is full of suffering and nothing but suffering. And the third, that ego is the cause of it all. And, the fourth, that reason is finite and fragmentary and analytic, and cannot see it *all*, and hence only distorts and misleads and, in any case, is useless to solve man's problems. To these, Krishnamurti adds some that are specifically his own—the denial of all that is systematic, all that thought has built, all money, all past; in short, all that humanity may be said to have achieved up till now. Not even the greatest music, or Einestein's discovery or the greatest poetry; for all that is supposed to be creation of mind which is essentially mechanical in nature. The response of the Master to Asit Chandmal's question in this regard (*on p 228*) is "of course, of course" (*p 229*) and, of course, no one *questions* such a blatantly false answer.

WHAT MEN SEEK? . . . AN ESCAPE FROM THE PAST?

Not all men seek happiness all the time. In fact, most men do not seek it most of the time. None of the participants had devoted his life to the pursuit of pleasure or happiness or bliss; and yet when the Master said that this is what all men do, they did not deny what he said. Not only this, they had not gathered there to seek pleasure or happiness or bliss, but to understand the problems they had felt, to be enlightened about them, to seek answers to the questions that had arisen in their minds, through a process of dialogue with a person who, they thought, knew better. Yet, none of them questioned the axiomatic statement which was taken as self-evident and thus hardly needing any questioning.

Take, for example, the continuous unquestioned tirade against the past, thought, memory, mind, fragmentariness, mechanicality, systematicity etc. Surely, the ideal could not have been a person with total amnesia, with no sense of the past or total loss of memory, even unconscious memory. There *are* such cases and they *are* most pitiable of all, for they can neither speak, nor walk, nor do any of the little things we *learnt* such a long time back that we have even forgotten when we learnt them And, how can one be against all habit, all mechanicality when everybody knows that all action pre-supposes causality—reliable, predictable behaviour of things and persons—and all living, settled habits of the mind and the body, which are then made the base for creative innovation. Surely, the movement forward presupposes the mechanical turning of the wheel, and the movement of life that of the life cycle—and the movement of time, that of the day, the seasons and the years. And, pray, why if you

(*Continued on page 89 below Col. 1*)

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M.V. Nadkarni

FARMERS' MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., (Delhi)1987, pp. 237 Rs. 100/-

Reviewed by Harsh Sethi

Intellectuals, particularly the urban and alienated ones, are rarley comfortable with 'movements', which seem to threaten our well-ordered world too much. It is thus not surprising that, in the trad tion of the by now familiar genre of writings on the current struggles of a 'sub-nationalist' or 'religious' persuasion, the scholarship on the 'movements of farmers' that stirred the countryside in the decade starting from the mid-seventies, too, is chracterized with unseemly passion.

OF PAMPERED KULAKS

When farmers get converted into 'kulaks', a term as much of abuse as of description, then what follows is often abundantly predictable. Sophisticated arguments are dredged out to prove that the Indian farmers are a pampered lot, enjoying not only the dual advantages of a regime of subsidised inputs and hiked-up output prices, but also that their surpluses too remain untaxed. In addition to the unfair advantage that this class is supposed to have grabbed for itself, the implications for both the country and the lower orders in the countryside are deemed to be disastrous. While the countryside suffers because of both a high pricing of farm produce (food and non-food) and a major drain on its fiscal resources due to subsidies, the rural poor become further victims of the growing power of the rural oligarchy.

All of this may well be true, but prejudices are hardly a substitute for sober and empathetic analysis. It is thus that the book by Nadkarni comes as more than a pleasant surprise, not only in its scholarship, but in the fairness that he brings to bear upon his arguments. It is his quality of restraint that makes it possible for us to view a troubled and complex history somewhat dispassionately, though not clinically. A study of movements demands a blending of three voices—the perceptions of insider-participants, the views of those opposed, and the analysis of the outside experts. It goes to Nadkarni's credit that he has used all three, and in a manner that neither party is likely to object.

COLLAPSE OF A ROSY PHASE

The first phase of peasant movements against landlordism and oppression within the rural sector, earlier within the broader rubric of the national movement, and later as part of a package of institutional reforms carried out in the decade of the fifties, saw the middle-class owner-cultivator strengthen his position by the middle of the sixties. The bio-chemical 'revolution' accompanied by major subsidies on import pricing (credit, water, electricity, fertilizers) and a boost-up of output prices through a procurement policy consolidated it. All through, till the mid-seventies, life seemed to be rosy for the surplus farmer; and then his world suddenly seemed to collapse. At one level, the State seemed to be backing off, caught as it was between the prongs of the oil price hike of 1973, the nearly unbearable fiscal burdens of the subsidies, and the political demands of radical populism. On the other were the pressures created by declining growth rates of output and productivity, and the rising price of inputs. Both economically and politically, the relative position of the surplus producing farmer was threatened, and it is this which provided the fuel for the price-based farmers' movements of the last decade and a half.

SOME QUESTIONS & ANSWERS

This somewhat simplified thesis begs as many questions as it answers. As important as who were involved in these movements is, who were not. Why did the struggles break out when they did in Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra ? Why did the organisational consolidation take place outside the framework of the organised political parties ? Is the perception of farmers that what they are facing is a price squeeze, an example of the structural urban basis in Indian planning and development correct ? And how will we classify these movements ?

Through a detailed examination of available secondary material, as also field work and indepth interviews with the leaders of some of these movements, Nadkarni tries to provide an answer.

Quite clearly, Nadkarni views these movements as fights between differert propertied classes, not only including within their fold or espousing the cause of the rural poor, but often consolidating the rural power structure against them. This comes out both in the analysis of the demands that these movements have placed on agenda where issues of wages, consumption loans, or house-sites for the poor find no place, as also in the interviews with the leaders of the Dalit movements, which have come up in these States. If anything, barring Sharad Joshi, who tends to sidestep these questions, the other leaders view wage increases and organizations of the landless as other growing threats.

ATTEMPTS TO ALTER POWER STRUCTURE

Nevertheless, Nadkarni departs from the well-known thesis of both Ashok Mitra and Ranjit Sau, who describe these movements and the official responses to them 'as a marriage of wheat and whisky', a collaboration between the monopoly industrial class and the kulaks to further squeeze the proletariat. Rather, he views these movements as 'partly progressive', as attempts to alter the balance within the power structure, but not working towards dismantling the system. In the manner of the earlier half-hearted institutional reform, these struggles have helped a large rural propertied class (primarily the rich peasants, but also the middle and poor ones) to tenuously maintain its position and influence policy in its favour. The last is well indicated in the recent renaming of the

(Continued)

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POWER STRUCTURE

Agricultural Prices Commission as the Commission on Costs and Prices and, for the first time, involving three farmer representatives in a commission of seven members.

A 'SYSTEMIC' CRISIS

The more interesting analytical point made by Nadkarni refers to the 'price fixation' of the movements' leadership. He demonstrates that the trend movement of the terms of trade has moved in favour of agriculture, that the domestic prices have constantly remained higher than world prices, that the rates of return even on the most comprehensive cost concept have been on the whole satisfactory. What has, in fact, declined is the absolute return or income on most of the holdings, with the proportion of viable holdings being not only small, but also declining over time. This is partly due to the slow rates of growth in the non-agricultural sectors, so that the ever-increasing work force remains within the agricultural sector, and partly because the process of monetisation and commercialisation increases the costs of the inputs. Thus, while the crunch being faced by the surplus producing farmer is a real one, the reasons have to be located in a systemic crisis, rather than a mere reworking of the price equations.

The non-party nature of these movements also exposes their ambivalent character. At one level, the attempt was to work out alliances on a class-based trade union grid, and to the extent this succeeded, the movements got a militant filip.

THE STALEMATE

Since struggles on a single issue orientation cannot be sustained over a long period, nor do they grow in spatial or social strata terms, the hostility that these movements have displayed towards the mainstream parties has further loaded the dice against them. If anything, they have ended up in being used by factions opposing the ruling regimes in different States, only to be rejected when their allies come into power. This, for instance, happened with the Janata regime in Karnataka.

In broader policy terms, the line of reasoning being advanced by the protoganists of these movements is unlikely to find much favour. To start with, the movements have not been able to break out of the region, crop and caste barriers. The demands for writing off loans, increasing subsidies on inputs, or permitting much higher output prices are seen as dangerous not only by policy-makers, but also by the net consumers of both food and non-food crops. The movements thus have reached a stalemate; they have achieved what they could. Though they can never be fully owned up, they have displayed enough clout to be taken seriously.

NEW ISSUES CONFRONT THE FARMERS

What would have rounded off this otherwise comprehensive book usefully, is a discussion on the new issues plaguing Indian agriculture and the farmer.

These include the decline in soil productivity, and threats due to indiscrete use of chemicals, the decline in the water-table in many parts of the country because of the indiscriminate pumping out of scarce ground water resources occasioned by the use of new water intensive cropping regimes, the distortions being created in the balance between food and non-food crops at one level and between farm, pasture and forest land at the other, or the distress caused by the drastic reduction in rural household energy sources. It is the growth of agriculture as industry that threatens the mass of the rural population, and it is towards these issues representing a new phase of problems that the farmers' movements ought to turn their attention.

Nadkarni does briefly discuss the decline of the commons; and it is significant that both Sharad Joshi and Tikait, the two most influential farmers' leaders in the country today, have also started mentioning these problems. Localised struggles have also been breaking out on these issues. But this new orientation would require a different kind of movement. And that would hardly be a farmers' movement.

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A DIALOGUE... *(Continued from page 87)*

are *against* fragmentariness, you decry systems ? And, in any case, what is wrong with fragmentariness ? For, what is "whole" ? And can it be even conceived, appreciated, understood or even lived or intuited by anybody ? And, if it is outside time, what is its relation to time—time in which we live, are born and die ? And, what about the relation to those non-temporal or atemporal objects of knowledge such as we find in mathematics or logic ?

UNASKED QUESTIONS

To think of these obvious questions and find that they have not even been raised—not even by George Sudarshan, the eminent scientist—is to become aware of what the *presence* of a great spiritual master does to ordinary mortals around him. A spiritual personality is almost like a great work of art; it silences all questions and *forces* you to *see* in a particular way, his or her way. And, that *is* the charm of these dialogues.

The dialogue form is illusory. One *listens* to what the Master says, to the person behind the words—the person who has seen something of great Wonder and Beauty, and *lived* it all his life. And, one wants to share that vision, even a faint little glimpse of it, or the illusion of a glimpse. The reader is less fortunate; he can hardly have the full impact of the *presence* of the Master. But, there are his words—and he comes through them a little.

Since after his retirement as Head of the Deptt. of Philosophy in the University of Rajasthan, Prof. Daya Krishna has been deeply involved in a series of dialogues with Pandits, Maulvis and scholars of Indian Wisdom.

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CONSTANT GLORY

Chandan Mitra :

LA MARTINIERE SAGA — 1836-1986

Oxford University Press (1987) pp. 95 ; Rs. 150/-

Reviewed by Madhu Singh

La Martiniers, or 'La Marts' as it is popularly known, is the oldest established English education school in India. Chandan Mitra, an Old Boy, and his group of research associates have produced this sequi-centennial book in commemoration of the founder, Claude Martin. It is a befitting honour both to the man and the two institutions, one in Lucknow and the other in Calcutta, that he founded in India. He also founded a school in Lyon, France. Surprisingly, there is no contact between the French and Indian schools, though an exchange programme would have been only natural. The book mentions only in passing the Lyon school, though a few photographs are included.

Claude Martin, a Frenchman, was the kind of man romantic novels are written about. Born in 1735 of poor parents, he led an adventurous life in India. He came to Pondicherry in 1752, as a bodyguard to the French Governor. His unit deserted *en bloc* to the British, who gave him a commission in the East India Company. He served the British and then the Nawab of Awadh, acting as a go-between, money-lender and a supplier of luxuries to the Rulers of Awadh and the British. In 1800, he died a rich man, a Nawab and a Major-General in the British (E. I. Co.) Army.

The most fascinating part of the book is the life of Calude Martin. In short terse sentences, Chandan Mitra has captured the mood of the 18th century, a time which felt the dying spasms of the great Moghul empire and the subsequent pillage and rape of the country by the Europeans. Though Major-General Claude Martin came to India as a soldier of fortune himself, India became his second motherland. He realised that the decadence of the Moghuls and the greed of the "colonials" could not augur well for the country, and so he left his vast fortune to the people of the country of his adoption.

A MAN WITH VISION

Even to-day, there are many people who benefit from his munificence. In his will and testament, he decreed the establishment of two schools in Calcutta and Lucknow, and also left bequests for the hereditary heirs of his personal servants, the poor of Lucknow and criminals in Bengal. Once a month, the poor of all religions line up at Gori Bibi's Maqbara outside Constantia, Lucknow; and Azim, the hereditary custodian, hands out Rs. 218/-. In Calcutta, the interest (Rs. 6,000/-) on Rs. 15,000/- is used by the Deputy Commissioner of Police for the relief and rehabilitation of long-term convicts in Bengal.

Claude Martin was a man with a vision far ahead of his times, for even in the establishment of the schools, he merely called for the teaching of "English language and Christian religion". He loved the people of India, and recognized the commonality in religions. It was faulty execution of his will which converted the schools into schools for Anglo-Indian Christians. In their inception, the schools fail to be true memorials to his spirit and character, though the service rendered is undeniable.

Historians have ignored Claude Martin, and so this book is a contribution not only to the history of education in India, but also to history in general. Chandan Mitra and his research associates have done a commendable piece of work in putting together the life of the founder and unifying it with the eminent figures of those times, like Warren Hastings, Lord Cornwallis, Tipu Sultan and Nawab Asaf-ul-dowla of Awadh. The mention that he does get is an unkind one that it was his "love of fame" that made him bequeath his properties to education. Chandan Mitra's team has unbiasedly put forth the various views of the man, his character, his loves and his idiosyncracies. Claude Martin emerges as man of variegated talents, progressive in thought and deed, compassionate, though not entirely a gentleman.

It is regrettable that no bibliography is provided, as this could be of assistance to researchers in the field of education and historians working on Calcutta and Lucknow, for the history of La Martiniere is inextricably interwoven with these two cities and with India.

THE CHRONICLES OF A CENTURY & A HALF

Thirty-two years after the death of Claude Martin, the Supreme Court decreed the establishment of a school at Short's Bazaar, laying down in great detail the conditions of its working and management. La Martiniere itself started in 1836, modeled on English Public Schools for Christians in India. This was a twist in interpretation by the British, for Claude Martin had made no such stipulation in his will, and this act of those who were the executors of the will led to the isolation of the schools from Indian society. It was only in 1935 that 25 per cent non-Christians were allowed into the school. The records maintained by the school are enviable and the research team has utilized the reams of available data to chronicle the growth of the school covering such diverse items as the dress prescribed, the menu, the syllabus, the staff employed and their salaries, the fee structure, the daily regime, sporting events etc. To cull all this information and convert it into a running narrative is no mean achievement. It will no doubt be of interest to the alumni to read the newspaper reports of the 1845 Founder's Day, to know that La Mart, Lucknow, initially shared the profits of the school with teaching staff, that the school routine has not changed in 150 years etc. Educationists in general and specifically Anglo-Indian and the I.C.S.E. Board will find this a valuable source book about the of growth English education in India.

The fortunes of La Martiniere were adversely affected by the founding of "Hill schools" for the

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elite, and schools in the plains for the poorer constituents, in the 1860's.

It is also a significant fact that the boys of the La Martiniere were given a "Short-hand Course" as early as in 1890, and a "Business Class" was started in 1894, as the students competed for lower-level jobs in British India bureaucracy, the Railways and the Police. Only a few became tea-planters, teachers or professionals. It was realized by the Governors that education must be moulded to fit the needs of the students. To day, the alumni have prominent positions in all fields of professional activity, helped by the courses in Computers, Commerce, Arts and Sciences as a fall-out of the Plus Two System.

BATTLE HONOURS AT CONTANTIA IN LUCKNOW

The section on La Martinere, Lucknow, is engrossing. This institution is housed in Constantia, the place designed by Claude Martin himself, a building of phenomenal design and structure. It is poorly maintained today, as are the spreading grounds, but is nonethless awe-inspiring. Being in the territory of the Nawab of Awadh, Wajid Ali Shah, this school took on a different and more vibrant nature as compared to the Calcutta school. It was true to the founder's wishes, as it was open to children of all religions, even as Foundationers (or non-paying students). The part played by them in the defence of the Residency in 1857 speaks volumes for the training and character of the boys and their principal, George Schilling. It is the only school in the world to have Battle Honours for gallantry, which were presented in 1932. This defence (of the Residency) may be critisized today as an-"anti-national" act, but value judgements apart, the bravery of the school children was unquestionable. Constantia, from its very inception, has had a more secular nature and therefore, has been and is better integrated in the Indian set-up.

A parallel experience, though not as severely traumatic, was World War II for the Calcutta school. The Army requisitioned the school premises; the boys and girls looked after the Burmese refugees, before being evacuated, in 1942, to Lucknow. It is only after this and the experience of sharing that the two schools started inter-acting.

TWO OUTPOSTS OF A VANISHED EMPIRE

La Martiniere, though founded by a Frenchman was established and managed by the British Governors and began to consider itself an "outpost" of the British Empire; and the fluctuating fortunes of the Raj seriously affected the emotional tones of the school. The anxiety at the time of Queen Victoria's death could only be matched by the "fears" at the time of Independence. This transition, too was made, with a hesitant singing of the *Jana Gana Mana* anthem and gradual dropping of the *God Save the King*. The School has survived, changed and adapted to the political and economic situations of the country, and yet it has managed to retain its unique character.

It could not have been an easy task to assemble school records of a hundred and fifty years, and present them in a readable form. Mitra has to be commended for his presentation of this important data. Record-keeping has evidently been sketchy in the post-Independence years, as forty years have been represented in less than ten pages. The glamour of the earlier years is also missing as 'La Marts' becomes assimilated into the mainstream of other Indian schools.

Today. the school has lost its flavour of a boarding-school as, due to economic factors, the number of boarders has fallen, and the only thing that distinguishes it today from other English-medium schools is the Self-Employment oriented Multi-Purpose Project started by the school in 1978 as a project for non-formal education for the children of class IV employees. Aided by the Government, today it has many vocational training programmes for deserving youngmen and women. The banks aid these people to set themselves up in various fields of enterprises, so that they are independent and self-employed.

Despite the changing structure of teachers and students, La Martiniere, for the common man, retains its image of a school for Anglo-Indians. Its students aspire to emigrate to Australia, England and U.S.A.

GIRLS DO BETTER THAN BOYS

The academic performance of the Girls' school has, from as early as 1845, been superior to the Boys' school. This phenomenon is, however, also reflected in national averages. The main stay of the school is sports. At one time, this aspect was given more importance than academics, because employers sought boys who could represent them in games. Sporting events have been covered by the newspapers from 1888. Ann Lumsden, an Old Girl, is the first woman to have won the Arjuna Award for Hockey. Cricket was introduced in 1845, and today the school holds the runners-up trophy of the Vinoo Mankad Tournament.

CITIES & CULTURES BROUGHT TO LIFE

The illustrations and the photographs in the book give it not only colour, but also depth and perspective. The cities of Calcutta and Lucknow of by-gone years are brought alive by a judicious choice of newspaper cuttings, pictures, paintings and photographs collected from sources as varied as the India Office Library and Records, London, to a portrait of Claude Martin by Rinaldi. These alone make the book more than simply a school's commemorative volume.

Chandan Mitra's training in history and his journalistic ability have enabled him to create a book which is not only of interest to the alumni but also to historians and educationists. He has successfully amalgamated the growth of the school with the socio-economic and political structure of the country. The motto of La Martiniere is "*Labore et Constantia*". It is this 'constancy' in pursuit of excellence in education that has ensured the survival of the school through the turbulent centuries, and the 'labor' of Mitra and and his associates which has created this excellent dedication to the alma mater.

Dr. Madhu Singh has taught Psychology at the Sophia College, Ajmer and the Jesus & Mary College, New Delhi.

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BRINGING TOGETHER DIVERSE ELEMENTS

Satyendra Kishore

NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN INDIA

Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1987; pp. x-96 Rs. 75/-

Reviewed by Anant Ram

In the book under review '*National Integration in India*,' an attempt has been made by the author to analyse and evaluate the problem of national integration on the basis of the historical method and functional approach. The main theme of the book is that, while the political and social problems created by linguistic and religious organisations have had a negative impact on the country, these have also been conducive to national integration. They have given fillip to the process of secularisation and modernisation.

LANGUAGES, RELIGIONS & CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The book studies the problems of national integration in India which essentially revolve around the two major issues of (a) language and (b) religion. The author is of the opinion that loyalties to language and religion differ widely in nature and extent, and have given rise to fissiparious tendencies in the country which seem to threaten its unity and integrity.

The book has been divided into five chapters. In the first introductory chapter, the author has examined the meaning of national integration. According to him, the term 'national integration' is a contextual term, and tends to be obscure in the light of varying definitions of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. The minimum requisite for nationhood is the people living in a compact geographical area with general cultural unity; and they form a nation by accepting a particular political order and forming a "State". Language, race, religion and history are additional factors which generally strengthen the bonds of nationhood. India, being a multi-ethnic nation, follows mixed strategies for achieving national integration, which are promoted on the basis of accommodation and equality. Linguism, communalism, casteism, social inequality and regional disparity have been identified as challenges to national integration in India. However, only two major issues of language and religion have been analysed in detail.

The second chapter traces the history of national integration in India alongwith the levels and degrees of integration and disintegration in ancient and medieval times. The author explains how the process of adjustment, accommodation, and assimilation operated on the social, cultural, political and economic planes covering every walk of life of our ancestors. The growth of nationalism and national integration in pre- and post-independent India and the difficulties coming in the way have been exhaustively elaborated.

THREE LANGUAGE FORMULA

The third chapter entitled 'Language and National Integration', studies the question of national language in the context of the national movement in India. Apart from discussing the inclusion of 15 languages, and Hindi as a national language, in the Constitution of India, the author goes a long way to show how the problem of language in the non-Hindi speaking areas originated from the 'Three Language Formula'. The report of the Official Language Commission, 1958, the rise of linguistic chauvinism, and the period of lingual conflicts in the critical years after Nehru, are some special issues fully dealt with.

SIX MAJOR RELIGIONS & HUNDERDS MORE

The fourth chapter on 'Religion and National Integration' throws light on the conduct of six major religious communities, viz., the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhists and the Jains, in addition to 183 other religions and persuasions in India, alongwith their concomitants and resultant impact on national integration. It discusses how communalism in India gained ground during the British Rule and consequently paved the way for secularism in independent India.

The last chapter briefly brings into light some threatening issues such as social inequalities and regional disparities posing a threat to national integration. The roles of development, education and communication for national integration have also been discussed at some length.

REVIVALISM & FUNDAMENTALISM ON THE RISE

While one can agree with the author that the constitutional provisions have, by and large, satisfied the major religious and linguistic minorities in India, the inference arrived at that the socio-political tensions caused by communal forces are on the wane cannot be accepted in the present context of dominance of communalism, fundamentalism, regionalism, casteism and mixing of politics with religion.

In fact, in the recent past, there has been a dangerous swing in the direction of puritan religious revivalism. The forces of fundamentalism have started politicising religion.

The book is, however, of immense use not only for the students of Political Science, but it should be also of great interest for all those who are really interested to know the main threats to national integration in India and the remedial measures to combat the menace created by anti-national forces.

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RUSHDIE'S GUILT ?

—by Satindra Singh

Now that the noise and dust raised by Salman Rushdie's novel, *The Satanic Verses* (Viking, London; Distributors : Penguin Books (India) Ltd., New Delhi, Pp, 447, Price Rs. 300) has died down (*at least in India —Ed.*) following the Government's ban order, (*though some cities had to witness the sound and fury of tensions and riots—Ed.*) it is time to take a cool, dispassionate look at the book and try to assess it and conjecture as to what motivated the author to write it.

This seems all the more necessary because the print and electronic media in the West have gone ga-ga over it. They always do this in the case of books written by Indian writers or those of Indian origin, if the books pander to their stereotyped image of India as a miserably poor country inhabited by backward people. V.S. Naipaul (*The Wounded Civilisation* and *An Area of Darkness*) and Nirad. C. Chaudhari (*Thy Hand, Great Anarch !*) are cases in point.

The Satanic Verses is only a clever variation of the stereotyped western image of India. But because of the hullaballoo raised by the Muslim fundamentalists against the allegedly derogatory remarks about Prophet Mohammed and his wives, this fatal weakness of the novel has been completely ignored even by the most discerning critics. With Government banning the book to appease the Muslim obscurantists, it has become impossible to discuss and evaluate its content and style on the touchstone of literary criticism. One is, therefore, constrained to restrict oneself only to two aspects : one, the author's motivation, and, two, the Indian case–law on banning books.

THE STORY OUTLINE

For fear of being accused either by the celebrated author or by the hurt reader of making a tendencious or selective summary of the rambling and incoherent 547-page novel, I simply reproduce the publisher's blurb:

"Just before dawn, one winter morning, a hijacked jumbo-jet blows apart high above the English Channel. Through the debris of limbs, drinks, trolleys, memories, blankets and oxygen masks, two figures fall towards the sea without benefit of parachutes : Gibreel Farishta, India's legendary film-star, and Saladin Chamcha, the man of a thousand voices, self-made self and Anglophile supreme. Clinging to each other, singing rival songs, they plunge downwards, and are finally washed up alive on the snow-covered sands of an English beach. A miracle ! but an ambiguous one, because it soon became apparent that curious changes are coming over them. Gibreel seems to have acquired a halo, while to Saladin's dismay, his legs grow heavier, his feet turn into hoofs and there are bumps burgeoning at his temples.

"So begins *The Satanic Verses*, Salman Rushdie's first novel for five years.

"Gibreel and Saladin have been chosen (by whom ?) as protagonists in the eternal wrestling match between Good and Evil. But which is which ? Can demons be angelic ? Can angels be devils in disguise ? As the two men tumble through their tale. through time as well as space, towards their final confrontation, we are witnesses to a cycle of extraordinary stories, tales of love and passion, of betrayal and faith : the story of Ayesha, the butterfly-shrouded visionary who leads an Indian village on an impossible pilgrimage; of Allie, the mountain-climber haunted by a ghost who urged her to attempt the ultimate feat—a solo ascent of Everest ; of murders, metamorphoses and riots in a London visible but unseen'; and, centrally, the story of Mahound, the Prophet of Jahilla, the city of sand—Mahound, the recipient of a revelation in which satanic verses mingle with divine.

"In this great wheel of a book, where the past and the future chase each other furiously, Salman Rushdie takes on an epic journey, a journey of tears and laughter, of wonderful stories and astonishing flights of imagination, a journey towards the evil and the good that lie inseparably entwined within the hearts of women and men."

* * *

This synopsis of the novel is too bland. It does not even remotely refer to the weird world that Salman Rushdie tries to create by cleverly mixing reality and fantasy, divine revelation and hallucination, flashbacks and "future shocks". But to accept all this requires excrutiatingly prolonged suspension of disbelief on the part of the reader. As the book runs into almost 550 pages, even Salman Rushdie's mastery of the English language, his dry humour and his deep study of Islam fail to hold the reader's interest. In the end, one just throws away the book and heaves a sigh of relief !

What on earth drove Salman Rushdie to write this tome ?

RUSHDIE'S COMPULSIONS OR MOTIVES

It is not difficult to divine the compulsions behind his selection of the theme as well as its setting and the names of the characters. Salman Rushdie is an expatriate; he has renounced his Indian nationality as also his Muslim heritage under the impact of western thought and the western way of life. It appears that a kind of guilt continues to plague him on account of these two betrayals. Obviously, he has written his novel to get rid of this haunting guilt, to justify his betrayals. I am, therefore, tempted to surmise that he is himself both Farishta Gibreel and the Anglophile Saladin Chamcha—two major characters in the novel. Through them, Salman Rushdie tries to convince himself of the superiority of the "good" Occidental thought and the way of life over the "evil" Oriental values and beliefs and the socio-culture system. Like an illegitimate prodigy, the rootless Salman Rushdie, too, has a desperate need to establish his legitimacy in a hostile environment. But his is a fruitless effort.

Nevertheless, Salman Rushdie's attempt at self-justification (or self-purification ?) is understandable.

(*Continued overleaf*)

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RUSHDIE'S GUILT ? . . . (*Continued*)

But what is not understandable, nor excusable, is about the names he has chosen to bestow on some of the characters in his novel. Had he not named one as Mahound, a derogatory variant of Prophet Mohammed's name, or named his female characters after Prophet Mohammed's wives, the book would have gone almost unnoticed. But that would not have served Salman Rushdie's twin purpose. He would have failed to tell his former compatriots and his co-religionists as to why he had deserted them both. He would have also failed to raise a worldwide controversy, and thus the sales of his novel. His sales gimmickry has begun to pay rich dividends. The Union Government has also played into his hands and banned his novel under the Sea Customs Act. But for this ban, I am sure, the sale of this novel in India would not have crossed the 500-mark—because of its high price and its utter unreadability.

ON BANNING OF BOOKS

Having said all this, I am still totally opposed to the ban on Salman Rushdie's *Satanic* novel, or any other book for that matter. My opposition is based on my staunch belief in the freedom of thought and expression. No book should be banned unless it degenerates into pure pornography, or unless it deliberately hurts the religious sensibilities of the people. Otherwise, the reader, the ultimate judge, should be allowed to pronounce his or her verdict on the merits or demerits of a book. The State has no business to arrogate to itself that basic human freedom.

As early as 1927, the Allahabad High Court rejected a petition seeking a ban on a book entitled *Strange and Diverting Episodes in the Life of Prophet Muhammed.* It held,"In countries, where there is religious freedom, a certain latitude, a measure of liberty to criticise the religious beliefs of others has to be conceded, provided it does not degenerate into vile and offensive abuse." Fifty-eight years later, in 1985, the Patna High Court reiterated this salutary principle when the question of imposing a ban on *Vishwa Itihas Part I* came up for hearing before it. The judges ruled that "Two opinions are easily possible on historical events and personages, and liberty of criticism cannot be curtailed by the ban on an entire book which, judged as a whole, cannot be regarded a malicious insult to Prophet Mohammed."

Early this year, the Maharashtra Government, it is said, took its stand on these benchmark judgements when it refused to ban Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's controversial book, *The Riddles of Hinduism* (which contains some highly uncharitable remarks against Lord Rama and Lord Krishna) despite threats of mass agitation by some Hindu fundamentalist organisations like the Shiv Sena.

How one wishes that the Union Government had emulated the example of the Maharashtra Government and refused to appease the Muslim fundamentalists for its electoral considerations !

Satindra Singh is a Delhi-based veteran journalist now a free-lance column writer. This comment has also appeared in the Magazine Miscellany of the Sunday Free Press Journal of October 30, 1988.

THE STORM OVER

by Asghar Ali Engineer

Salman Rushdie is a noted novelist and a free thinker. This time he chose the Prophet of Islam as a subject for his novel, and employed the technique of magic realism. Rushdie's satire is usually very sharp and often enjoyable when used for socio-political issues, as in his previous novels *The Midnight's Children* and *The Shame.* However, to apply it to a highly revered religious figure and his conduct, is a very different proposition. Rushdie not only chose the Satanic Verses supposedly revealed by Satan to Muhammad (which by themselves are very controversial in the early history of Islam, majority of the later *'ulama* rejecting them as fabrications by enemies of Islam and the Prophet); but also made fun of Gabriel (the archangel who brought revelations to the Prophet) who has been depicted as a character from the Hindi film-world and of the wives of the Prophet, thus greatly exacerbating the outrage-feelings of the Muslims against him.

FREEDOM TO MAKE FUN ?

Here, the fundamental question of the "freedom of expression" arises. Those who support Rushdie are doing so on the fundamental premise of freedom of a writer. Freedom of expression is dear to all of us, but it cannot be treated as mere abstract ideal. There is nothing like pure freedom. It has to be measured by concrete parameters, and its decent limits prescribed. While we have to defend freedom to examine the religious beliefs as critically and seriously as possible, we have no right to make fun of them and their preachers. The two are very different propositions. While the former must be defended, the latter cannot be. What Rushdie does is to indulge in the latter. Rushdie, as pointed out before, has a very sharp satirical pen, and instead of examining certain historical veracity or otherwise of the Satanic Verses, he indulged in making fun of the Prophet and his wives.

WHY THIS FURORE ?

However, the answer to the question as to why the Muslims the world over reacted so emotionally to the Khomeini's call and Rushdie's insults to the Prophet is not so simple and does not hinge on the religious beliefs alone. Very few persons, if at all, have reacted so strongly, on grounds of religious beliefs only. (A casual talk with the participants in demonstrations can reveal this). Obviously, there is more to it than mere religious belief. It is necessary to understand this.

What is known as "Third World" today had been under the domination of western imperialistic powers until recently. These powers not only inflicted material but also spiritual injuries to the peoples of this part of the world. They exploited them economically and politically, and made fun of their beliefs thought to be "weird, wild and funny". Their culture was thought to be "inferior" to that of the West. The resentment by the exploited people against such imperialist onslaughts was expressed either in secular or religious idioms.

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SATANIC VERSES

The entire Islamic world also came under imperialistic domination and suffered immense humiliations. Anti-imperialist fight was waged in many countries either by secular leadership or by religious leadership, or by both together. In the Muslim majority countries, the *ulama* naturally employed religious idiom, and often their focus was on the humiliation of Islam at the hands of materialist-oriented western countries. This theme often retained its validity even after freedom was won from imperialist yoke, as the secular elite of these countries retained their pro-western bias and hardly ever succeeded in solving the people's problems. They were seen not only as corrupt by the masses, but also anti-Islam and in league with the former imperialist masters. The people of many pro-western Arab countries also harbour these sentiments, and it is for this reason that often the fundamentalist forces register greater or lesser degree of success.

KHOMEINI'S CHALLENGE

In Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini successfully challenged the pro-American regime of the Shah and overthrew it. Khomeini's prestige went up not only among Iranians, but also among other peoples of Islamic countries. He was seen as one who could "humiliate" western imperialist powers which could not only corrupt their beliefs and rulers, but also humiliate their religion and make fun of their beliefs.

Khomeini thus became their hero. Western powers and western-oriented elites, on the other hand, saw him as a zealot, a fanatic, like the Mahdi of Sudan. The Shah was, on the contrary, seen as a moderniser, a crusader for modern reforms, by these secular elites. There was a world of difference between these two perceptions.

The same difference exists on Rushdie's issue as well. Khomeini's fiat to kill Rushdie has been welcomed enthusiastically by the Muslim masses as another crushing blow to western countries who continue to ridicule their religious beliefs and see Rushdie as their (western) agent. Many Muslims have told me that the real issue is not whether Rushdie is killed or not—better he is killed—but that U.K.'s humiliation has taught it a lesson, which it would remember for long.

It is not insignificant that the Arab countries have, so far, maintained "a low key posture", as they have pro-West connections, which they do not want to jeopardise. If at all, the religious leaders of these Arab countries have issued moderate statements. Some of them have even challenged, though remaining anoynymous, like the '*ulama*' of Al-Azhar of Cairo, Khomeini's order to kill Salman Rushdie as unIslamic. A fair trial as laid down in *Shariah* and a chance for Rushdie to recant, they maintain, must be given to him. No one, they say, can be killed, without trial as per Islamic law. The Islamic Council, an apex religious body of the Arab countries, has not even agreed with the view that Rushdie is *murtad* (i.e. an apostate) for which Islamic *Shariah* prescribes punishment to death.

PUNISHMENT FOR APOSTASY

Lest there should arise any misunderstanding, I would like to throw some light on this issue. Punishment for apostasy was prescribed by the Islamic jurists much later, and long after the death of the Prophet. They did so emulating the example of the first Caliph after the Prophet, who declared war on the tribes who went back on Islam soon after the Prophet's death. It is known as war of *riddah* (going back, apostasy) in the history of Islam. The later jurists, therefore, concluded that anyone who is guilty of apostasy must be killed Whatever the opinion of the jurists, it must be remembered that Abubakr, the Caliph, did so in a particular context. Had he not been firm and declared war on the apostate tribes, Islam would have been endangered, as majority of the Arab tribes had revolted. Abubakr's firmness brought them back to the fold of Islam and made them submit.

The law cannot be applied mechanically and in a uniform way in all circumstances. One must take concrete conditions into account. Apostasy can be punished severely only if it endangers the existence of the whole community. That too, after all efforts to persuade the apostate to recant fail. An individual case of apostasy cannot be viewed with as serious a concern as that of an entire group.

Moreover, the modern context of freedom of religious or atheistic opinion can hardly be ignored. One has also to take note of international law as well as political consequences of any such step. One has to find more civilised ways of dealing with the situation.

[*Note : After covering this background of history and tradition, Dr. Engineer has dealt at some length with the events in Bombay on 24th February, when a large protest demonstration led to police firing resulting in some deaths and injuries to many. Skipping over that narration, we end this extract with the final summing up by the learned commentator.—Editor*]

Friday the 24th February was really a black Friday for the Muslims of Bombay. In fact, I am of definite opinion that there was no need for Muslims to take out any *morcha* as the Government of India had already banned the book. Moreover, they should understand that they must act after examining all the factors. Not only that odds are loaded heavily against them, but also that religion cannot be defended by mere militancy and fanaticism. There are much better and wiser ways of doing so. Maturity, restraint and rational arguments would add to their stature and better enable them to defend their faith. Khomeini acted the way he did out of his own political considerations, not merely out of love for religion. It would not do to try to follow him blindly. There is neither church nor priesthood in Islam. Islam tried to rid humanity of this curse.

(Continued on page 99)

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Administrative Profiles of Bangladesh

Muntassir Mamoon and Jayant Kumar Ray :
INSIDE BUREAUCRACY—BANGLADESH
Centre for South and South East Asian Studies, Calcutta University, Calcutta (1987) p. 358, Price Rs. 150/-

Reviewed by Sheel K. Asopa

Published by the Centre for South and South East Asian Studies, Calcutta University, the book is a follow-up of an earlier publication entitled—*Administrators in a Mixed Polity* written by Jayant Kumar Ray. The study has used sketches drawn on the basis of the narration of personal experiences by some high-ranking, retired officials from civil and military services in Bangladesh to highlight the role played by the civil-military bureaucracy in the socio-economic and political development/non-development of their country.

NEGLECTED AREAS OF STUDY

The book has five chapters. Chapters two and three deal with East Pakistan under parliamentary and military rule. Chapters four and five concentrate on Bangladesh under civil and military rule. The first ninety pages of the book (the Introduction) are devoted to highlighting the importance of "sketches" as primary sources in the behavioural research. It is maintained that presentation of sketches is one of the best ways of undertaking what administrators actually do in their diverse daily operations. They provide the raw material for an understanding of the inter-action of politics and administration (civil as well as military). The authors think that researchers have too often neglected the experiences of 'Bangladesh' administrators in a momentous phase of history that witnessed such important phenomena as the birth of Pakistan in 1947, the destruction of parliamentary rule, the consolidation of military rule, dismemberment of Pakistan by a liberation war and the emergence of Bangladesh, and the reappearance of a military-dominated polity in Bangladesh ! In this context, sketches based on verbal narration of 'facts' are treated as valuable human documents. In a two-year period, the authors have talked to 40 high-ranking administrators and have drawn 253 sketches —all incorporated in the book.

WEST VS. EAST IN PAKISTAN

The situation in all decolonized countries of the Third World is more or less the same. The centuries' old colonial rule has conditioned the minds, particularly of the educated class in the colonial behaviour. The bureaucracy in most of the Third World countries treats the commoners exactly in the way as the British used to treat them. This pattern is surviving even now.

After the partition of the sub-continent, when East Pakistan became a part of the new-born State of Pakistan, the West Pakistanis found it difficult to accept the cultural and educational superiority of the Bengali citizens. To undermine them, the West Pakistanis, just because the seat of power was in West Pakistan, adopted a high-handed attitude towards the Bengali people and professionals, civil servants, academicians, ordinary servicemen; and started asserting their authority and superiority on them. The sketches in chapters two and three have projected this 'West Pakistani *vs* East Pakistani' or 'Punjabi *vs* Bengali' confrontation. Motivated by political considerations, the West Pakistanis, through a discriminatory behaviour, desired to make the East Pakistanis understand that in the new set-up, they have to accept the subordination of the physically strong and temperamentally militant race of the Punjabis—as they were the people who had fought for Pakistan and wanted to enjoy its fruits by accumulating all powers in their hands.

The military takes over the power, but uses it only in league with the civilian bureaucrats, as they alone can help in its 'legitimization' through rules and produres. The incompetence of army officers, their inconsistent orders, their impatience for rules and procedures, their haste in concentrating all power and authority in their own hands, their suspicion of the civilian bureaucrats whom they use for their own sake—the scenario has been very well projected in chapter three.

In a very subtle and interesting fashion, the authors have high-lighted the fact that the role of bureaucrats in Bangladesh (after the partition of Pakistan) had not changed both in the civilian rule as well as under the military. After the creation of Bangladesh, the bureaucracy is not able to forget what it learnt during the pre-partition days, and it treats the politicians of the new State of Bangladesh as their subordinates. The civil-military bureaucracy of Bangladesh has helped in the consolidation of the Martial Law regime. It is the bureaucracy which has turned the parliamentary democracy into a failure. Having captured the economic elite of the country, the bureaucracy is subjecting the people to misdeeds of corruption and mismanagement, hardship and deprivation for its own benefits.

POLITICIANS & BUREAUCRATS : ARMY & POLICE

The authors have tried to impress upon the politicians not to use the army and police in the day-to-day problems of law and order. By involving them into administration, decision-making and its implementation, the weak politicians only give them a taste of power. Once having had its chance, the army (and the civil service) develops its vested interests and does not hesitate to topple down the elected government through use of force. The military takes over the power in a *coup d'etat*, but for retaining it, the officers in uniform largely depend on the civil-military government. For the sake of self-interest.

(*Continued on page 99*)

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HOW GREEN IS OUR LAND ?

B. P. Srivastava : OUR FORESTS
Publications Division, New Delhi (1985), pp. 96; Rs. 25/-

Reviewed by Shefali Pathak

Forests, afforestation and environment—these terms have become household words these days. There has been a tremendous importance given to the environment through the media and through political viewpoints, but the threat remains. A threat that is so imminent that one wonders and shivers to think whether the public has any idea as to the consequences of ecological disaster that faces us today.

The author, B.P. Srivastava has, in this interesting and comprehensive handbook, spelled out very clearly the importance of our ecological wealth. It has been categorically stated that the roles of forests are crucial in maintaining the environmental balance. The book is informative, though a trifle naive for professionals.

The tasks of the forester are no doubt difficult as outlined on *p. 53* of chapter *IX*. "Perhaps the most difficult task of the forester is to ensure adequate protection to the trees from the regeneration stage right upto the time of harvesting. Very often, well intentioned but equally ill-informed people complain bitterly when they see a patch of standing forest being clear-felled. They do not realise that such fellings are absolutely essential for the continued and healthy existence of our forest ....".

This is true for genuine forest maintenance principles, but how much of this is actually practised is doubtful. "All fellings, whether they are carried out for regeneration purposes or under the thinning operations are essential ...." The felling practices are usually illegal and uncontrollable, that is the very reason for the depletion of jungles.

Chapters *IX*, *X* and *XI* are the most beneficial and critical. The book has sought to define Forest Management, its principles and practices in detail. The definition is lucid and helpful.

The legal aspects have also been delved into, defining and giving the essentials of the Indian Forest Act, as well as the responsibilities and duties of the Forest Department Officers.

Coming down to the basis of the heirarchy, the Forest Guard is defined "as the basic unit on which the entire forest structure is built"—his duty is mainly to patrol and guard the forest produce, poaching of wild animals and encroachment by villagers." Here too the reality is divorced from the ideal as the Forest-Guard is usually ill-equipped and overpowered by the local villagers of the area.

The problem of deforestation has been well laid out, though the points are obvious. The general complacency of the citizens is the crucial issue on which the whole solution rests. This could have been brought out more strongly.

The basic antipathy and antagonism that lie between the Forest Department and the local people have not been touched upon. The rapport does not exist. The author stresses that the people must be involved, but as the rapport does not develop in most cases, most of the schemes fail.

The Government of Gujarat and its people are more enlightened and their efforts are greater. The same should be true for other States as well. Usually the local people see the Forest Department as a threat to their livelihood, and as the author states—"social forestry" could be the answer, but first and foremost, literacy is required, together with an awakening of the masses about the environment on similar lines to their awakening for freedom.

Srivastava has rightly pointed out that ancient culture and wisdom of the ancient Vedic philosophy had given paramount importance to ecology and the environment. A point missed though is that religious significance accorded to trees was based on scientific principles, depending on the amount of oxygen released into the atmosphere by various tree species. Today the new scientific logic can be used to persuade skeptics about why *banyan*, *peepal*, *neem*, etc. were worshipped and should continue to be looked upon with respect and love as life-givers.

The social foresty concept has been very well explained. The author's rendering of the whole technical details is very useful and a "must" for any person interested in the projects. It is recommended that monoculture should always be avoided. Further, though financial motivation is necessary together with financial returns, these cannot and should not be substituted for ecological diversity.

The author has given an excellent and useful idea about the involvement of school children, and the youth. With their fervour and enthusiasm they can motivate "spoilt" adults into action. It is not just integration, but a discipline of the mind that is required. The problem is very grave and mind-boggling, but the situation can be retrieved.

Mr. Srivastava has given in a nutshell the whole picture of a vital resource. The book could have been more interesting with diagrams and charts specially for the layman. Also, it could have b en more specific, geared towards the amateur or the professional. Nevertheless, it is a book that has made a good start for our apprecation of the most beautiful inheritance we have on earth, Nature.

Ms. Shefali Pathak, a young nature-lover, environmentalist and land-scape architect is working with a leading industrial house, Jaykay's, at its Kota complex in Rajasthan.

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Slow & Silent Steps Towards Economic Change

R. K. Menaria : IMPACT OF TRYSEM SCHEME ON TRIBAL HOUSEHOLD INCOMES

Comment by H. V. Trivedi

ACHIEVEMENTS

"As a result of the training received under the TRYSEM Scheme, the percentage of tribal families having monthly income of Rs. 300/- and above, has increased from 13 to 63.8. As a corollary to this, the percentage strength of those having monthly income of rupees three hundred and less got reduced from 65 to 39. A similar re-distribution of house-holds has taken place in Talwara Panchayat Samiti also."

These results derived out of a sample study of 100 TRYSEM beneficiary households should provide consolation to the officials and the State Government regarding the utility of the scheme. The study was conducted by Dr. R.K. Menaria of HCM SIPA Udaipur Campus. It was spread over 24 villages of two Panchayat Samitis, namely Talwara (Banswara) and Dhariabad (Udaipur) Blocks of the Tribal Sub-Plan Area of Rajasthan.

The enquiry also revealed that about 41.51% of newly trained persons were able to earn incomes between Rs.10 and 20 per day, whereas another 15.1% were observed to earn Rs. 20 and above. As the average daily income worked out to be Rs. 13.97, it should suffice, as the Study Director assumes, for the beneficiary households (HH) to cross over the poverty line *(page 40)*.

The inferences quoted above are based on the responses received from 95 HHs; and as such, these may not be presumed to prove any point. However, no one can deny their validity towards making a point about the silent economic change creeping into the tribal areas of Rajasthan.

THE OTHER SIDE

The sixty-three page report (in Hindi) is in 4 chapters and it endeavours to bring out the other side of the Scheme as well. It reveals that only 56 per cent of TRYSEM-trained tribal beneficiaries ever made an attempt to establish one or the other type of business/ shop/cottage industry It is all the more discouraging to note that 70 per cent of these used their newly acquired skill to enhance their part-time earnings and only 26.4% beneficiaries could go in for a full -time work opportunity (*p. 36*). All such budding entrepreneurs were reported to have enhanced their net monthly incomes by Rs. 140/- each.

Non-availability of finance and implements/ equipments proved a major bottleneck for 44% of TRYSEM-trained tribal beneficiaries. It needs to be remembered that some institutional and structural parameters continue to hinder the operation of existing credit and administrative systems.

INHIBITING FACTORS

In the last chapter, Dr. Menaria has tried to search out the inhibiting factors on the basis of a few hypotheses related to achievements and the failures of the observed TRYSEM Scheme, though he has not succeeded in arriving at some definite conclusions. However, he has brought out the fact that 59.5% of trained beneficiaries having no worthwhile economic activity were unwilling to leave the familiar rural environment for alternate work avenues elsewhere. It is important to note that a sizeable majority of respondents felt that the training scheme and the paraphernalia were not in conformity with the training needs and the absorbing capacities of tribals.

TRIBAL/RURAL SETTING

It would have been a more fruitful exercise for the Study Director to look at the issues in the light of some studies which have tried to co-relate the socio-cultural milieu of tribals with their training and the subsequent follow-up. [H.V. Trivedi : *Economic Development of Tribes in India, 1985.*] It is not enough to provide working training to tribal beneficiaries. They need to be assisted in acquiring the necessary equipments, and should be helped with a nursing spirit till their activity attains a take-off stage,

It is not so important to know whether the trainees walk on foot or come on bicycles, as to analyse the the reasons why they don't want to stay back at the training centres at night ? Finally, it would have been well in context if the author had given a brief review of economic and geo-physical characteristics of the villages studied.

These suggessions would have even strengthened the inferences drawn. However, these do not minimise the significance of the study and the painstaking efforts in high-lighting the operational short-comings of a catalytic programme of the Government for poverty alleviation. The author has, in fact, made a sincere attempt to draw the attention of readers, researchars and the administrative set-ups to some significant lacunae, such as a lack of strong and dedicated will to get things done in the right regional perspective rather than cursing away financial and policy bottlenecks. A strong administrative will certainly succeeded in establishing effective coordination between the trained beneficiaries and the financial institutions. On the whole, the study is worth reading both by the researchers and the practitioners of welfare-oriented development admistration.

Dr Hari Vallabh Trivedi was Asstt. Prof. Economics, M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, Ashok Nagar, Udaipur (Raj.) when he sent this review.

We invite and welcome similar Development Reports from other areas and training or research institutes.

—Editors

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Hoshiar Singh (Ed.)

RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

A Short Comment by Anirban Mukhopadhyaya

Rural Development in India edited by Dr. Hoshiar Singh brings together the views of an impressive array of authors on the subject. The papers have been contributed both by administrators as well as academicians. The accent, however, is mostly on an enumeration and categorisation of facts and figures.

A notable exception is the chapter on '*Alternative Forms for Rural Development: What and How* ?' by C.T. Kurian. Here the treatment of the subject is entirely on the plane of fundamental issues involved, and thus it makes very interesting and thought-provoking reading for a policy planner.

This is not to say that policy issues have been lost sight of in the book, which has been divided into sections titled Policy Challenges, Social Inputs, Economic Programmes, and Planning Process. While exhaustive evaluation (chapterwise and issuewise) would be far too lengthy an exercise, the tenor of most of the chapters which are not merely descriptive, are largely normative. Thus, much has been written on the shortcomings of existent arrangements, and what is required to bring about improvements in the same. However, the details of exactly how this is to be achieved is very often left out. Thus, for example, the need for more in-depth micro-level analysis and planning, the need to bring about a change in traditional outlook etc. make a common theme in many chapters. Most people, however, are already aware of this. What a policy planner or administrator looks for, however, is the specific remedy or anti-dote suggested, and this is sometimes lacking.

The usefulness of the collection thus lies predominantly in its extensive and fairly exhaustive enumeration, description and categorisation of rural development programmes and policies in all the recognised sub-sectors of this subject. While there is always need for such a taxonomical study, it cannot be denied that in an area such as this, where changes in programmes and policies succeed each other with rapid and often confusing frequency, much of the data presented very soon loses its contemporary significance.

In summation, therefore, the collection will remain a useful compilation of a descriptive and historical nature, but cannot be said to be a path-finder in an area, which is now a common concern of both the government and informed sections of public opinion.

Anirban Mukhopadhyaya (a young IAS Officer) is Executive Director, Rajasthan Finance Corporation (RFC) Jaipur.

(Continued from page 95)

THE STORM OVER SATANIC VERSES

In a free and democratic country like India, the minority rights should be protected; but responsible members of the community should understand that one has to work out a proper balance between these rights and life. Whatever the ideal, a little aggressiveness on the part of a minority triggers off much greater aggression among the majority. No country is exempt to this. Muslim countries also fall into that category. One should be justly proud of one's religion and culture, but one needs to learn between pride and prejudice also.

Revelant Extracts from Occasional Paper No. 3, Vol.5, March 1989 by Dr. Asghar Ali Engineer: "Satanic Verses : Satanic Firing"—An Inquiry into Anti-Rushdie disturbances in Bombay.

(Continued from page 96)

ADMINISTRATIVE PROFILES . . .

personal glorification and material benefits, the civil servant shuns the ethics of the services, forgets his duty towards the country and its people. Army's intolerance for the incompetence of politicians is also reflected in their treatment of the dethroned political leaders. They become averse to elected governments and try to retain real power only in the hands of civil-military bureaucratic set-up.

The message is very clear—the services personnel are obedient and loyal so long as they are kept away from the seats of actual power. Once they are allowed to share it with the politicians, they are never satisfied with little bits given to them. The politicalisation of services and their unnecessary glorification pave the way for the doom of democracy or a people's government in whatever form it is.

Besides being informative, the book makes a delightfut reading. The novel method of using sketches (or interviews) as primary sources of information on the subject is definitely instructive for the researchers in similar other fields of study.

Ms. Sheel K. Asopa is Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

We invite contributions (Book Notes and Comments etc.) on the following themes :

Indo-French Contacts since 1789
Makers of Modern India— *(to mark a few Centenary Celebrations)*
Landmarks in the annals of Modern Rajasthan

(Editors)

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A POET'S QUEST . . .

S. P. Bakshi : 'THE QUEST'

Writers' Workshop, Calcutta, (1988) pp 127; Rs. 80/-

Review by Bhisham Sahni

When I first opened the book and read through some of Shri Bakshi's verses, I felt that there was a familiar ring about them, of Fitzgerald's rendering of Omar Khayyam's verse. As I proceeded further, I came across references to Khayyam also. The structure of the verses too, though not identical, appeared to be a variation of the same basic structure. The underlying sentiment—the transitoriness of life, the unknown beyond, the wistfulness, the sense of nothingness combined with the craving to make the best of what we have, to "*drink life to the lees*", "*to fill another cup that cheers*", since to some "the *life is a vale of tears*" etc. were very familiar.

But nevertheless, I was struck by the sincerity of feeling, the inner restlessness of the soul, and its anguish, and its questioning. Besides, I was also impressed by the form Bakshi had evolved for his verse, pithy, with its own cadence and rhythm.

The similarity with Khayyam and also the ring of Khayyam's verse are no doubt there; and there is no attempt on the part of the poet to hide this fact. But the verses, as they have emerged, are very Indian, both in thought and spirit. They reflect a cosmic vision of things, something with which we are familiar in *Vedic* hymns. The quest or the questioning too reminded me of the *Upanishadic* questionings. The set philosophy of Khayyam is not there. The inner quest for truth expressed through the anguish of the heart makes these verses different, both in conception and in the emotional quality of their expression. The fact is that the answers the poet gives to his own questioning vary—at times regarding human life as finite, which ends when we cease breathing, at others the endless cycle of life, of worlds beyond worlds, of life beyond life :

This mighty world of ours is lost
Like a tiny speck in space so vast
Where a million worlds like seeds are tossed
By breath of time (p. 36)

or

And howso vast the space may be
It's like a cobweb floating free,
Through halls of great eternity
In twilight dim. (p. 30)

Each verse poses a question, and seeks an answer. It does not strive to present an answer, or to solve the riddle of life. The questions disturb us, because they appear to come not from the intellect, but from the depths of one's being, from inner suffering and pain, and craving of a soul seeking not only an answer to the riddle of life, but an answer which will give solace to the soul in pain. That is why the verses leave an abiding impact on the mind. The soul craves for a positive answer :

It cannot be that a man is born
But once, and is no more. The morn
It goes, but comes, and must adorn
Every new day. (p. 24)

Each verse is compact, sensitive, lucid in expression and complete in itself. In this too, structurally, it is close to the medieval Indian tradition of the couplet—pithy, concise, and full of meaning, but further enriched.

Reading these verses has been very rewarding, indeed. It is not easy to combine clarity of expression with feelings bordering on the mystical. But Bakshi has eminently succeeded in doing so.

Dr. Bhisham Sahni, the well-known writer, scholar and man of many talents needs no introduction. (We are grateful to him for this review, though its publication was been slightly delayed. —Eds]

. . . & A SAINT'S LILA

Jadunath Sarkar

CHAITANYA'S LIFE AND TEACHINGS

(Reprinted from the 3rd edition, 1932) Orient Longman Ltd., Calcutta, 1988, pp. xii + 239, Rs. 130.

Comment by Ashim Kumar Roy

A new era in the life and arts of Bengal started with the life and teachings of Chaitanya. New types of temples were built; there was flowering of terracotta art; literature flourished; and above all, a new genus

(Continued overleaf)

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(1) **S.C. Dutta :**

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA *(1986) pp. 169, Rs. 45.00*

(2) **(Ed.) S.C. Dutta :**

FROM LITERACY TO LIBERATION

(Zakir Husain Memorial Lectures from 1970 to (1985) (1986) pp. 241, Rs. 60.00

(3) **(Ed.) J.C. Saxena & J L. Sachdeva :**

ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION & MASS MEDIA FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

(Report of the Asian Pacific Seminar, New Delhi Sept. 10-14, 1985) (1986) pp. 188, Rs. 50.00.

All three books published by the Indian Adult Education Associaiion, New Delhi

Comments by G. B. K. Hooja

To take the last book first, this is a report of the five-day **Asian Pacific Seminar** jointly sponsored by *UNESCO-ROEAP*, Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education (ASPBAE) and the Indian Adult Education Association (IAEA) in New Delhi in Sept.

Towards an Enlightened

1985. The theme was the role of adult education and mass media for civic education. The seminar also deliberated on the major challenges and prospects of adult education for the year 2000 A.D.

As the Editors say, in our civic life we are more conscious about rights, but have not paid much heed to our social obligations and duties. Rights without concommitant duties and obligations can lead to chaos. Therefore, civic education has a great role to play in making the common people aware of their civic rights and responsibilities, and in improving the quality of life and the standards of living of all the people. The exploitations and inequalities today are largely due to the citizens' ignorance in general and lack of civic awareness in particular.

A SEMINAR ON MASS MEDIA

The seminar was attended by 98 delegates from 17 countries in the Asian Pacific Region, i.e. Australia Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Korea, Malasiya, Macau, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines Sri Lanka, Thailand. A delegation from West Germany was also present.

At the end of its deliberations, the seminar recommended that in order to improve the quality of life and standards of living of the disadvantaged people, it is essential that the citizens are made aware of their *rights* and *responsibilities* as enshrined in the constitutions of their countries. The basic need is to make the people knowledgeable about their civic, political, economic, cultural and social rights along with their responsibilities.

Inaugurating the seminar, Dr. **A. T. Ariyaratne**, Chairman, ASPBAE and a noted *Sarvodaya* leader from Shri Lanka said that we are confronted with two main problems *i.e.* poverty and violence. In such a situation, he said, we have to question everything. Every human being, Dr. Ariyaratne said, has a moral and legal right to intervene, and tell those in authority that awakening of the individual's personality is the answer to our problems. Hailing our age-old principles and goal of life *Sat-Chit-Ananda* (meaning truth, advancement of mental faculties and joy of life) he said, "We have to create a state in which every human being would participate in deciding the type of life he or she would like to have." Concluding his address, Dr. Ariyaratne said, "As adult educators, we have to persuade the makers of opinion—the media—to uphold the goal of development of mind and life of joy for all"

Shri **T.M. Sakya**, (Educational Advisor ROEAP) in his key-note address, pointed out that the Asia and Pacific Region contains 3,047 million people or 63 per cent of world's population. And 3/4th of the world's illiterate population in the age group of 15 years and above, is concentrated in this region. He said that the mass media can play their part through

A Saint's Lila *(Continued from page 101)*

of writing appeared. This was the writing of biographies of Chaitanya and his companions. The present work is a translation of the relevant parts of the most important of Chaitanya's biographies.

Chaitanya's biographers usually divide his life into three parts. He spent the first 24 years of his life in Navadvipa as a householder. These years are described as *Adya-lila* (Early Sport). Vrindavana Dasa's *Chaitanya-Bhagavata* gives the best description of this part of Chaitanya's life. Chaitanya then became an ascetic. Thereafter, he lived mainly in Puri in Orissa. But for the first six years, he travelled all over South India and also in Varanasi and Vrindavana. These six years constitute *Madhyalila* (Middle Sport), or Book II of his biographies. For the last 18 years or so, Chaitanya never moved out of Puri. This last part is called *Antya-lila*. *Madhya* and *Antya lilass* are best described in the *Chaitanya Charitamrita* of Krishnadasa Kaviraja.

Sarkar had translated these two parts in this work. In the third edition, he had omitted certain chapters containing learned disquistions and philological subtleties. This has made the book readable. He has made available to a wide circle of readers what the immediate successors of Chitanya thought of his life and teachings.

Based at Jaipur, former civil servant, author and Indologist, Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy is now a regular contributor.

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Civic Life : *Through Adult Education*

special programmes and for certain specific target areas ; and that civic education should be incorporated in these programmes.

Barrister **M. G. Mane**, President, IAEA, in his presidential address, said that with 50 per cent of our population living below the poverty line, it is our responsibility to reach the people at the lowest level, to enable them to solve their own problems and participate in national activities.

In the second plenary session which was presided over by Shri **Anand Sarup** (then) Secretary, Ministry of Education, the sub-theme "*Adult Education for the Year 2000*" was elucidated by Dr. **S. C. Dutta** and Mr. **Suotbeom Sunanchai**. The sub-theme on "*Role of Adult Education for Promoting Civic Rights and Responsibilities in general and with specific reference to Civic Education for Disadvantaged Sections of the Population specially women, minorities*, etc." was elucidated by Mr. **Satyen Maitra**, Secretary, Bengal Social Service League with Shri **Anil Bordia** in the chair.

On the sub-theme "*Role of Mass Media for Effective Adult Education and Civic Education*", Prof. **J. S. Yadava**, Prof. **B. B. Mohanty**, *Professor at the Indian Institute of Mass Communication* (*IIMC*) spoke. Dr. (Miss) **M. C. Alarcon** from Philippines presided.

The book under review is a compliation of the various papers presented by the learned adult education activists mentioned above. It also includes reports on rights and responsibilities of citizens provided for in the constitutions of some of the Asian Pacific countries, namely Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, India, Nepal and Philippines. It also contains the conclusions and recommendations of the seminar, which include the role of mass media in promoting civic education amongst illiterates, semi-illiterates and disadvantaged people living in hilly and far-flung areas and in remote islands. It has been pointed out that the efficacy of the Radio and TV can be enhanced if some mechanism is evolved to provide for two-way communication.

As regards major Challenges and Prospects of Adult Education in the year 2000, the seminar acknowledged that the countries in the region, differed significantly with regards to the literacy rates, policy planning, organisation and management of adult education But it was hoped that adult education measures would be able to bring about the necessary attitudinal changes among the people enabling the poor and disadvantaged sections to organize themselves in order to improve their own lot, to receive social justice and to reduce disparities.

While one appreciates the cross-fertilisation of ideas which emerged from the sharing of experiences by leading luminaries in the field of adult education across the Asian Pacific Region, the value of this seminar would have increased with the participation of experts operating in the field of Radio/TV and mass media, since the central theme of the seminor also was the Role of Mass Media in Adult Education *qua* Civic Education. It is hoped that the mass electronic media will take due note of the recommendations made by the 1985 seminar.

HISTORY OF A MOVEMENT

The author of the *History of Adult Education in India* was himself a pioneer in this field, having been involved in adult education since his early youth, until his untimely death in December 1987. He was also the recipient of Nehru Literacy Award, and the Arnold Hely Memorial Medal of Asian South Pacific Bureau of Adult Education. His rank is among the founding fathers of the Indian Adult Education Association. It was, therefore, appropriate that he was called upon to chronicle the history of adult education in India and to unfold its variegated panorama, its ups and downs and chequered progress.

The book is written in a simple language avoiding sophisticated words, concepts and definitions ; and it may be found useful by the students at university level as well as adult educators at the grass-root level. Its chapters cover Education in Ancient and Medieval India, India during the British Period, running into post-independence period.

THE BRIGHT PERIOD

It also contains interesting vignettes on the personalities of Indian political leaders who enthusiastically took up the cause of adult education in the early days of the movement. Take, for instance, the case of **Syed Mehmood**, Minister of Education, Bihar (1937) who stood on the road with a piece of chalk in his hand and a blackboard beside him to teach the illiterates, and **Govind Ballabh Pant**, Premier of Uttar Pradesh who, took upon himself the responsibility of teaching illiterates. Then there was **C. Rajagopalachari**, Premier of Madras, who wrote simple books for adults in Tamil and the **Maharaja of Aundh** (Maharashtra) who, along with his son, wandered from village to village teaching the importance of literacy. As a result, the period 1937-42 has been considered a bright period for adult education. During this period, adult education came to be recognised as a part of the national educational system. In contrast, there was a decline in the tempo of adult education during the period 1942-47.

With the advent of independence, the approach of the government towards adult education began to include, in particular, the disadvantaged sections of society, namely scheduled tribes and scheduled castes (S/T's, S/C's) and women This concept was further developed by **Maulana Abul Kalam Azad** who termed it as 'social education.'

SOCIAL EDUCATION : TOWARDS A LITERATE NATION

In the First Five Year Plan, social education was deemed to be a comprehensive programme of

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Towards an Enlightened Civic Life : Through Adult Education

community upliftment through community action. Its objective was to educate the common man to understand his/her rights and duties as a citizen, to improve his productive capacity and to enable him to live a fuller and richer life. During the Second Plan period, the concept of social education was further clarified to include, besides literacy, health, recreation, and home life, economic activities and citizenship training.

The appointment of the Education Commission in 1964, under the chairmanship of **Dr. D. S. Kothari** was one of the most significant events in the Third Plan. The Commission recommended the setting of a National Board of Education, and said that *voluntary* agencies working in this field should be given financial and technical encouragement. Every effort should be made, it said, to raise the percentage of literacy to 60 by 1971, to 80 by 1976 and to achieve cent per cent literacy in 20 years by (i) expanding school facilities for children of 6–11 age group, (ii) provision of part-time education to children between 11–14 years who have missed their education, and (iii) provision of general and vocational education to adults between 15–30 years of age. The Commission urged that all educated men and women in the country should be mobilised to combat illiteracy, and that every educational institution should be given responsibility of liquidating illiteracy in a specified area. It also made recommendations *for* (a) promotion of literacy among women, (b) use of mass media of communication as a powerful instrument, (c) for creating the climate and imparting knowledge and skills, (d) for providing education to workers and (e) organising correspondence courses. The Commission said that the universities should also assume responsibility for educating the adults; and recommended that industrial concerns and employers should be called upon to undertake literacy programmes for their employees. It is regrettable that the targets and guidelines laid down by the Commission and the recommendations made by it have remained more or less on paper, and four Plans later, we are still scratching the surface, and the liquidation of illitracy in India still remains a distant dream.

According to recent projections, India's share of the illiterate population in the age group—15 and over, is projected to increase from about 1/4th in 1980 to approximately 1/3rd of the world's adult illiterates by 2000. More than 50 per cent of the world's illiterate population in the age group 15-19 would be concentrated in India at the turn of the century. Out of 98 countries listed in a study on current literacy situation in the world only 28 countries have illiteracy rates higher than that of India.

ZAKIR HUSAIN LECTURES

Dr. Zakir Husain who died in May, 1969, was a great educationist and an eminent scholar. To comemmorate his distinguished services in the cause of adult education and mass enlightenment, a series of *Zakir Husain Memorial Lectures* were instituted by IAEA in 1970.

FROM LITERACY TO LIBERATION

These have been compiled and edited by Dr. S. C. Dutta in the second book under review. It contains lectures by eminent educationists such as :

K. G. Saiyidain : Dr. Zakir Husain's Humanism

M Mujeeb : How Man is Made

Malcolm S. Adiseshiah : Relevance of Adult Education to Educational Crisis

M.S. Swaminathan : Education for Agricultural Progress

G. Ramchandran : Illiteracy and Poverty

J. P. Naik : Some Perspectives on Non-Formal Education

Anil Bordia : The Vision of a Learning Society

Rajamal P. Devdas : Whither the National Adult Education Programee (NAEP)

Madhuri R. Shah : Role of Universities and Colleges in Adult and Continuing Education.

It is but natural that these lectures should seek to delineate the perspectives and the concepts of adult education and provide much food for reflection on the methodologies and techniques to be adopted to meet the challenges in the field of illiteracy.

THE CALL OF GANDHI & GOKHALE

Let us hear the Father of the Nation, **Mathama Gandhi**. Outlining the educational imperatives he said; "I attach the highest importance to primary education which, according to my conception should be equal to the present matriculation, less English. If all the collegians were all of a sudden to forget their knowledge, the loss sustained by the sudden lapse of the memory of say a few lakhs of collegians would be as nothing to the loss that the nation has sustained and is sustaining through the ocean of darkness that surrounds 300 million."

Or, again the memorable words of **Gopal Krishna Gokhale** who, while introducing the Elementary Education Bill before the Legislative Council in 1911, said: "My Lord, an American legislator, addressing his countrymen more than half a century ago, once said that if he had the Archangel's trumpet, the blast of which could startle the living of all nations, he would sound it in their ears and say, 'Educate your children. Educate all your children. Educate every one of your "children."

G. B. K. Hooja, former civil servant, Chairman, Manipur Public Service Commission, & V. C. Gurukul Kangri Hardwar, is now involved in the Adult Education & Literacy Mission programmes. He has contributed these reviews on the occasion of the 60th Anniversay of the Indian Adult Edudcation Association.

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A Political Novel – With A Difference

Nayantara Sahgal : MISTAKEN IDENTITY

Heinemann ; London, £ 10.95

Reviewed by Jasbir Jain

Mistaken Identity, Sahgal's most recent novel follows close on the heels of *Rich Like Us* and *Plans for Departure*. It has all the marks of a writer writing with confidence and maturity. Gone is the intense personal involvement of the earlier novels; gone also is the slight attempt at contriving a situation which one finds in *Plans for Departure*, where the European and the Indian halves are brought together a little artificially. Instead, there is a remarkable cohesion of narration which is enriched with a multi-dimensionality of viewpoint.

A MOTLEY GROUP IN THE PRISON CELL

Telescoped into the happenings of roughly three years, more or less limited to the group in the prison, *Mistaken Identity* is about Bhushan, the son of Raja of Vijaygarh, who is taken to be a political saboteur and finds himself in prison alongwith a group of other political prisoners facing similar charges. But they represent different ideological groupings and stances. There is Bhaiji, a Congressite with his *charkha*-spinning and his identity-less twin followers; the communists, Comrades Pillai, Yusuf, Iyer and Sen who, inspired by the Russian Revolution, meet across barriers of caste and creed. And there is Bhushan himself, representing however obliquely, the decadent princely class,

As the prisoners share the cell, they also learn to share life styles. A fast which Bhaiji wants to undertake in sympathy with the prisoners of the Lahore Conspiracy Case is called a hunger-strike in order to allow the comrades to join it. The political concerns of the novel are more immediately with the Lahore Conspiracy Case, and the Dandi Salt March, but these are seen against the background of the Russian Revolution, the rise and fall of the *Khilafat* movement, and the slow decay and helplessness of the princes.

BONDS OF LOVE AND HATE

Woven into this matrix are the human relationships of love and hate. There is the hatred of the poor for the rich, and of the nationalist Indians for the supporters of the imperial regime. Bhushan himself progresses from a love relationship with a Muslim girl to other relationships both in India and abroad.

At one level, the story is about the mistaken identity of Bhushan; at another level, the story is about India. In an attempt to prove his identity, the narrator discovers how limited his own view of his own social role has been. He also realises how external perceptions of his actions differ radically from his own. His adolescent love for a Muslim girl is the cause of communal tension; his poetry recitation at a function in Bombay an act of political rebellion; and as the court proceedings unravel his past to him, he begins to wonder who and what he really is. First; his father's lawyer tries his skill, then Nauzer Vacha, the Parsee lawyer engaged by his Parsee girl friend tries to sort out his past, but apparently without much success.

THE JOURNEY : OUTWARD AND INWARDS

The case drags on, and in the forced isolation of the prison cell—which, at one level, is only a literal enactment of an emotional and political situation—Bhushan, being the most privileged of the whole lot, assumes an intellectual leadership. He has travelled, has loved and has read, and now cast in the role of a modern Scheherazade, he tells them of his past, of his mother, of her reaction to the overthrow of the Russian Czar, and of his father's third marriage. The past and its undercurrents slowly creep into the present, and personal memories are unravelled.

As the story unfolds itself, the connections between Bhushan's personal life and the political indicators become apparent. The 'facts'—as they are told, in preference to the 'romance' which the comrades reject, reveal the complexity of his private life. It is difficult to pin it down to any one definition. The journey outward has been an escape ; it is now in this journey into his own past that he begins to understand himself. And later, the unfulfilled loves of his youth find a fulfilment in his marriage to Comrade Yusuf's daughter.

SOME OTHER FASCINATING CHARACTERS

Though Bhushan dominates the narrative point and holds the centre together, there are other characters equally demanding of attention who are carefully developed. Bhushan's mother, the senior 'ranee' surrounded by her group of giggling "geese", married at the age of five, brought to her husband's home at thirteen and having to wait nine long years for Bhushan's birth is one such. She provides the other side of the story, unorthodox and alive, and finally creates a scandal by taking a communist lover and stepping out of the palace for ever. A very unusual end; but spelling out both a final rebellion and a liberation. An ending of the kind which Sahgal has not been able to achieve earlier. It introduces a much needed element of fantasy to act as a spur to freedom.

Bhaiji, the ascetic Congressite, is another fascinating character with a strong sense of humour which enables him to rise above his lot. His replies in the courtroom, his engimatic liking for 'cornflakes', his archetypal presence of having no kith or kin except Gandhi, and finally his death lead the reader to look more closely both at Bhaiji and the Gandhian philosophy he advocates.

There is also Vacha who first supersedes the lawyer from Vijaygarh engaged for Bhushan, and later

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. . . THE MANY WORLDS

An Introductory Comment by Rama Rani Lall

Romen Basu is a forward-looking novelist with a deep nostalgia for tha past. He seems to exemplify T. . Eliot's requirement for an artist to have a historical sense and a perpception of "not only of the pastness of the past, but of its presence." His novels seem to distil the very essence of all that is best in the past and the present.

A PROGRESSIVE NOVELIST OF MODERN INDIA

Romen Basu served the United Nations as a successful official for thirty-five years. His world-wide travels and close acquaintance with the West have enriched his fiction. Realistic pictures of metropolitan cities abound in his work. His portrayal of life in and around Calcutta can match in excellence the descriptions of life in New York or Paris. He is a novelist of both the eastern and western cultures. The clash of Indian and foreign sensibilities gives a special sparkle to his work.

His eight novels and two volumes of short stories which have come to our notice clearly establish his claim as a much-acclaimed progressive novelist of modern India.

AUTHENTIC PORTRAYAL OF BENGAL LIFE & CULTURE

Like R. K. Narayan's special fragrance of Malgudi, Romen Basu's novels exhale a rich aroma of Bengal and its culture. Indian literature in English will remain indebted to his authentic fine portrayal of Bengali joint-family life. A whole bygone era comes alive in many of his novels ; and his descriptions and evaluation of joint-family life are worth treasuring.

His first novel—*A House Full of People* was published in 1968. It shows us a large family in which six brothers and their wives live, love and fight for a number of years. With great care and enthusiasm, Romen Basu delineates the character of the eldest brother "Jatha Sudhia", who emobodies all the great virtues of Indian life. His kindness, generosity and self-sacrifice keep the family of fifty or more members together. In the several generations the favourite nephew, Arun, hates the old traditions. His blind, mindless aping of the English people makes him selfish and worthless, making him spend all his time in parties and night clubs. Ranjit, another of the nephews, has a deep admiration for his eldest uncle "Sudhia", and tries to mould his life on the same pattern. His heroic efforts to keep the family together when he grows up are admirable. He knows that living together means sharing the joys and sorrows. When financial constraints and selfishness finally break the family, it causes deep personal anguish to Ranjit.

Another novel, *Portrait on the Roof* (1980) depicts a similar large family of one hundred and two children and grand-children who come together for a final portrait before the grand-mother leaves for her heavenly abode. A realistic awareness of human frailty gives the writer an ample chance to expand the narrative with various humorous incidents.

THE ROMANTIC LOVE THEMES

Romen Basu also excels in portraying romantic love. A number of his novels *Your Life to Live* (1972), *A Gift of Love* (1974), *The Tamarind Tree* (1975),

(*Continued*)

(*Continued*)

A Political Novel with A Difference

supersedes Bhushan in Sylla's affection. With his intellectual curiosity and legal mind, he is the one to deconstruct Bhushan's identity. Then there are the communists who shourt about Gandhi and make him "sound like a comma in the middle of a sentence which would read a hell lot faster without it."

OTHER THEMES

In the background is the Victorian age, and memories of Curzon's *durbar* in Lucknow in 1899, when the hero was 'minus one year old but so strenuously prayed for." There are also the rising dictatorships of the twenties. Mussolini is very much a fact to be reckoned with and important enough to be discussed. As Bhushan sits and strains on the English toilet provided to him in jail, Mussolini's lack of ideology is discussed : "No ideology, no programme except for bullets and massive doses of castor oil for his opponents ..... . He'll last as long as he has castor oil." Sen doing situps, guffaws : "I yearn for a dose of Mussolini's medicine."

Other themes, other issues are subtly unfolded midst a careful handling of language and irony. The realistic mode is questioned, altered, reformed and realised in an altogether different manner. The journeys into the past and the future bring the whole world into the prison cell.

Mistaken Identity is a political novel with a difference. It examines politcal issues both from a historical and a personal perspective. And it does not take sides ; the multi-faceted reality, fluid and undefinable is there for all to see. It would not be hyperbolic to say that Sahgal has surpassed her previous achievements in this suave, gently ironical presentation of a political situation.

Dr. Jasbir Jain is Professor and Head of the Deptt. of English, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

[*We are sorry that this review could not be published earlier. Also, we did not receive a review copy of the book.* —*Editors*]

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OF ROMEN BASU . . .

Candles and Roses (1978) and others give the reader a variety of love and marriage encounters between an attractive educated "westernized" young Bengali hero and an intelligent, charming heroine, belonging to a different religion or country or social class.

These portraits of Indian, Moslem, Christian, Italian or French young ladies have been drawn very effectively. Romen Basu is consistently good in giving life-like pictures of unselfish, self-sacrificing, and vivacious heroines. Their being uneducated, or being bar-maids or prostitutes does not lessen their worth in the eyes of the hero who yearns only for genuine affection and understanding.

CONFLICTS : SOCIAL AND CULTURAL

The conflict between various cultural and social values have been enthusiastically explored in novel after novel. The writer's own understanding and appreciation of Indian culture enables him to examine the other "alien" cultures in an objective manner.

YOUNG HOPE-FULLS AT THE UN . . .

The novel *Sands of Time* (1985) introduces the reader to a group of lively, young, enthusiastic, United Nations' trainee officers. Their firm faith in a better and happy world has been sympathetically portrayed. The pictures of these young idealists are true and authentic. The reader also gets a glimpse of the day-to-day working of this international body.

. . . AND OUTCASTES IN INDIA

In the *Outcast*, (1986) Basu explores the tragedy of caste system in rural India. The heroine fights against all odds to save the hero. Her innocence and courage leave an indelible impression on the reader, yet whatever she could do, she could not compel the embittered hero from a path of violence and revenge. He refuses to forgive those who had humiliated and harmed him. This novel is much more than a tragic love-story. The writer gives a true picture of villages where discriminations based on caste and privileges still poison the whole social environment. The novel re-examines the whole question of social equality and justice.

Romen Basu has also published two volumes of short stories *Canvas and the Brush* (1971) and *Rustling of Many Winds* (1982). The stories give word pictures of various countries and moods. Portraying simple incidents with deep significance, they make delightful reading by themselves.

In short, all his work reveals Romen Basu as a mature, deeply committed and humanitarian writer. His skill in story-telling and character delineation is truly admirable.

Dr. (Ms.) Rama Rani Lall is Associate Professor in the English Deptt., University of Rajasthan, Jaipur. (We invite other readers of Indian fiction who may be acquainted with Basu's works to contribute their critical evaluation. —Eds.)

★ *Indo--Anglian Fiction in 1940's* ★

Gomathi Narayanan

THE SAHIBS AND THE NATIVES–A Study of Guilt and Pride in Anglo–Indian and Indo-Anglian Novels.

Chanakya Publications, Delhi, (1986) pp. vi+168
Price Rs. 98/–

Reviewed by Krishna Rao

The writer says in her Preface that she has "in her present study, concentrated on a thematic analysis of guilt and pride in some Anglo-Indian and Indo-Anglian novels dealing with the nineteen forties in India." She has thus deliberately restricted the scope and sweep of her study to a pre-fixed frame confined only to two sources of action and delineation of character–pride and guilt. In all the novels she has examined, Dr. Narayanan finds a pervasive presence of these two motives.

The critical study is divided into eight chapters. The first is the Introduction. The writer regards the historical events of India at the time of her independence in 1947 as a traumatic experience for both–the British who ended a chapter and the Indians who began a new one. The *Sahibs* made their exit and the *Natives* shuffled out of the shackles that had bound them for ages. The dismemberment of the British Empire was not a "death of self", as the writer interprets it. Nor did a new nation rise out of the ashes of an empire. In fact, Indian independence gave birth to two nations, both abortive. The writer seems to read too much of guilt and shame in the actions and attitudes of the main characters in the novels she has examined.

THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN & THE INDIAN RESPONSE

The second chapter, "The Ruler and the Ruled", deals with the Burden of British Fathers. The white-man's burden was neither fictionalising nor a rationa lisation of conquest and exploitation. The rulers genuinely believed that they were civilising a whole country through their governance. Their sense of superiority arose from a cherished set of values of the white European races. The feelings of guilt and shame, which the writer consistently harps on, were limited to writers of deep perception and sensibility like Paul Scot. One cannot agree with the writer's interpretation of the rape of Daphne Manners as the focus of the whole *Quartet*. To compare the mass-rape of Daphne with the wish-genesced hallucinations of Adela in Forster's novel, *A Passage to India*, would be a travesty of critical judgement Another mis-reading of Scot's *Quartet* is to regard Ronald Merrick as the "scapegoat" to whom has been transferred the inhuman perverseness accompanying the absolute power of the colonialist. Merrick is not a symbol—a scapegoat in the biblical sense. He is a sadistic type who sees in one's power to inflcit pain a symbol of superiority, in which reality is a psy-

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Indo-Anglian Fiction . . . (*Continued*)

chological compensation for a feeling of inferiority. Merrick's treatment of Kumar in prison represents his own degradation and not that of the rulers.

The third chapter, "The Ruled *versus* the Ruler -the Guilt of Indian Sons" examines among others the novels of R.K. Narayan, Chaman Nahal. Khushwant Singh, Balachandra Rajan and Malgaonkar. The critical analysis offers a covincing interpretation of the liberated Indians' attitudes of anti-imperialism and the feelings of inadeqacy and shame which the communal riots of 1947 engendered in their minds. Dr. Narayanan's illuminating analysis of the Indo-Anglian novels dealing with this theme is very useful.

In the next chapter, "The Princes Who Were Pawns", the writer rightly says, there are hardly any novels worthy of attention to understand or interpret the relationship between the British rulers and the Indian princes. The few that were written are neither significant nor representative.

RACIAL & COMMUNAL CONFLICTS

Chapter 5: "The White and the Black" —an examination of the novels dealing with racial problems and conflcits—is the best in the book. The problems of adjustment and crisis of identity of the half-white half-black left behind after the departure of the British are explained with understanding and insight by the author in a her analysis of the novels written on Eurasians. The most prominent are Scot and John Masters. But it would be over-simplification to say that these novels express no more than guilt and shame of the white man. Victoria Jones in *Bhawani Junction* is more than a symbol and character of plot. She walks out of the confines of the covers to join the array of memorable women characters in English fiction of the twentieth century.

Novels in English dealing with communal tensions and conflicts are few, and there is not much to write about them. (Chapter 6, "The Hindu and the Muslim").

The next chapter, "Guilt and Pride as Image and Symbol" is well developed. The best and most convincing imagery, as pointed out by the writer, is to be found in Paul Scot's novels. Imperialism in its best form is a human endeavour for betterment of less developed races, In this respect, it is angelic. Angels never die.

The decline and fall of the British rule in India are expressed through the images of death and decay. The writer's comments on the use of imagery in Rajan's *Dancer* and Malgoanker's *A Bend in the Ganges* are very helpful. In Scot's *Quartet*, Daphne's blissful experience of love-making with Kumar is soon followed by a horrendous gang rape, an image of joy destroyed by horror and violence, both regarded as manifestations of Shiva, according to Scot. →

More Books Introduced by D. D.

[*From time to time during recent months, we have published short book notes by D. D. (late Prof. Devahuti) under the column : BOOKS I READ RECENTLY. On the inside cover of our March issue, we published A FOND FAREWELL and a short note by D. D. Here are a few more comments. Editors*]

B. N. Puri : BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi (1987) pp xiii+352

The book opens with an account of the ancient routes of Central Asia, followed by a brief survey of Buddhist literary texts and monuments found in the region. It deals with the political history of the kingdoms of Central Asia, surveys the state of Buddhism and comtemporary religions, acquaints us with the prevailing languages, scripts and cononical literature, describes the material culture of the region and finally concludes with a portrayal of the rich art heritage of Central Asia.

Inter–action between India and Central Asia has for along been a neglected area of study. The book should generate fresh interest in the subject,

G. C. Pande : AN APPROACH TO INDIAN CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION.

B. H. U., Varanasi, (1985) pp 154.

It is a most thought-provoking set of essays by a profound contemporary scholar. In the author's own words "Indian culture and civilization seem to be at crossroads today". An attempt is made in these essays to analyse the nature of this crisis, and a metood is suggested along which Indian Tradition might be studied today, and its relevance appreciated. The essays are entitled : Relevance and Essences, the Pattern of Development, the Role of Material Conditions, Sense of Space and Cosmo graphy, Sense of Time and History and finally, Self–Awarencess and Social Awareness.

Scholarly and full of insight, the essays should be read and discussed widely. [*More to Follow*]

→ In the final chapter "A Reconsideration", Dr. Gomathi Narayanan righly accords Scot the highest place among the Anglo-Indian novelists writing on the events of the forties. It is a sad comment that not a single Indo-Anglian writer could see the complex web of British-Indian relationships, as Scot did.

This is a scholarly work which shows a penetrating mind. One would only wish that she had not given it the pejorative title : *The Sahibs and the Natives.*

Prof. Krishna Rao was, for the many years, Head of Deptt. of English in the Government College, Ajmer, a premier institution of Rajasthan, and later Director, Institute of English Language Studies, Jaipur.

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A Special Review Article :

ANOTHER NEHRU--NAMA

M. J. Akbar : THE MAKING OF INDIA

Viking-Penguin, London (1988) pp 609; Rs. 350/-

Reviewed by Satindra Singh

Within a hundred years of Peophet Mohammed's death, his followers had conquered Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, the Lebanon, Turkey, North Africa and part of Spain. These conquests were spectacular, to say the least, for the simple reason that the motley Boudoini tribes of the Arabian desert had not only welded themselves into a cohesive and mighty fighting force, but had also humbled the far advanced peoples of those countries with the utmost ease.

To record these momentous events, as also to inspire the future generations of Islam to equally valourous deeds, some of those who took part in these campaigns wrote detailed accounts of their epoch-making victories and heroic exploits. Not unexpectedly, these accounts over-emphasised the role of individual commanders or rulers of the day, turning a blind eye to the social and economic forces at play and to the glaring weaknesses of their heroes.

In due course,this kind of historical writing degenerated into what came to be known as *Shah-Namas*. In the *Shah-Namas*, the real as well as the imagined qualities and exploits of the ruler were extolled to the sky, while his infirmities and weaknesses were left out, concealed or glossed over.

The celebrated Persian poet Firdausi's *Shah Nama*, written at the behest of Mahmud Ghazni (who paid him one gold *mohar* for every couplet) set the pattern for court chroniclers in the Muslim world for about 900 years. In India, scores of *Shah Namas*—beginning with Abdul Fazl-i Allam's *Akbar Nama* and ending with Ghulam Ali bin Raushan-ud-daulah Bukhari's *Shah Alam Nama* —were penned by fawning courtiers during the 350-year long Mughal rule. This genre of historical writing mercifully came to an end with the formal establishment of British rule throughout India in 1858.

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I was, therefore, quite taken aback when I read M. J. Akbar's *Nehru : The Making of India* (Penguin, London, 1988.)

It seems that Shah Nama has come back to life. Akbar has resurrected this universally discarded Muslim genre of courtier penmanship and pressed it into the service of free India's ruling dynasty.

This impression is strengthened by three apparently unrelated events which have followed each other in quick succession.

The first was the timing of the publication of Akbar's book. The second was release to the press of excerpts from the book pertaining to Nehru's scuttling of the "Balkan Plan," on the very day the news agencies carried the transcript of Maulana Azad's controversial 30 pages, highly critical of Nehru's role in the partition of the country. The third event was the hosting by Doordarshan of a full-length discussion on Abkar's book, soon after its formal release in India. Something unprecedented.

AKBAR'S VERSION & MAULANA'S VIEWS

The Maulana, in his controversial 30 pages, has observed that by denying the Muslim League legislators two berths in the U. P. provincial cabinet in 1937, Nehru had gifted an opportunity to Mohammed Ali Jinnah to arouse the dormant paranoia of the Muslim masses living in the provinces where they were in a minority. Some time later, at the behest of the Quaid-e-Azam, the Muslim League appointed the Pirpur Committee to inquire into the "atrocities" committed on the Muslims in the "Hindu" Congress-ruled provinces. Its report, though hardly based on facts, was accepted as gospel truth by the Muslim masses. This helped to strengthen Jinnah's strangle-hold on the Indian Muslims. Significantly, Akbar has not as much as cursorily referred to this benchmark report. Had he done that, all his alibis on behalf of Nehru would have sounded hollow. Even otherwise, these are far from convincing.

Maulana Azad's other assertion that Nehru's "rash" statement at Bombay about the Cabinet Mission Plan enabled Jinnah to renege on its acceptance earlier by the Muslim League, thereby ending all chances of the emergence of a united and truly federal India, is also correct. To counter the Maulana's charge, Akbar got that portion of his book which dealt with the "Balkan Plan" released in an attempt to show how it was Nehru who had saved India from Balkanisation by forcing the recalcitrant British to change their plan into the Partition Plan. Nehru had thus helped avoid a dismemberment of *Bharat Mata* into hundreds of separate political entities.

Here, too, Akbar is treading on slippery ground. In the first place, had the Cabinet Mission Plan been implemented and a truly Federal Indian State established, most of the post-Independence Centre-State problems would not have arisen. Secondly, the "Balkan Plan" was no more than a bogey raised by the British to frighten Nehru into granting their cherished desire that free India should remain in the Commonwealth. Further, in his book, Akbar has presented the "Balkan Plan", as though he were making a sensational disclosure. Not so. The "Balkan Plan" has, in fact. been discussed in almost every book on the Partition

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ANOTHER NEHRU--NAMA

of India, the latest being R. J. Moore's *Escape from Empire* (Oxford, 1984, Pp. 234-59). Evidentally, Akbar has not done his home work.

NEHRU—A FATHER FIGURE BUT ...

Nehru was admittedly a father figure for most of us. He could, therefore, do no wrong. He was also above criticism. Not that Nehru was a superman. Nor was he without his faults and failings. Not all his actions were in the interest of the country. The visionary and ideologue in him often failed to pay sufficient attention to the mechanics of the practical application of the principles and ideas he conceived and enunciated. The result was that while he groped for solutions, he never could anticipate problems, at home and abroad. As he loved adulation by the masses, he did not try to discourage it. The end result was that during his stewardship of the country, the fine but crucial distinction between State and Government got obliterated. Even a mild criticism of Nehru, his government or his party, came to be equated with anti-national activities. Even well-meaning critics came to be dubbed "enemies of the Indian people".

... & HIS SUCCESSORS

This trend was assiduously strengthened during the prime ministership of his daughter, Mrs Indira Gandhi. The Congress (I) president, Dev Kanta Barooah, had brazenly declared : "Indira is India and India is Indira." The Young Turks led by Chandra Shekhar (now the Janata Party Chief) led the chorus. Later, they acted as enthusiastic cheer leaders. (It did not, therefore, come as a surpirse to me when the other day, Nehru's grandson, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, described the entire Opposition as "anti-national." He was merely making a public pronouncement about what his family has believed in private all these years.)

By trying to perpetuate the Nehru myth, Akbar is guilty of encouraging the cult of personality to the detriment of the basic democratic values and procedures. To counter this dangerous trend, one is left with no choice but to expose Nehru's Achilles' heel.

HOW NEHRU DEALT WITH SOME QUESTIONS

*CENTRE—STATE RELATIONS

Authoritarian by nature, Nehru treated the federal as well as secular character of the Constitution with scant respect. Treating the constituent States as his personal fiefdoms. he dismissed the Akali ministry of PEPSU in early 1954. His successors have followed the precedent set by him with a vengeance, thereby reducing the federal character of the Constitution to a mere sham. This is the basic cause of the growing Centre-State tensions in recent years. (I will not be surprised if this tension assumes explosive dimensions in the near future, unless urgent remedial steps are undertaken to restrain the Centre from interfering with the day-to-day administration of the duly elected State Governments.) Akbar seems to have deliberately skirted this burning issue for fear of portraying Nehru in a bad light.

*LINGUISTIC STATES

Again, Nehru's handling of the demand for linguistic states has proved no less disastrous. Although the Congress was committed to the formation of such States in the pre-Independence era, Nehru refused to honour this solemn pledge as soon as he assumed power in free India. Potti Srimalu had to lay down his life for the creation of a unilingual Andhra Pradesh. But Nehru refused to learn a lesson. Four years later, he opted for a bilingual Bombay State, and refused to concede the demand for a Punjabi-speaking State. After nearly four years of dilly-dallying, he grudgingly agreed to bifurcate Bombay into Gujarat and Maharashtra. But he continued to doggedly reject the demand for a Punjabi Suba until his death in May 1964.

Nehru's opposition to this legitimate demand ostensibly stemmed from his fear that its acceptance would strengthen the power base of the communal Akali Dal. This refusal, on the contrary, gave a new lease of life to Sikh communalism. (Incidentally, it was because of a similar consideration that he had refused to accommodate two nominees of the Muslim League legislators in the U. P. provincial ministry in 1937. Nehru's U.P. action ultimately led to the formation of Pakistan).

*ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION & IMBALANCES

What is even more reprehensible is the fact that, for punishing the recalcitrant Sikhs of Punjab who had launched several agitations for the attainment of a unilingual State of Punjab, Nehru deliberately discriminated agaist the State economically. His patently discriminatory policy was faithfully followed by his successors until two years ago, repeating parrot-like their forbear's specious argument that no public investment could be made in Punjab as it was vulnerable to a foreign invasion. Even a cursory look at the geographical map of the country will show that, except for Madhya Pradesh, all other Indian States are vulnerable to attack by land, sea or air. The three wars with Pakistan since independence and the Indo-China war in the autumn of 1962 have exposed the validity of this argument. One cumulative result of this political and economic discrimination is that Sikh communalism has not only assumed Frankensteinian proportions, but has also begun to degenerate into separatism and terrorism during the recent years.

Akbar has valiantly tried to justify Nehru's actions, and in the attempt miserably failed either to pinpoint the reasons for the current bloody mess in Punjab or offer a solution of the festering problem.

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Again, Nehru also unwittingly sowed the seeds of possible disintegration of the country by injecting imbalances and aberrations in the economy by his patently ambivalent economic policies Ignoring the basic fact that India is an agrarian country, he set about building heavy industry. His five-year plans could reflect the country's need, but not its capacity and resources. That is the main reason that, in spite of nearly 36 years of planning, even today the Indian economy at its grassroots continues to be an easy victim of nature's caprice. Last year's (1987) worst drought and the current year's unprecedented flood havoc highlight the failure of Nehruvian economic policies. Now that the much-touted Green Revolution has proved to be a temporary exhilaration, there is every danger of something worse than green-eyed jealousy between the "haves" and "have-nots" developing in the countryside where class conflict was seldom violent. The Naxalites are no freaks; they are the natural offspring of Nehru's unwise economie policies and planning.

*BLACK MONEY & INFLATION

Black money, which is plaguing our economy these days, is also the result of these faulty planning policies. Since the beginning of the Second Plan, huge investments have been made in heavy and core industries without any worthwhile or consistent effort to make provision for providing matching goods and services. The inflationary spiral generated by this lopsided economic planning was further energised by Mrs Indira Gandhi's populist measure : taking over of wholesale foodgrain trade. With one stroke, she released hundreds of crores of rupees employed in this trade for speculative and smuggling operations, leading to the emergence of a parallel economy. Akbar has not said a word about this in his voluminous book.

*FOREIGN POLICY

But the biggest fiasco was Nehru's foreign policy. Generally described as non-aligned, it was mainly anti-West. It was this bias that prompted Nehru to condemn the Anglo-French misadventure in Egypt in the fall of 1956, and to virtually ignore the Soviet aggression in Hungary. (Dutifully, Akbar has done the same.) It was because of this bias again, that he ignored Communist China's openly hostile moves against India for over a decade, while being unduly suspicious of friendly gestures by Fied Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan. Nehru was obviously unable to comprehend the post-World War II realities—the emergence of Soviet Russia as the biggest empire in history, the Communist conquest of China and the end of the era of gunboat diplomacy.

*CHINA POLICY

Even after the Chinese had forcibly occupied Tibet, Nehru saw no reason to change his foreign policy towards Beijing. He had, in fact, hastened the Chinese conquest by transforming Beijing's suzerainty

ANOTHER NEHRU--NAMA

over Tibet into its sovereignty over the idyllic land. Akbar's explanation that this "transformation" mysteriously took place only at Beijing is contrary to facts and does not stand to reason.

This whetted Mao's lust for land in the same fashion as had Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler, in Munich in 1939. Naturally, their results were no different; in fact, these were more disastrous for India. For England, Czechoslovakia was a distant land; for India, Tibet was its next door neighbour. It touches not only Nepal, but part of Kashmir and the disturbed areas of several eastern States and Union Territories.

Taking advantage of India's dangerous unpreparedness or down-right folly, Beijing soon began to occupy Indian territory with impunity. Unknown to Nehru's Government, it clandestinely built a strategic road which passed through Aksai Chin in the northernmost part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Even this blatant aggression did not shake Nehru's faith in his policy of non-alignment or his belief in the textbookish invincibility of the Himalayas. But the Indian people, by now, thoroughly disillusioned by "*Hindi-Chini-Bhai-Bhai-ism*" became restive. The Indian press became extremely critical of, if not openly hostile to, Nehru's complacency.

*THE 1962 DISASTER

Pathologically sensitive to criticism and mortally afraid of unpopularity, Nehru got caught in a panic. Unmindful of the country's inadequate defence preparedness, he announced on 12 October 1962, in Bangalore, that the Indian Army had been ordered to push the Chinese back across the McMohan Line. Eight days later, at dawn on October 20, the Chinese launched a full-scale invasion along the Line and stepped up their offensive operations in Ladakh. After inflicting a crushing defeat on the Indian Army in the north-east and rattling in Ladakh, the Chinese dramatically announced a unilateral ceasefire on Nov. 21, leaving Nehru once again at his wit's end.

Akbar's explanation for the disaster that the army commanders had wilfully ignored Nehru's injunction, that "efforts should be made to position major concentration of forces along our borders in places conveniently situated behind the forward posts, where they could be maintained logistically and from where they can restore a border situation at short notices," is too facile to be taken seriously. The unpreparedness of Indian army as well as lackadaisical handling of the entire operation, as documented in Briganier J. P. Dalvi's *Himalayan Blunder* (Thacker, Bombay, 1969), contradicts Akbar's alibi.

The Black November left the Indian army, once the pride of the armed forces of the British Empire,

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ANOTHER NEHRU--NAMA

humiliated beyond words, and India's economy, never in good shape, in shambles. Nehru's pipedream, the policy of non-alignment, had ended up in smoke. He beseeched the Western powers, whom he had all along been condemning as rapacious imperialists, to come to India's, if not his own, rescue.

AND END OF NEHRUISM

Nehruism died on November 21, 1962, though the lone mourner, Nehru himself, lingered on physically for about two more years. After 17 years of his "tryst with destiny," Nehru died a disappointed man, his various 'new temples' of independent India" lying in ruins around him. Certainly a befitting memorial !

AKBAR'S FACTS NOT TRUE

Akbar has been guilty of a casual approach to the serious task of historical writing This is apparent from his failure to double-check his facts, or follow a uniform style in the name places or designation of personages. At one place, he has torn a quotation out of the context to give it an entirely different meaning, and at another, he has just suppressed a highly inconvenient fact. He has also mentioned some books in the bibliography which he has not read, or even consulted. Small details betray him. Let me cite a few examples:-

One : On page 20, Akbar writes : "By 20 June the officers of John Nicholson's column were dining in 'the Elysium of the Dewan Khas'." This is absolutely wrong because the British entered Delhi on September 20 (T.R.E. Holmes. *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, W. A. Allen & Co., London, 1888, p. 374).

Two : Again: "Later, its (Patiala's) ruling prince, Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, would become the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes during the Partition discussions," Bhupindra Singh (correct spellings) had died 13 years earlier. It was his son, Yadvindra Singh who was the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes during the partition discussions.

Three : According to Akbar, the Pakistan Resolution was drafted by the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. This is palpably wrong. Had he read Wali Khan's book, *Facts are Facts* (Vikas, Delhi, 1987, Pp. 29-30), Akbar would havke nown that it was drafted by Sir Mohammed Zafarullah Khan, an *Ahmediya*, Member of the Executive Council, at the behest of Lord Linlilhgow. Copies of the draft were passed on to Jinnah through Sir Sikander. Wali Khan has quoted from Lord Linlithgow's *Private Papers* in support of his assertion. I really wonder how this sensational disclosure escaped Akbar's attention because the book has been duly mentioned in his bibliography.

Four : On page 239 of his book, Akbar writes that Dr. B. R. Ambedkar "had begun to encourage untouchables to convert to Buddhism" in the thirties. This is, again, factually wrong. In the thirties, he was toying with the idea of joining the Sikh fold (Mark Juergensmeyar : *Religious Rebels in the Punjab*, California, 1982. p. 162). The Sikhs established a Khalsa College in Bombay to provide educational facilities to the untouchables at Ambedkar's suggestion (Chandra Bharill, *Social and Political Ideas of B. R. Ambedkar*, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur, 1977, p. 49).

Five : Akbar's anti-Sikh bias is scarcely concealed. While he describes free India's first Defence Minister, Baldev Singh as "the Sikh nominee to the Central Government," he does not describe other members of the Government according to their religious affiliations. He also does not mention the fact that Swaran Singh was India's principal negotiator with Chou En-lai when he visited India in the summer of 1960. This fact is widely known and specifically mentioned in T.S.J. George's *biography of Krishna Menon* (Jonathan Cape, London, 1964) on pages 255-56. This omission is all the more important when we find Akbar describing George as "the excellent author and journalist."

Six : Akbar is also guilty of tearing quotations out of context and bestowing upon them diametrically opposed connotations, writing about Nehru's sojourn in a rat-infested Nabha jail at Jaito, when he and his other two companions were released at the personal intervention of the Viceroy. Nehru did not begrudge it because, as he wrote in his *Autobiographv*, "discretion was preferred to valour."

But the perusal of Nehru's *Autobiography* would show that he had written that in another context. After referring to the second incarceration of one of his co-prisoners, A. T. Gidwani, in the Nabha State, Nehru writes : "I felt inclined to go to Nabha myself and allow the Administrator to treat me as he had treated Gidwani. Loyalty to a colleague seemed to demand it. But many friends thought otherwise and dissuaded me. I took shelter behind the advice of friends, and made of it a pretext to cover my own weakness. For, after all, it was my weakness and disinclination to go to Nabha gaol again that kept me away, and I have always felt a little ashamed of thus deserting a colleague. As often with all of us, discretion was preferred to valour (*p. 116*).

Seven : Some instances of Akbar's casualness : He writes *proschit* on page 26 and *prayaschitta* on page 393. Apparently he had a Bengali and a Punjabi in his team of research assistants.

Again he refers to Govind Ballabh Pant sometime as the Chief Minister of U.P. and at others, by his proper designation under the Government of India Act, 1935, which was Premier.

V. P. Menon was never a member of the Indian Civil Service. He had risen from the ranks.

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Three Cheers for Them

★ ★ ★

Bimal Prasad :
GANDHI, NEHRU & J. P.—**Studies in Leadership**
Chanakya Publications, Delhi, (1985) 294 p. Rs. 140/-

Comment by S. P. Agarwal

The author has chosen three of the most leading figures from among India's countless freedom fighters and national leaders for a close study of their views.

Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Jai Prakash Narayan were born about twenty years apart from each other; but they always retained a high mutual regard for each other despite occasions of differing critical opinions.

How is it that the pre-Independence period in India produced such a galaxy of distinguished selfless leaders ? Does the combination and compulsion of time and circumstances give rise to such phenomenon and mould personalities ? Or, is the old saying 'राजा कालस्य कारणम' true ?

Professor Bimal Prasad devotes about eighty pages each to the trio, describing their roles in the struggle, their strategies, and their ideas about political restructuring, economic re-organisation, social change, international affairs; and in the last chapter of about twenty pages, he covers the common ground in their ideas—common for the individual and his liberty, about democratic socialism, for opposition to colonialism and support to resurgent Asia, and so on.

Professor Bimal Prasad does not go into the attributes of a leader, and the reasons or qualities that make the people follow him. Qualities of courage and willingness to lead by the front, a capacity for original thinking, the ability to inspire people, an indefinable charisma – such attributes mark a person as of leadership timbre. He indirectly touches on the subject by referring to Gandhiji's strategem of retreat, Nehru's anxiety to keep Congress organisation in tact, or dubbing certain actions of JP as blunders.

People do not necessarily follow teachings of their leaders or heed their advice or dictates. We may recall how Britain rejected Churchill after World War II; and the three leaders under study here had similar experience in their life-time. Gandhiji had the skill of '*loka-sangraha*'. And yet he had to part company in the end with his 'disciples', and go it alone. Nehru was the one to shoulder heavy administrative responsibilities after Independence. And, despite his stature and services to the nation, parliamentarians were up in arm against him after the Chinese aggression. J. P. could not keep his followers together any time, and in the end, died a bitterly disappointed man.

J. P. was an intrepid freedom fighter; but after Independence, he chose to be away from seats of power. Like Lord Krishna, if one could say so, he would prefer to give wise counsel; and only when compelled, would resort to his '*sudarshan chakra*' : direct action or *Satyagraha*. Basically, he was a peace-maker. To

(*Continued under col. 1 on page 116*)

ANOTHER NEHRU NAMA (*Continued*)

Nor was there, in 1946-47, a Unionist Ministry in Punjab. It was a Unionist-Congress-Akali coalition Ministry led by the Unionist leader, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana.

Escot Reid has been described as Canada's Ambassador to India; he was the High Commissioner. Again, his book *Envoy to Nehru* (Oxford, Delhi, 1981) has been credited to Morarji Desai in the bibliography.

There are scores of other factual and grammatical mistakes which I do not have the space to point out.

A CASUAL HISTORIAN'S APPROACH

Thus, what is true in Akbar's book is not new, and what is new in it is not true ! The book is an unabashed attempt to glorify Nehru, underplaying his weaknesses, explaining away his failures, and ignoring his Himalayan blunders. To make the reader suspend his critical faculties, Akbar has packed his voluminous book with unnecessary detail, juxtaposed far-fetched events and suppressed well-known but inconvenient facts. But all these courtier's artifices have been of no avail. Some of the witnesses to the events of Nehru's time are still alive; and not all of them have suffered a loss of memory or pawned their souls.

Akbar is not a trained historian. He is just a jet-set "instant" historian. He has an excellent command over the English language, an enviable turn of phrase and a sharp eye for drama. But these qualities (laudable though they may be) do not (and they cannot) compensate for a lack of objectivity, the minimum qualification of any historian worth the name. Akbar, thus, appears to be no more than a court chronicler of the medieval ages, who has somehow strayed into the 20th century.

If only Akbar had cared to consult his acknowledged mentor, the noted Sikh historian, Khushwant Singh, this book could have been a fine record of Nehru's life and work, and not just a *Nehru Nama*.

Satindra Singh is now a freelance columnist. [*The comment has also appeared in the* Onlooker—*Dec. 1-15, 1988 issue, among other journals. However, we did not receive a review copy of the book.* —*Eds.*]

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AN ASSESSMENT

Akhileshwar Singh : POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Deep and Deep Publications, New Delhi, (1986).

Comment by V. T. Patil

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most towering political leaders of the 20th century Indian politics and society. He was a nationalist *par excellence*, an internationalist of the highest order, a passionate believer in the viability of liberalism and democracy, a Fabian Socialist, a world statesman, a visionary with a historical perspective and a front rank revolutionary of modern India. It is no wonder that Nehru and his contribution have been the subject of serious study and analysis by scholars and others long after his death.

Nehru's contributions to the building up of modern India were multi-dimensional in thrust, import and significance. This explains why he has left an enduring legacy over which successive generations of Indians have to ponder and act upon in a determined manner. However, the fact is that Nehru has been admired, criticised and condemned by critics; but what is necessary at this juncture is a balanced perspective that looks objectively into his achievements and failures. It is in this wider conext of topicality and relevance that Dr. Akhileshwar Singh's study of Nehru's leadership role as a freedom fighter and as the first Prime Minister of independent India assumes significance.

Dr. Singh has divided his book into seven well-conceived chapters. The first chapter discusses the theoretical concepts of leadership. The second examines Nehru's leadership role in the freedom struggle. The third discusses Nehru as the head of the Indian Government. Here an attempt is made to evaluate Nehru's contribution to national integration, elections, planning and economic development. The fourth is a good analysis of Nehru as a party leader in and outside Parliament. The fifth examines Nehru's relationship with the Indian masses. A systematic effort is made to elucidate the roots of Nehru's charismatic hold over the masses in the rural areas and the classes in the urban areas. The sixth discusses, in an academic manner, Nehru's role as a world statesman. Nehru's unique and distinctive contribution to the theory and practice of Non-Alignment is brought out clearly by Dr. Akhileshwar Singh. The final chapter specifies the broad conclusions of the study.

The author has raised a number of important questions in relation to Nehru's role as a political leader. What were the qualities of Nehru which made him a political leader of high standing? What was Nehru's influence in shaping the moving currents of Indian politics during his tenure as Prime Minister of India? What role Nehru did play in strengthening the political institutions of independent India? What was the measure of success or failure of Nehru at the national and international level? Was Nehru an idealist or a realist in terms of his leadership role as Prime Minister?

One feels that a number of other important questions could also be raised with a view to finding out appropriate answers. What was the impact of the objective conditions in the Indian society on Nehru's policies? Was his economic ideology of "an indigenous brand of socialism" relevant in the Indian context? Why has Nehru's policy of planned economic development not been able to bring about rapid economic development? Was Nehru right in reorganising the States on a linguistic basis? How did Nehru balance the compulsions of political freedom with economic freedom? Was Nehru's vision of a scientific and technological society appropriate and relevant in the context of a vast, populous, underdeveloped country like India? Was Nehru's policy of non-aligment appropriate in the face of the China attack in 1962 and the persistently unfriendly relations with Pakistan?

Some of these questions have been analysed adequately by Dr. Akhileshwar Singh, though it would have been better if he had tackled the whole range of issues and problems.

On the whole, he has made a reasonably good academic study of Nehru's role as a political leader. He has painstakingly collected a plethora of archival and other material, and organised it in a readable form. He has made a sincere attempt to analyse, understand and evaluate the essence of Nehru's signal contribution in the development of modern India. The book is a useful addition to the growing literature on Nehru studies.

Dr. V. T. Patil is Jawaharlal Nehru Professor and Chairman, Department of Political Science, Karnatak University, Dharwar-580003, (Karnataka).

BOOKS RECEIVED

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Compiled and Edited by

Purushottam Ganesh Mavalankar (Pp. 68 Rs. 25/-)

(A Centenary Year Publication).

* * *

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(*Lok Sabha Speaker 1952-56*) (Pp. 22 Rs. 15/-)

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A Seminar Report

by R. S. Darda & R. K. Saxena

A BEACON–LIGHT OF DEMOCRACY

From 1st to 3rd May, the Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities, M. L. Sukhadia University, Udaipur. played host to a three days' national seminar on Jawaharlal Nehru : Beacon–Light of Democracy.

Fifty-three scholars from eight States viz. Haryana, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Rajasthan including 26 local participants, took part in the seminar.

Dr. K L. Shrimali, the former Education Minister, Govt. of India, New Delhi, and one of the two surviving members of Nehru's Cabinet, inaugurated the seminar, with Vice-Chancellor Prof. R. N. Singh in the chair. Shri Jagat Singh Mehta, former Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India, and one of the few civil servants to work closely with PM Nehru from 1946 to 1964, was the chief guest of the valedictory function. Dr. Dwijendra Tripathi, Professor of History, Indian Institute of Management, Ahmedabad, delivered the valedictory address. Prof. A. B. Mathur, ex-Director, College Education, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur, presided over the function.

A report of the deliberations presented at the valedictory function by Dr. R. K. Saxena, Associate Prof. of History, Sukhadia University, Udaipur is reproduced here. —*R S. Darda*

The inaugural session coincided with the May Day celebrations, and as Shakespeare has said in a different context : "The storm was turned inside out and we felt both heat and light" After the welcome address by Dr. Pathak, the theme of the seminar was spelt out by Dr. R. S. Darda, director of the seminar. Closely following him, Prof. R. B. Jain, IIPA, New Delhi, spoke on the "multi-dimensional" personality of Nehru. Prof. Y. D. Tyagi enlightened the audience about the foundations laid by Nehru for the development of science & technology. Delivering the Chairman's address, Dr. K. L. Shrimali highlighted Nehru's belief in democracy, in the parliamentary system and in secularism. "For Nehru," he added, "good means were the only means to achieve good ends, or else every bush would appear to be a policeman." I could not read the feeling of the assembly but, for myself, I was craving to have some reminiscenses of Nehru, for Dr. Shrimali happened to be one of the two surviving personalities who had so closely worked with Nehru. Vice-Chancellor Prof. R. N. Singh, in his Presidential address, mentioned five saints and personalities who shaped the mind of Jawaharlal in a Nehruite frame of idealism and pragmatism, "Nehru was a synthesiser of the glamour of the West with the glory of India. What a versatile genius he was !". The session concluded with a vote of thanks by Dr. Ravindra Varma.

The next session on **Nehru and the Indian Polity** was chaired by Dr. (Ms.) S. Agarwal with Dr. K. S. Gupta as the convenor. The presentations ranged from the concept of parliamentary democracy to the pit-falls in the administrative machinery during Nehru's times. The dominant note of these papers was that : for Nehru, democracy was not only a form of government, but a way of life. His training and readings had prepared him for the role of a liberal democrat; and he played his part not only lively but actively too. Parliament was not only respected, with Nehru showing it the greatest deference both in spirit and in the day-to-day practice, but also served as a beacon-light. The opposition was not only consulted by Nehru on issues of national importance, but given due weight while forming policies. It was unfortunate that the opposition often adopted the attitude of opposing the policies without any content and consideration. It was righlty argued that the change to any other from of government is no panacea for the ills of democracy, for the simple reason that the enforcing machinery remains identical whatever the alternative form of government. Institutions can also not be changed over–night.

Some flaws in the policies, process and the system, political as well as parliamentary, were pointed out making reflections on the administrative skills of Nehru. He provided leadership, but it seems, we have completely deleted the duty–ethos from our conduct–norms. However, how could we blame Nehru for that ? This, I may submit, is no argument in defence of Nehru.

The second working session on **Nehru's Vision of Indian Society** was chaired by Shri Trilochan Singh (RIPA). The convenor was Dr. B. K. Lawania. Nine papers were read in this session; the contributors were deeply concerned with the concept of Socialism as Nehru had conceived and later practised it when the opportinity came his way. A consensus appeared to have emerged in the house that it was *Socialism with a difference*. Nehru evolved a new concept in the form of socialistic pattern of society. To me, socialism has many facets to suit the convenience of the wearer.

While discussing his vision of Indian society, one is constrained to think of the many factors which were actively interacting on the mind of Nehru. He had to work on the canvas of a feudal society coloured with a colonial brush and tightly set in a European frame. Out of these heterogeneous elements, he evolved his new vision of an Indian society, with his in–born instinct of humanism. He was moved by Indian poverty and, socialism or no socialism, he wanted to eradicate

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A BEACON-LIGHT OF DEMOCRACY

it completely. He visualised a society in which no man would be poor and no man should aspire to be too rich. This concept of an egalitarian society based on "social justice" was Nehru's vision. The participants expressed many thought-provoking ideas in this session.

The third session on **Nehru, World Peace and Non-Alignment** was chaired by Shri B. Hooja with Dr. Ravindra Varma as the convenor. In his introductory remarks, the chairman outlined the historical background of the late 19th and early 20th cent. when a colonial but resurgent India had become aware of the outside world and shaped its world-view. Nine papers marked the session; some were thought-provoking and scholarly too. Contributors dealt with the concept of non-alignment right from its innovation to the various factors that made Nehru opt for it. I am sure that the audience present (as well the IBC readers) will bear with me when I say that foreign policy revolves round national interests; and Nehru as a shrewd and sophisticated politician could rightly conceive what India's *national* interests were. Nehru rightly visualised to keep the nascent and young Indian Republic away from power politics, for it was not the least prepared to face the onslaughts of the power game of the two blocks. He never wanted to see India in the "bear-embrace" of cold war. As such, non-alignment was his positive answer to it. His policy of peace or "containment of conflicts" alongwith a steady expansion of the area of peace was the only alternative. On the other hand, he not only refused to accept "bi-polarisation" but even attempted to bridge it. I may also add that non-alignment and neutrality were not synonyms for Nehru.

The fourth session on **Nehru's Philosophy and Strategy of Economic Developmet** was convened and chaired by Dr. B. C. Mehta (Udaipur). In three out of the four papers presented, Nehru's model of economic development was discussed right from the influencs working behind him to the varied magnitude and mixed blessing of the mixed economy. In the process, Nehru evolved a new concept of socialism. That is why he favoured heavy industry along with cottage industry, public sector with private sector, industrialization with agricultural development. The fourth paper dealt with the intriguing comparison between *Perestroika* of Nehru and Gorbachev.

In the end, I may add that in the deliberation and discussions, Nehru was taken either in a very conventional eulogistic manner or in a throughly critical way. Obviously, this leaves us with an opportunity and the challenge to organise another seminar, here or elsewhere, in which these two aspects of Nehru's personality are discussed further. —*R. K. Saxena*

Dr. R. K. Saxena is Associate Professor of History Sukhadia University, Udaipur. Prof. R. S. Darda was the Diretor of the Nehru Seminar.

(*Con'd. from page 113*) **THREE CHEERS** * * *

trace the graph of his political activity, we see him moving from association with communists to hob-nobbing with CIA-front organisations, to making a common cause with RSS. And in between, was his crusade for "*Sarvodaya*" and "*Jeevandan*".

While going through this documented commentary on the recent history of political thought and action in India, one may have to raise some queries about certain facts. For example (*p. 121*) did Nehru agree to Rajendra Prasad's presidency thrice ? Didn't he give short shift in his cabinet? Was he giving a correct reply—not just a polite one—to C. D. Deshmukh's straight-forward statement?

The art of indexing a book is not very well practised in India. Here too, we see the Index suffer from acts of ommission and commission. Coming to the bibliography, under the heading J P—with whom the author enjoyed proximity—there is a somewhat surprising omission of a 1958 publication, '*Towards New Society*'.

To promote readership (abroad in particular), the publisher must see that the book is free from minor blemishes like misprints, however few. And lastly, one wishes that a future edition would include a chapter by the distinguished author on M. N. Roy also, whose ideological journey ended in Radical Humanism.

Dr. S. P. Agrawal was until recently looking after the National Documentation Centre located in the ICCSR, New Delhi.

BOOKS RECIEVED

Some Other Publications From Harold Laski Institue of Political Science, Ahemadabad.

THE ROLE OF A PRIVATE MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT : *G. V. Mavalankar Memorial Lecture*, by **R. Venkataraman** [then Vice-President of India.] (*1986, pp 18 Rs. 10/-*)

THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY by Minoo Masani (Text of a Lecture on Harold Laski's 39th Death Anniversary Day) (*1989, Pp 36 Rs. 15/-*)

OUR LORD, THE LEADER : Some Reflections on *Ganeshopanishad* by **Swami Ishwarananda Giri** (*1987, Pp. 56 Rs. 25/-*)

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CHINA—A REGIONAL POWER

Ramakant (ed.) : CHINA AND SOUTH ASIA

South Asia Study Centre, Jaipur, in collaboration with South Asian Publishers New Delhi, (1988), pp. 200, Price Rs. 100/-

Reviewed by Pramod K. Mishra

Ever since the People's Republic of China (PRC) was esttablished, it has been taking a lot of interest in the intra-regional affairs of the South Asian Sub-Continent. In fact, the leadership in Beijing has often put a controversial claim that China be recognized as a "regional power" rather than an intrusive power in the sub-continent. The book under review has been an off-shoot of a national seminar organized by the South Asia Studies Centre, Jaipur, in which a number of specialists and media men interested in the affairs of China and the South Asian Sub-Continent took part.

One can thematically divide the book into three broad sections *viz : First*, an identification of the broad objectives and interests of PRC in South Asia; *Second*, China's security linkages with South Asia and *Finally*, relational syndrome of China with the South Asian "Core" and the "Periphery."

DISTURBING TRENDS & CONTRADICTIONS

In the first section, **C. R. Deshpande** gives a synoptic view of the nature of the state-system that has emerged in South Asia while, at the same time, evaluating the Chinese perspective of the region. In his view, South Asia has now entered "a phase of uncertainty, destabilization, internal strife and decline, if not demise of economic and political sovereignty." The policy-makers in Beijing, while shaping their policies *vis-a-vis* South Asia, would certainly take into account such disturbing trends in the region.

Deshpande begins with the assumption that it is the mix of "contradictions" within the South Asian region, rather than the common concern of the regional powers which would matter most for the South Asian policy of China. There are many contradictions in the area. The principal contradiction, however, has been the tension between India and Pakistan. The crucial and central relationship in this area has been the Indo-Pakistani relationship. These two are the only states which have gone to war in this region. They have fought three and half wars (1947, 1965 and 1971 are the three wars, skirmishes on the Kutch border could be counted as half a war). It would be strange indeed if the policies of China towards South Asia (or any other state for that matter) were to ignore this.

Deshpande has far-sightedly analyzed the changing emphasis of Chinese perspective on South Asia. In his first table, he clearly depicts as to how from 1949 till date, Beijing changed its primary interest area from India to Pakistan, and gradually made attempts towards equi-distance. His second table is equally illustrative of the pattern of trade between China and major South Asian states during the last decade. Significantly enough, till 1983, India was rated very low in the total volume of trade between China and the South Asian states. Pakistan and Bangladesh were sufficiently ahead of India.

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Deshpande also realistically diagnoses the external influences on China's South Asian policy. For instance, it was at the Bandung Conference that the Pakistan Prime Minister assured the Chinese Premier that Pakistan's membership of SEATO was not intended against China. This was the first clear move which brought China within the regional contradictions of South Asia. He also raises a controversy by stating that there is hardly any documentary evidence in China which endorsed the political line adopted by the CPI (ML) led by the late Charu Majumdar. Besides, it is rather difficult to agree when he says : "Since the Cultural Revolution, China is moving towards a position of non-interference and equi-distance as far as South Asia is concerned."

With the Soviet forces moving into Afghanistan, the strategic importance of Pakistan has surely gone up. But the Chinese involvement in Afghan embroglio in itself is a debatable proposition, inasmuch as the Chinese role there may not be more than ensuring a certain military pressure on the Soviet Union.

K. N. Ramachandran more or less compliments the contribution made by Deshpande. He particularly highlights the different strategies towards South Asian states adopted by the Chinese leaders from time to time. In his view, Beijing's changing perceptions *vis-a vis* the Super Powers have had an impact on South Asia. That is quite understandable in view of the fact that China's world-view had undergone a dramatic turn from the late 1960's, when the Soviet Union, rather than the US, became its number one enemy.

MODERNISATION OF THE ARMED FORCES

In the second section, **Jasjit Singh** throws light on the various facets of 'modernization' undertaken in the Chinese armed forces, and their overall implications for the security syndrome in the sub-continent. In his view, by possessing the third largest military machine of the world (with 3,900,000 armed personnel, 6 ICBM's 60 IRBM's and 90 MBM's) further modernization of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) will certainly enhance its foreign policy options in different parts of the world.

In order to understand the various strategies adapted by the PLA, one must be clear about the legacy of "People's War" as initiated by the great

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CHINA—A REGIONAL POWER

helmsman, Mao Zedong. China's strategic thought rests on two fundamentals : military doctrine (better known as People's War) and military science. Military doctrine in China, unlike in many countries, is derived from and determined at the highest level of political and military leadership. It, therefore, reflects both the strategic-ideological dimension as they relate to the accepted views on the nature of war and global strategy, especially in future time perspectives, as well as the military policy to provide guidance for the military to follow in preparing the armed forces for war Similarly, with the transformation of the Central Military Commission as a "state" institution rather than pure party one, military doctrine may be influenced to a greater degree by military science and professionalism as compared to the earlier ideological influence and, therefore, the concept of "people's war" as a military doctrine is important in providing an insight into Chinese military capability.

Jasjit Singh very lucidly explains the continuing relevance of the Maoist concept on "people's war," and cautions that it should not be equated with guerrilla warfare. He identifies its three major implications. First, people's war concept is recently applied in military terms in an environment of a civil war – cum-revolution. Second, it emphasizes the importance of men over machines. The third dimension of the concept interlinking the other is the principle of defence-offence.

The doctrine really visualizes a three-stage conflict. The environment pre-supposes an attack on Chinese homeland by a vastly superior military force. The first stage is visualized as that of strategic withdrawal to "lure the enemy in deep", so that he is over-extended and easier to isolate. However, this is to be organized so as to channelize the instrusion along selected lines to enable the next stage to operate. In the second stage, that of strategic stalemate, superiority in numbers and morale would be brought to bear on the enemy at selected points to impose attrition on the enemy. and progressively change the equation from inferiority to parity and then superiority. The third stage would then operate : that of the strategic offensive, to defeat the enemy already weakened by the earlier operations.

China faces tremendous challenge in the modernization of its armed forces, which needs a capital of $ 5 to 600 billion, obviously beyond its capacity. Besides, the increasing population (now more than a billion) and a slow rate of economic growth stand in direct contrast to its modernization drive. This dimension constitutes the roots of Chinese military modernization strategies : selective modernization, import of technology in preference to procurement of arms; massive drive for substantive growth in arms exports; diversification in imports with the objective of absorption of technology and eventual self-reliance and autonomy in design and development etc.

Jasjit Singh's apprehension that, with the increasing modernization of Chinese armed forces, the rimland states like Nepal, India or Burma may find major difficulties in the resolution of border problems is rather unfounded, because a greater sense of political maturity and wisdom is now visible in China.

EMERGING PATTERN OF INTERACTON

The final section on the emerging pattern of interaction between China and the South Asian states has a maximum number of contributions. The core article is, however, provided by **Manoranjan Mohanty.** While reflecting upon Sino-Indian relations at the turn of the century, he visualizes a pan-Asian scenario in the mutual dealings of Asia's two giant neighbours, which, taken together, constitute nearly two-fifths of the world population.

Explaining the rationale for India to broaden its horizon beyond the sub-continent, Mohanty writes : "Experience shows that India's tensions with her smaller neighbours push them closer towards China to seek a balance. India had not paid much attention towards South-east Asia for many years in spite of the existence of the vast overseas Indian population there." Now, Japan has been joined by China to win them over into a framework of balance there. India has just begun to take an interest in the region and this can only be pursued in a continental framework. Therefore, the logic of contemporary trends leads towards the effective option of a pan-Asian perspective.

THE "INDIA" FACTOR

Talking of a more cogenial environment for better inter-action between the two countries, Mohanty notes striking parallels in the modernization approach of Rajiv Gandhi and that of Deng Xiaoping and suggests, hopefully it may lead to an era of cooperation. Besides, the India-China development dialogue is going on in a relaxed atmosphere of mutual respect and desire to learn from each other. In spite of the lingering border problem between India and China, what cannot be overlooked is that Beijing at present recognises that "India is now objectively placed as the most powerful country, though there are limits to its ability to dominate the region." Besides, happily enough, China has nearly stopped interfering in the internal affairs of the region, and has taken a positive outlook towards SAARC. While reiterating the urgency of a political solution to the chronic problems between China and India, Mohanty writes with a note of caution, "China knows that promoting tensions between India and its neighbours resulted in increasing Super-Power presence in South Asia. That was expensive for China as well. China has abandoned that line in favour of a policy that encourages South Asian regional co-operation and bilateral negotiations on disputes, while acknowledging the fact of India's prominent position. On India's part, it is now recognized that a domineering attitude towards the neighbours alienates them and pushes them towards China or other powers to create a counter-balance.

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T. Karki Hussain perceptively analyzes the "India factor" in Sino-Pakistan relations. She assumes that China would prefer weak rather than powerful neighbours on its southern front, as it already faces a military super power in its north and an economic power in its east. It is a different matter, however, that South Asian internal dissensions have provided openings to China giving it enough diplomatic clout in the region. In her opinion, China has capitalized on the emotional and psychological hangups of the smaller South Asian states towards India and has rather ostentatiously expressed its unmitigated support to them to resist Indian attempt at domination So far, China's efforts have been directed to make Sino-Pak cooperation as the central element in its regional policy. One may anticipate a degree of de-emphasis on the strategic aspects when real progress is registered on the Sino-Indian border issue on the one hand and if Indo-Pak detente is allowed to materialize by the concerted efforts of the respective protagonists on the other.

P. L. Bhola's contribution more or less complements Hussain's effort. In his view, China was and continues to be the only great power, which has been consistently sympathetic and responsive to Pakistan's requirements—strategic, political, diplomatic and economic—because of the congruence of its interests in the sub-continent with those of Pakistan.

POLICIES OF NEPAL, SRI LANKA & BANGLADESH

Rama Kant makes another useful contribution by analyzing Nepal's China Policy in the light of its "claustrophobia syndrome and national identity crisis." In his analysis, "Nepalese believe that socio-cultural differences with China are so deep that Chinese interest in Nepal is only strategic, Yet given the stituation, China can be used to counter-balance India in various ways." It is also imagined that gradually Nepal can acquire an important place between both the neighbours.

Lucy Jacob gives a reflective analysis of China-Sri Lanka relations. She tries to explain that relationship within broader regional balance of power. She also rightly concludes that in spite of their ideological and political orientations which have varied over the years, both the UNP and the SLFP have cultivated China in their economic relations and have avoided taking extreme steps in political sphere.

Virendra Narain critically examines the ups and downs in Sino-Bangla relations. Explaining the psyche of a peripheral state in South Asia and how it invites China into the region, he states : "Sino-Bangladesh relations developed on the basis of her perceptions about India's role in South Asia, and the objective behind the new-found entente-cordiale was to embarrass India and to malign her in the eyes of South Asian countries in particular, and to bring down her prestige in the international world in general. The aim was to foster an anti-Indian alliance in South Asia. It was openly advocated that a security system comprising of small South Asian countries with Beijing occupying a crucial position, should be set up.

Thus, by all standards, the volume is an useful addition to the expanding frontiers of knowledge on the South Asian linkages of China. However, one comes across several duplications in the ideas expressed by individual contributions which should have been avoided by the editor. Besides, the classification of papers should have been more rational.

Dr. Pramod K. Mishra is now back with the Delhi University after a fruitful association with the South Asia Study Centre at Calcutta.

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NEW DOORS FOR NEW ASPIRATIONS

Charles Correa : THE NEW LANDSCAPE

Reivewed by Shefali Pathak

'No coward ever did creative work. I believed then, I believe now'. Frank Llyod Wright, the great advocate of organic architecture has rightly put a blatant truth into words. The truth is that most of us today are scared. A fact that we ourselves are afraid to face, because we know our limits and our abilities.

Architecture today is at its worst. Our cities are dying or dead. There is general apathy among the public and the professionals alike. "Why should I bother ?" is the general attitude.

Our society today is sick in the mind, specially the middle class and upwards. Wanting money is not a crime, but at what cost is a person willing to fulfill that need, is what is important. Charles Correa, in his book, '*The New Landscape*', has pointed out this fact in a very subtle manner.

Industrialization and urbanisation are the twin bases of development. The wheels of progress depend on them. It is a creative mind that has invented and invented since time immemorial. Creativity needs courage, because it defies all current modes of thought and convention.

The current methods of planning and urbanisation call for a drastic change of tactic and thought.

The author has put his points across very well when he talks about "distress migration" and the analogies to Europe. The comprehension of the problem is clear and rational; but the natural environment has been totally excluded. In cities, it is true that the stress is usually on the hard landscape, but the green zones are usually the lungs of a city. In typical arrogance of the "architect mind", if I may so, this fact has been ignored. Even in low density housing, open spaces are a must !

The style of writing, though, is very interesting and gripping even for a non-technical person.

The author has mainly focussed on Bombay; and the re-structuring of the city is both viable and pertinent in the present context. Poverty needs to be eleminated; and perhaps the solution does lie in the way we plan our cities. The inter-relationship of spaces and their transition and gradation are explained very well. Communities and societies that have stabilized in a place for centuries have developed an optimum style and living condition. This usually coincides with their living pattern. Thus, really, the human subconscious always turns to the organic mode of architecture.

The author's attack on New Delhi is quite uncalled for. He seems to want to do away with green spaces. The part of Delhi he defines as a waste of space is, after all, a piece of historic architecture by an architect called Lutyens. It is an art in itself, a living example of open layout and planning. Today, that part of Delhi is as much a part of its (i.e. Delhi's) vernacular as Old Delhi.

Justification, however, needs to be offered for the suburban Delhi that has come up after that. There indeed, the planning of the urban sector and certain other norms are much desired and needed. Today, all one sees is a conglomeration of the most hideous and grotesque styles. It is the architect's moral duty to try and influence design. But how can he, unless he has the courage ?

The treatment of social justice and equality, or some kind of gradation in society, has been treated sensitively and sympathetically. The basic idea of low-level, high density housing is correct. This has been beautifully and lucidly portrayed through the various sketches and plans. Comparisons are odious. The author keeps on comparing the cities of Bombay and Delhi. One is "*THE CAPITAL*" and the other is *THE FINANCIAL CAPITAL*. Some-times the book tries to justify one point at the cost of another. This is when, in reality, there is no comparison. It is not a question of defence of Delhi or any other city; but a place has to be judged fairly, taking into account its setting, history, climate, topography etc. The analogy could be the difference in Glasgow and Edinburgh. Both have their distinct characters influenced by their history, trade etc.

The author suggests viable solutions for transport systems, and also the traditional dwelling units mixed with work, which are both logical and organic. He has correctly condemned the aping of the western planners, but he needed to be more forceful and stronger. The strategies and analysis are very good and seem to sow seeds of thought for further in-depth study by students of architecture and planning.

Cities are usually identified by being "characteristic". A great city may be dying, yet the profundity and depth of the city remain. Even a small place or town usually has a character. Thus it is not the *new* Bombay, but the *old* Bombay that has character. Unfortunately, *new* Bombay has ended up as a huge conglomeration of high-rise towers in masses of concrete. How can "character" develop when people are suspended in space, removed from their basic roots—on earth.

Thus, in reality, the concepts have not been worked out totally. The theory of "disaggregating" the numbers as outlined in chapter 6, is relevant and excel-

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'HEROES' WIN COMMONWEALTH WRITERS PRIZE 1988

Nigeria's **Festus Iyayi** has won the Commonwealth Writers' Prize for his novel *Heroes*, a powerful account of the Nigerian civil war seen through the eyes of a travelling journalist.

The runner-up is Australian **George Turner** with *The Sea and Summer*, which describes, with frightening intensity, lives of the people a hundred years from now who inherit our economic and ecological blunders.

"Both books are concerned with growing authoritarianism in the world" said Claire Tomalin, Chairperson of the panel of judges, in announcing the awards at the Royal Overseas League at the end of November 1988. The judges, a pan-Commonwealth panel of eminent writers and academics, had, Ms Tomalin said, greatly enjoyed reading and discussing the short-listed regional winners for the Prize, and had been much impressed with their quality. Each had "a kernel of truth, personal vision and stimulating presentation." But they had little difficulty in choosing Dr. Iyayi's *Heroes* as the winner.

LANDSCAPE OF CIVIL WAR

Heroes tell its story through the eyes of a vulnerable and confused man travelling through the landscape of civil war. The book, Ms Tomalin said, "is cumulative in effect; it draws you into the man's mind with its tremendous battle scenes and ambivalent connections with soldiers and civilians." Yet, she added, "This wonderful terrifying book does not leave you in a state of despair, leading as it does to enhanced understanding of the world." It shows that—quoting Dr. Iyayi—"war changes the life of the fisherman, the fish and of the birds", but it also shows that "war is a great teacher and we are its pupils".

THE AUTHOR

Dr. Iyayi expressed astonishment when he was announced winner of the prize. "I can't believe it" he said, "I'm just overwhelmed". Dr. Iyayi, a 41-year old academic who comes from a poor farming family in southern Nigeria, studied at Kiev University in the Soviet Union and obtained a Ph.D in economics from Bradford in England. *Heroes* is his third novel. His first *Violence* (published in 1979 by Heinemman) attacks corruption and exploitation. *The Contract* (published in 1982) deals with one individual's futile struggle against evil. *Heroes* has also won the Association of Nigerian Authors' Prose Prize for 1987.

THE WINNING TEAMS

The Commonwealth Writers Prize, now two years old, rewards not only the overall winners. In addition to the top prize of $10,000 and runner-up prize of $1,000, there are awards of $500 for each of the regional winners. *(Continued overleaf)*

(Contd) NEW DOORS FOR NEW ASPIRATIONS

lent, wherein people are treated as people and not just as mere numbers.

But greed cannot be defined or controlled. For that, we need to develop our national character, which has all but gone. The focus is always on some architects; and the sadness is that even members of the same profession do not bide by each other to support any dictums or principles.

The solution to the problems is focussed when the writer talks about the "socialism" prevalent in our society. The crucial chapter 7 points out the pitfalls of our Land Acquisition Act and opens out a new dimension of thought through a new civic structure which generates employment. There is a tremendous advantage in our cities; but they do need to be planned consciously and geared towards the growth of population.

The book ends with the various avenues open to us and the description of the basic theories of the universe *vis a vis* planning in Vedic times.

The key lies there. It seems that we have drifted away from the base where we come from—earth. As soon as man gets divorced from nature and forgets this reality, the problems arise.

"Architecture is not just a reinforcement of existing values—social, political, economic. On the contra-ry, it should open new doors to new aspirations." Mr. Correa has defined architecture for us. New aspiration means courage to battle that terrible mass of humanity that always opposes it.

We, in the Third World, have always had balanced eco-systems; but we seem to be swimming miles away. The book has come out at the right moment and with the right attitude; but do we have the courage to follow and accept the vision it provides?

Dynamic, ever changing, is life; and architecture provides the momentum for change. We need to pick up the threads of identity that we possessed in our ancestral times and relate it to urbanisation. Somewhere, at some time, we have come out of context. Mr Correa has summed up the malady and the cure in a book that needs not only to be read, but digested and then implemented seriously, for it has both foresight and an answer in its ideas and suggestions.

Ms. Shefali Pathak is a landscape architect with Jaykay's industrial complex in Kota (Rajasthan).

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(*Contd.*)

'HEROES' WIN COMMONWEALTH PRIZE

From books published (in English) in the year before the Prize is awarded and submitted by their publishers, regional judges select two, which are then entered for the overall prize. For the purpose of the prize, the Commonwealth is divided into four regions: Africa, Caribbean and Canada, Eurasia, and Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

In 1988, winners from Africa were **Dr. Iyayi** and Zimbabwe's **Charles Mungoshi** for *The Setting Sun and the Rolling World* From the Caribbean and Canada were **Jack Hodgins** *(The Honorary Patron)* and **Eric McCormack** *(Inspecting the Vaults*) both from Canada. Two British writers, **Bruce Chatwin** (*The Songlines*) and **Jeanette Winterson** (*The Passion*), led the Eurasia region, while Southeast Asia was represented by **George Turner** and from New Zealand, **Stevan Etdred-Grigg** for *Oracles and Miracles.*

The pan-Commonwealth panel, chaired by writer and critic Claire Tomalin, included the four regional chairpersons, along with novelists Maureen Duffy and Penelope Fitzgerald, Professor Anna Rutherford of the Association of Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, and Director of the Commonwealth Foundation, 'Inoke Faletau.

STIMULATING C'WEALTH LITERATURE

The Commonwealth Writers' Prize was launched in 1987; its first winner was **Olive Senior** from Jamaica for her collection of short stories, *Summer Lightning.*

The prize aims to stimulate Commonwealth literary tradition; it rewards the authors of works of great literary merit and promotes the reading and enjoyment of these books beyond the home countries of the writers. For this reason, it was decided to restrict the prize to works written in English, the Commonwealth's common language. It is limited to works of fiction—novels, plays and short stories.

The Commonwealth Writers' Prize was established by the Commonwealth Foundation, in association with the Royal Overseas League at their meeting at Vancouver in 1987. Heads of Government commended the Foundation for setting up this importaut award.

[Reprinted from the *Commonwealth Currents, Februarv 1989* by the kind courtesy of the Editorial /Management Board. —*Eds*]

POETS' CORNER

Two Poems *by* **Ghanshiam Sharma**

THE CULT OF THE NIGHT

At night they come—
hurrying, hunting, searching—
with faces muffled and masked,
busts wrapped in blankets,
fingers firm on the triggers
of scarcely visible guns.

At once an ominous silence
descends on the streets.
Paralyzed hands fail to take
the broken bits of bread
to the half-open mouths.
Prayers of benumbed hearts
refuse to reach the lips.
Shocked and stunned, people
wait for the inevitable.

Suddenly, the guns go off,
are followed by shrieks
of pain, anguish and death.
Roofs burst into flames
and burn themselves out
with bodies burnt and charged.
No one comes out
until the morning sun
shines clear and bright
on the agony of the night.

Who are they
these votaries of blood ?
Mythical monsters of night
appeasing some sinister god
with arson and blood ?
Ghost crabs in human forms
threatening the human world ?
And where are the prophets
of love, wisdom and faith ?
Everyone asks everyone else,
but answer comes from none.
The dance of death goes on.

A HOPELESS PROPOSITION

I have already said
what I wished to say;
so have you, my friend.
I know what you mean.

But people still believe,
that love does not alter,
that love such as ours
remains above convenience.

For their sake at least
let us, somehow, go on
with what has now become
a cumbersome relation.

Ghanshiam Sharma *is Reader in Fnglish, at the Guru Nanak Dev University Regional Centre, Jalandhar (Punjab).*

POETS' CORNER

A Poem *by* **Niranjan Mohanty**

GOD

I know not god.
I know not his whims.
Yet when I chisel words,
polish a metaphor
or strain my eyes over the thoughts
of my unfinished poem,
I feel I'm nearing someone
who would weave wings
for my words to make them roost
on the boughs of a strange lightning
in a seasonless morning.

Niranjan Mohanty *heads the Deptt. of English, Aska Science College, Aska, Orissa.*

★ **We regret the delay in printing and despatch of this and subsequent issues.** —*Editors'* ★

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A VIVEK TRUST JOURNAL
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Exec. Editor : Subodh Bhushan Gupta

Indian Book Chronicle

Vol. XIV No. 6 June 1989

UNITY OF ALL THINGS . . .

T. S. Maxwell t VISVARUPA
Oxford University Press, Delhi (1988) pp. xvi, 303, plate 70, Rs. 225/-

Reviewed by G.C. Pande

Prof. Maxwell is an art-historian of repute, and the present work is based on his doctoral thesis at Oxford. He discusses and identifies a number of selected images from the **Kusana period** to the **post-Gupta** Age, in which he discovers the plastic representation of cosmographic ideas.

'*Visvarupa*' is well known from the eleventh chapter of the *Gita* as the name for the cosmic form of God—God as the multiform unity of all things involved in time. Maxwell argues that this idea of God as *Visvarupa* was held by the Vaisnavas as well as the Saivas. Indeed he seems to believe that there was a definite cult of *Visvarupa* in ancient times. If so, it would cut across the division between the Vaishnavas and the Saivas.

IMAGES OF COSMOGONIC IDEAS — PERSONIFIED DEITIES

According to the author, the first experiments in fashioning multiple images to illustrate cosmogonic ideas, *Pancaratra-Bhagavata*, as well as *Pasupata Saiva*, were undertaken in Kusana times. The sculptured pillar from Nand is analysed in great detail and, contrary to earlier identification, it is explained to be the representation of *Visakha-Yupa* as described in the *Sattvata-samhita*. A sculpture from Musanagar is similarly analysed to prove that it illustrates the four-aspected Siva. Several *linga* pentads illustrate the same idea. *Pancratara* view of creation was in terms of successive emanations called *Vyuhas*, while the Saiva view regarded different cosmic elements as the manifestations of Siva.

These experimental representations of "Cosmogonic systems of considerable intricacy and subtlety" employed visual symbolism at several levels. "Iconographic symbols . . . identified individual deities as personifications of evolutionary movements or states in the Creation. A polarization of or intimate connection between anatomy and symbolic object, or between one figure and another, was established. . . But above all there was the multiform image itself."

THE GUPTA & POST-GUPTA PERIODS

The artists of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods were reluctant to develop the multiple and multi-headed anthropomorphic icon types created in the Kusana period. Among continuations of such types, the author lists Brahma, the so-called '*Vaikuntha*' type of Visnu images, and a type of Visnu which he terms *Visvarupa*. The author justly criticises the generally accepted identification of the *Vaikuntha* type. He is right in attributing this type to the attempt to integrate the cult of *Nrsimha* and *Varaha* with the *Bhagavata* cult in terms of the theory of incarnation, which was then replacing the older *Vyuha* theory. The identification of the *Visvarupa* type is interesting, though somewhat speculative.

The identification of a sculpture from Samalaji as the *Visvarupa* of Vishnu and of the colossal sculpture at Parel with Siva as Time, is done with admirable acumen and learning. Similar is the identification and commentary on the Deogarh Visnu as *Visvarupa*.

A NEW APPRECIATION OF INDIAN SCULPTURE

In her Foreword to the book, Stella Kramrisch has rightly stated that, "*Visvarupa* has created the frame and foundation of a new understanding of sculpture in its most creative centuries". Prof Maxwell has succeeded in this by joining to his patient study of sculptures a thorough research into their background of ideas. While some of the detailed identifications may be questioned as speculative, there is no doubt that the author has followed a rewarding method. Behind the immediacy of sculptures, he is able to discover structural forms which connect with mythical archetypes and cosmological ideas. That this is not an arbitrary or speculative procedure is clearly established by the fact that ancient thought itself symbolized the deity as the centre of a cosmogonic system in terms of geometrical diagrams called *Yantras*. Prof. Maxwell's exercise in seeking to discover such an abstract basis for the Parel Heptad is an excellent example of what such a formalizing procedure can achieve.

The approaches to art history are as varied as the conceptions of art and history. There is indeed an inherent duality in art itself. It serves not only a characteristic and unique value of its own, but aslo represents values belonging to some social tradition. What it represents has an indefinable relation to what it ultimately intends. A religious image, thus, is the bearer of much ideational and emotional significance. Inasmuch as it uses the techniques of plastic representation and seeks to touch the heart and soul of the spectator, it functions as an art object. But it does not do so merely by virtue of its sensuous form, but rather by virtue of that form insofar as it is instinct with significance. It is not a case of merely 'appearing to be significant', although that would be true if one were to distinguish an imponderable from a defined significance.

It is all too easy to forget the specific and detailed significance of an image and react only to its sensuous appearance in an untutored immediacy, or judge it

(Continued below col. 2 on page 125)

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B Kojo Laing : SEARCH SWEET COUNTRY

Picador : £ 3.95

Introduced by Jaidev

This first novel by Ghanaian poet Laing is a miracle. It beggars description, defies explanation. Its sweep is epical; its mode is carnivalesque; its humanity is overwhelming; and its prose is simply dazzling. It seeks comparison with the achievements of the very greatest in fiction—Rabelais, Dickens, Joyce. Its nearest kin is *Ulysses*, although it rightly avoids Joyce's technical extremities. *Search Sweet Country* almost forces one to commit the ultimate blasphemy : it is perhaps better than *Ulysses*. In any case, there is no doubt that for most Third World readers, it is bound to strike as far more relevant.

VIGNETTES OF A MICROCOSM

Search Sweet Country lacks a normal protagonist; but has a number of triumphantly alive Accra citizens for its 'fleeting protagonists,' each realized with wonderful economy and infinite compassion. These fleeting protagonists appear in vignettes and together constitute a microcosm of the entire Ghanaian society. Idiots, both human and divine, clowns, academics, politicians, philosophers, sociologists, military and police personnel, prostitutes, bureaucrats, farmers, priests, traders, vendors, parasites, drunkards—well, here is God's plenty; and it also includes witches and spirits, animals and trees.

Accra is not just a city, but a live 'presence' which wears a cap if somebody drops it, where the mother earth feels fulfilled as streets and roads grow on its bosom, but it does not relish people spitting on or mutilating it. Like the citizens who carry the burden of their ancestors, Accra too carries many centuries on its back. The city's most recent burden is the Supreme Military Council (1975-1979) and it is a bad burden, for the Council's role ranges from downright idiotic to down-right unscrupulous : " . . . the people had been assured that the rain would be banned by decree, if it came to a matter of floods."

A BITTERNESS IN THE SEARCH FOR CHANGE

The only bitter moments in the novel relate to the military rule, and the only truly horrible character is Dr. Boadi, an academic turned collaborator who is an expert in "ironing out the moral creases." He values consensus, provided he is holding the reins. He secretly imports British race-horses to start a race course in Accra, for progress and race course go together. But the horses are justified in the name of agriculture : " . . . there was some merit in having horses for agriculture especially with the growing misuse of machines in the country — and . . . if a few were race horses, then you would obviously have faster farms." The British horses do not survive, and it is a tribute to Ghana's innate resilience that it discards all indiscriminate imports, whether ideological or agricultural.

A Great "Third

Dr Boadi's fast changes are cynical, but they are part of what is essentially a spectacular composition on the theme of change. Everyone in the book is engaged in a search, either private or social. Behind each search is a desire for purposeful, meaningful change. Beni Baidoo, the town idiot, is in search of appropriate land, villagers, animals etc. for his village of love His fantasy is crazy, but it is a harmless counterpoint to the degenerate fantasies of politicians like Dr. Boadi. Another variation on change is introduced through Adwoa Adde, a simple, blessed woman, who is possessed by an ancestor and turned into a good witch; she floats over the city, observing the people, listening to their petitions for change, wishing to bring solace and happiness to them, but eventually failing, for the people do not really care for one another. If Ghana hasn't experienced good changes, it is because of people's failure to care for one another.

CHANGE & TRADITIONS

The problem of change is complex. because it involves careful and sensible decisions regarding traditions and continuities on the one hand and pace on the other. An over-zealous Methodist priest called Osofo seems to succeed well because he incorporates in his worship several tribal features. Still, his mania for speed undoes him. His bishop accepts Osofo's zeal, though somewhat sceptically : "God is a man of many cars. Some are big and fast, and others like me are slow and deliberate." But the slow congregation mock at Osofo : "After all, we've got to make things easier for God. If we move too fast, we may run past Him, and He takes His afternoon sleep, after all His work is hard enough already."

At the more important social level, the novel introduces several characters who are sincere and tormented by the problem of change.

A far better person than Dr. Boadi, Dr. Sackey, a professor of sociology, lectures to a young British researcher on the Ghanaian psyche. This psyche knows no distinction between the inner and outer, the natural and the supernatural. It excludes nothing, but its unified perception makes it inimical to change and work-ethic. Having been exposed to western materialism and rationalism, it frequently finds itself in confusion, because it misapplies Western norms to native experiences and *vice versa* : "There is a relaxation and a festival spirit just when there should be a work-ethic spirit, and the ease and stupor is wrongly justified as 'true' to one's own culture, and left at that ridiculous junction of authenticity !"

Professor Sackey wants dynamism, fast change, even at the risk of chopping off the past. A disjunction from the past will 'halve' people, but it will open the gates for progress and change. He has no patience with traditionalism because it has often been used by the ruling groups for justifying their private greed as

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World" Novel

well as inefficiency : "But seriously, how many would choose a soul rather than a Benz, if given the choice ? The god of your shrine asks you : would you, Owura so-and-so, like a perfect soul or a brand new, super-dupe Mercedes Benz 450 automatic ?"

BASIC RHYTHMS OF A LIVING PAST

Sackey sounds convincing, but actually his perspective is urban, educated, too logical for Ghana. It gets seriously qualified by another, offered by a fantastic farmer named 1/2 Allotey. He fights a bloody, night-long battle with the spirits of the past, emerges victorious, calls for change; but rejects the idea of "halving" as proposed by Dr. Sackey. He will not abandon the past with its totems and rituals, for it is very much there as part of his being : "And in spite of over five hundred years of association with foreigners, we have been very stubborn; we have kept our basic rhythms, we know our languages and have assimilated so much into them. . . I don't accept that we are still slaves of our own history ! Do you really think our traditional ways were so weak that they could have been so easily swept aside ? They were too strong ! And we still want to keep an integrity of the past that so many have shed ! I, Allotey, want to make my changes *now*, and on what is *still* lived in the villages and towns." Allotey's perspective seems no less sane than Sackey's, but Allotey virtually goes mad, because he wants the change *now*.

Much parody and irony accompany each perspective on change, and the result is self-subversion. Still, irony is a means here of saving the novel from turning into a sociological tract. Perhaps it is also a means of acknowledging how complex the issue of change really is. However, the issue establishes the relevance of the novel for the entire Third World.

A DOMESTICATED PHILOSOPHER : ROOTS ARE IMPORTANT

The most acceptable version of change gets postulated through an old man called Erzuah who is shown changing from a reckless drunkard into a domesticated philosopher through his concern for his son and grandson. He looks forward but also backward, and wants to keep intact his links with existence and the past, but at the same time, he wants to keep the passage open for external influences—and this means hard work : "Even some taboos must stay, or at least their spirit must stay, not necessarily each real one. Then we must continue to modernise faster. Change everything except the roots that do the changing. And in change we must look both backwards and forwards." The roots are important, they ensure life, growth, vitality.

NATIVE RHYTHMS IN STYLE & IDIOM

Although self-consciousness is evident everywhere in the novel, its style throbs with true Ghanaian rhythms. The style is a mirror to that psyche which recognizes no dichotomy. Thus, two persons eating, eat different thoughts. A young man inherits his father's spiritual weight, which is at once revealed to be two kilograms. 1/2 Allotey raises the price of his vegetables because the cost of walking has gone up and each mile has lengthened under the military rule. Another character leaves a room, but his laughter gets pressed between the closing doors. "His laughter was part of his shirt." "I know everybody in Accra except dignity." "And the sun rose from the prison-yard after thirty minutes of custody." "Fatima bumped into him so that his thoughts fell down with her groundnuts."

There are no precedents for such an idiom in Western fiction. Laing's style keeps the novel firmly rooted in the life and language of Ghana. Many Indian novelists in English, one feels, could benefit by this Ghanaian novel in English.

Search Sweet Country will also be cherished for its wild Rabelaisian comedy. Occasionally ribald, the comedy is always true to the spirit of Ghana. Just one example will do. Dr Pinn is a white researcher and has a black wife. His car is stopped at a check-post while he is bringing a collection of non-poisonous snakes. At the check-post, a worthy descendent of Dogberry shows off his military authority through his overtly self-conscious English. The corporal astounds Dr Pinn by accusing him of travelling incognito and then adds : " . . . and if that is your wife sitting beside you, she may be travelling incognita " Dr Pinn's confusion at 'incognita' confirms the corporal's suspicion that since the white incognito does not know English, he may not even be a white man. He orders him washed and scraped with hard soap. Dr. Pinn is allowed the benefit of doubt only if he can explain the difference between intoxication and inebriation !

A book to be read and cherished again and again, *Search Sweet Country* may well prove to be one of the greatest novels of our century.

Prof Jaidev of the Deptt. of English, H.P University, Simla is now a Fellow at the Indian Institute for Advanced Studies, Simla-171 005

Continued from page 123 **UNITY OF ALL THINGS ...**

merely by formal technical criteria drawn from the practice of some plastic art with which one sympathizes by virtue of early association or belonging. Prof. Maxwell's method is a corrective to such superficial approaches

Traditional Indian art has an essentially meditational basis and remains steeped in symbolic, mythical and folk forms. Prof. Maxwell's researches throw welcome light not only on some of its obscure examples, but also blaze a trail for others to follow.

Dr. G.C. Pande, scholar historian, and former Vice-Chancellor, University of Rajasthan, is now based in Allahabad.

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THE SINO - INDIAN TERRITORIAL DISPUTE

John Lall : AKSAI CHIN AND SINO-INDIAN CONFLICT

Allied, New Delhi (1988) Pp. 356, Price Rs 150/-

Comments by Satindra Singh

India and China have decided to set up a joint working group to resolve the territorial dispute between the two countries within a "time frame". Most Indians, however, continue to be ignorant about the nature and extent of our "legitimate claim". And yet they feel that our country's claim over the "white desert" of Aksai Chin in the north-west is water-tight and that the McMahon Line drawn in the north-east at the Simla Conference between the representatives of India, Tibet and China in 1914 is sacrosact. Chinese, on the other hand, are equally certain that Aksai Chin is theirs by tradition and usage, while the McMahon Line was never recognised by them.

Because of these diametrically opposed positions, there was not onl a short war between India and China in the fall of 1962, but the 10 rounds of official level talks since 1983 have also failed to make any headway. (Two rounds of these talks were held on the eve of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing in December last, in a desperate attempt to announce something spectacular about the thorny issue at the end of his visit. [*This comment was received in February, 1989—Editors*]

A RADICAL NEW PERSPECTIVE

As was to be expected, the prolonged stalemate over the territorial problem has injected emotional overtones into it. Now when the two Asian Giants have decided to make yet another effort to resolve the highly sensitive problem, John Lall, a highly rated former Indian civil servant, has published a book, *Aksai Chin and Sino-Indian Conflict*. In an eminently readable form Lall describes the topography of the disputed territories, the various moves and counter-moves by the British and the Russians in the last century to usurp them for strategic reasons, with a comparatively weak China maintaining a studied and sullen silence over these imperialist designs. Throughout his treatment of the highly emotive subject, Lall is objective, precise and logical, without even a faint trait of chauvinism. The reproduction of maps and appendices, texts of various treaties and historical documents facilitates understanding of the bequeathed historical legacy, about which most Indians have only a very vague idea

Lall has painstakingly culled out his material from the generally unpublished and unpublicised archival records in the India Office Library, the Public Records Office in London and the National Archives of India, New Delhi. He has put the India–China territorial dispute in a radically new perspective. While neither India, nor China have absolute right over the whole of Aksai Chin, in the north east India's insistence on the validity of the McMahon Line cannot be doubted, much less challenged.

AKSAI CHIN

According to Lall, although Aksai Chin has no "jurisdictional" boundary, it does not lack in physical features to serve as one. It was because of this realisation that the British had proposed to the Chinese Government in 1899, to accept the Laktsang Range as the international boundary between China and Tibet. The Chinese, as usual, never replied, either formally or informally. But the very fact that the Chinese did not object to the proposed boundary for over half a century cannot but be construed as their tacit approval of the proposal.

Similarly, Indian position that they had inherited traditional boundaries defined by the British, commits them to the boundary suggested by the British to the Chinese Government on 14 March, 1899. In sum, the author observes, the People's Republic of China has no more right to its present "line of actual control", undefined as it is, than the Republic of India has to the Kuenlun line, which till 1899 had "been shown on our maps as the eastern boundary of Ladakh".

NORTH-EASTERN SECTOR

The territorial dispute between the two countries on the north-eastern sector of India is much less complicated. The boundary between India and Tibet was agreed to at the *tripartite* Simla Conference in consultation with and approval of the Chinese plenipotentiary. He even initialled the draft agreement, but withheld his signature on the plea that his government's prior approval was obligatory on him before appending it to the historic document.

... & DIVISION OF TIBET

But the real reason for withholding his signature was his disapproval of the division of Tibet into "Outer" Tibet and "Inner" Tibet on the lines of Mongolia's division. While the "Outer" Tibet was to be under the hegemony of China, the "Inner" was to enjoy full-fledged autonomy. This division, according to the Chinese plenipotentiary, denied China's age-old sovereign right over entire Tibet. He had, thus, no objection to the McMahon Line, which was to demarcate the Indo–Tibetan boundary in the north-east of India, but only to Tibet's division into "Outer" and "Inner" regions.

PACKAGE DFAL

Because of the realisation that its repudiation of the McMahon Line is not well-founded, Beijing has repeatedly offered since mid–1980, what it chooses to call a "package deal" to New Delhi. Under the proposed "deal", it has offered to accept the validity of the McMahon Line as the boundary between the two

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— A WAY OUT ?

countries in return for India's recognition of the whole of Aksai Chin as the Chinese territory.

The proposed "deal" certainly has some merits, both short-term and long-term. For instance, its acceptance will not only help India restore normalcy in the trouble-torn States of Tripura and Mizoram, but it would also mean recognition by the Chinese of Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh as integral parts of India.

TIBET'S AUTONOMY

Moreover, it will enable India to extricate itself from the morass in which Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajiv Gandhi have wittingly or unwittingly landed it by conceding Tibet as "an autonomous region of the People's Republic of China". By doing so, they conferred on China by proxy the oft-repeated Tibetan claim over these territories.

Jawaharlal Nehru could at least say in his defence that he had done so because of the far from clear international status of Tibet, as also to preserve peace in the region during the cold war which was all the time threatening to turn "hot". But Rajiv Gandhi cannot offer any of these *alibis* in defence of his reiteration of this "*mantra*" radically changed in the intervening years.

The Chinese are no more in command of that land-locked idyllic country. They have been facing such a fierce and determined Tibetan revolt that even their tried and tested ally, the Panchan Lama (who died recently) was constrained to come out against the Chinese economic misdeeds or administrative excesses. Moreover, international pressure has been building up, of late, in favour of the Tibetan independence.

TOWARDS A RAPPROCHEMENT

John Lall has strongly pleaded for an India-China rapprochement. He writes : "The war of 1962 settled nothing. The Chinese gained territory they wanted in the north-west, without the Indians abandoning their claim to it. In the east, they withdrew from the territory they over-ran, without abandoning *their* claim to it".

He is against perpetuation of the present *status quo* as recommended by some political analysts and commentators, because it would "leave India with a deeply felt sense of loss in the north-west coupled with concern arising from the reasserted Chinese claim to the old territory of NEFA (now Arunachal Pradesh) in the east. In any case, the *status quo* is not a known and determined position. It is no more than two lines for each country, the *ones* in the north-west being a good deal more approximate than the ones in the east. Two lines of actual control that are separated from one another are liable to be changed unilaterally unless an agreed boundary is negotiated".

For a negotiated settlement, Lall favours division of Aksai Chin on the lines suggested by the British to the Chinese in 1899, the portion known as Lingzithang coming to India and the rest, north-east of the Lakstang Range, the only clear line of demarcation, going to China. Such a division, the author believes, "will adequately meet the essential needs of both the countries" and "close episodes that have torn neighbours apart".

Though Lall is no more in government service, his book seems to reflect the current "official" thinking on the Sino-India conflict for three reasons. One is the timing of the publication of the book which coincided with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December last. Secondly, the grant of a two-year senior research fellowship to the author by the cautious, conservative and government - subsidised Indian Council for Historical Research for such a bold and controversial subject. Lastly, the cool manner in which Lall's book and his suggestions have been received in official circles in contrast to the hot reception accorded to Neville Maxwell for saying and suggesting almost the same thing in his *India's China War* in 1970. Maxwell was not only reviled with chauvinistic fervour, but also strenuous efforts were made to get the book banned in this country. But my "suspicion" does not in any way belittle the merits of Lall's book which is well-researched, well-documented, well-written, well-argued and, what is more, it is well-printed, a rare feat in this country.

Satindra Singh is a veteran journalist and freelance columnist based in New Delhi. [*We regret that this topical piece has been somewhat delayed. The publisher has also not favoured IBC with a review copy of the book.* —*Eds.*]

SOME BOOKS OF TOPICAL INTEREST

by M.D. Dharamdasani

Indian Diplomacy in Nepal		Rs. 50.00
Electoral Politics in South Asia		Rs. 175.00
Cooperation Among South Asian Nations		Rs. 200.00
Dynamics of Foreign Aid in South Asia		Rs. 175.00
Politics in Contemporary South Asia		Rs. 200.00
Sri Lanka : An Island in Crisis		Rs. 200.00
International Politics (in Hindi)	*P.B.*	Rs. 30.00
	H.B.	80.00
Politics and Economy of the Himalayan Kingdoms		(Forthcoming)

SHALIMAR PUBLISHING HOUSE
27, Prafulla Nagar, Lanka,
Varanasi-221 005

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HASMUKH DHIRAJLAL SANKALIA (1908–1989)

A Tribute by V. N. Mishra

The passing away of Professor H D. Sankalia on 28 January, 1989 marks theend of a long and glorious era in Indian archaelogy.

Sankalia was born on December 10, 1908 in a middle class Gujarati family in Bombay. From his birth, he had a weak constitution, and remained thin and frail all through his life. But he overcame this handicap by sheer will power and strict discipline in his daily routine. Until his retirement from service in 1973, every year, he spent several months doing field work in some part of the country or other, and set an example to his colleagues and students by his hard work in the field. He would walk for many kilometres during explorations at a pace which younger and healthier people found difficut to follow.

DISCOVERING HIS MISSION OF LIFE

Sankalia was a blessed man in that very early in his life, he found his vocation, and he set out to fulfill it with a missionary zeal. He developed an interest in history from his childhood, from the stories of the *Puranas* and the Epics told to him by his parents. Around the age of sixteen, he happened to read Lokmanya Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas.* This book had such an impact on him that he decided to pursue a career in ancient history; and to equip himself for this task, he decided to acquire a sound knowledge of Sanskrit. He passed his M.A. in history from Bombay University in 1934 by writing a thesis on the *University of Nalanda*, which was published as a book the same year. (A second and revised edition appeared in 1973.)

On the advice and encouragement of his teacher, Father Heras, Sankalia went to England for further studies. He worked for his Ph.D. on the *Archaeology of Gujarat* and got his degree from London University in 1936. The thesis was based on a study of the inscriptions, art and architecture of Gujarat. While in England, Sankalia took part in Mortimer Wheeler's excavations at the Roman site of Maiden Castle and learnt the techniques of exvacation.

IN DECCAN COLLEGE

In 1939, Sankalia was appointed as Professor of Proto and Ancient Indian History at the newly started Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute in Pune Here he found the right environment and facilities for research; and then decided to stay there for good. In later years, he got many offers for positions with better salaries from institutions outside Poona, but he never changed his original decision, nor ever regretted doing so. Long before he died, Sankalia and Deccan College had become synonymous in the eyes of the academic community.

While still in the service of the Deccan College, he built a house on the College campus so that he could continue his research work even after retirement. He lived in this house until his death. He gave away his entire collection of personal books to the Deccan College library.

HIS LIFE'S WORK : PRE-HISTORY

Soon after joining Deccan College, Sankalia started work in Prehistoric Archaeology. He had no formal instruction or practical training in this branch of archaelogy, and he taught himself the disicpline with the help of books and actual work in the field. Although he worked in every branch of archaeology, it is prehistory to which he devoted his maximum time and energy. and which he called his "life's work".

In 1941, he organised an expedition to Gujarat with the support of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the then Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India to follow up the almost forgotten work of Robert Bruce Foote, father of Indian prehistory, carried out more than half a century earlier.

Sankalia discovered many new *Palaeolithic* and *Mesolithic* sites during this expedition, the most important being the Mesolithic site of **Langhnaj** in Mehsana district. He carried out excavations at this site and discovered the first physical remains of stone age man here. The results of this work were published in the book, *Investigations into the Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat* in 1946. He carried out several more seasons of excavations at this site and published several papers on them. The consolidated results of these excavations were published in three volumes in 1965, under the title, *Excavations at Langhnaj 1944–1963 : Archaeology* by Sankalia himself, *Animal Remains* by J. Clutton-Brock and *Human Remains* by S. Ehrhardt and K.A.R. Kennedy.

During the thirty-five years of his service in the Deccan College, Sankalia conducted excavations and explorations in almost all parts of the country—from Gujarat to Assam and from Kashmir to Kerala, and brought out evidence of several stone age cultures. He published the results of these explorations and excavations in numerous articles and two other monographs : *Godavari Palaeolithic Industry* and *Mesoliihic and Pre-Mesolithic Industries from Sangankallu.*

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. . . PROTO HISTORY

Alongside his work in pre-history, Sankalia turned his attention to proto-history as well. In the forties, little was known of India's history between the stone age and the historical times proper, except for the Indus Civilization whose remains were then confined to north-west India (now Pakistan). In the early fifties, Sankalia excavated the site of **Jorwe** in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra and discovered a *Chalcolithic* culture there. This excavation provided the first evidence of a settled farming people in Maharashtra, and opened a new chapter in the archaeology of India. During next two decades, Sankalia carried out excavations at several *Chalcolithic* and *Neolithic* sites—**Nevasa** and **Inamgaon** in Maharashtra, **Maheshwar** and **Navdatoli** in Madhya Pradesh, **Ahar** in Rajasthan, and **Tekkalakota** and **Sangankallu** in Karnataka. These excavations threw a flood of light on the culture and society of the pioneering agricultural settlers in western India. Sankalia's work also encouraged other archaeologists to explore and excavate similar sites in different parts of the country. Thanks to his and other archaeologists' excavations, today we have a fairly clear picture of the continuous human occupation of different regions of western India from Rajasthan to Karnataka.

Sankalia promptly published the results of his excavations in the form of papers in Indian and foreign journals and as comprehensive reports.

OTHER WRITINGS

Besides doing and publishing original research, Sankalia also wrote several syntheses of Indian pre-history and proto-history in the form of articles and revised them periodically to bring them up-to-date. Among his major publications in this field are : *Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan* (1962, 1974), *Indian Archaeology Today* (1962, 1979) and *Pre-history of India* (1977). His *Pre-history and Proto-history of India and Pakistan* remains the most masterly and exhaustive survey of the subject to this day.

WORK IN SEVERAL FIELDS

Though Sankalia's major research interest all through his career remained pre-history and proto-history, he found time to pursue research in almost every branch of archaeology. He excavated the historical sites of **Kolhapur, Nasik, Nevasa, Dwarka** and **Tripuri**. He also retained his early interest in traditional historical archaeology, namely the study of art, iconography, architecture, numismatics, epigraphy and palaeography and wrote a large number of papers on subjects in these fields.

One of his main interests was the reconstruction of historical geography and cultural ethnography from the data available in the inscriptions. He applied this methodology to the inscriptions from Gujarat and used his study for the Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Lectures delivered in the University of Bombay in 1944. The lectures were later published as a book.

DATE OF RAMAYANA & SITE OF SRI LANKA

Yet another important field of Sankalia's research was a critical study of the *Ramayana* in the light of the internal evidence of the epic and available archaeological data. He came to the conclusion that the story of the epic could not have been composed before the early centuries of the Christian era, and that Ravana's Lanka could not have been the present-day island of Sri Lanka or Ceylon. Rather, the Lanka of *Ramayana* was located somewhere in the area comprised by the borders of Madhya Pradesh, Andhra and Orissa. He elaborated his ideas on the historicity of the *Ramayana* in several papers and two books, *Ramayana : Myth or Reality* ? (1973) and *Ramayana in a Historical Perspective* (1982). He came under severe criticism from orthodox Hindus for these unconvention-al views, but he held on to them steadfastly because of his intellectual convictions.

A TEACHER *PAR EXCELLENCE*

Apart from being a researcher of exceptional dedication and versatility, Sankalia was a teacher *par excellence*. He loved teaching both inside and outside the class-room. Nearly fifty students from different parts of India and even abroad got their Ph.D. degree under his supervision. Many of them have occupied or are still occupying important positions in the universities and other archaeological institutions and have contributed substantially to the unravelling of India's past. Indeed, Sankalia trained several generations of students; and Indian archaeology, as it is today, has largely been shaped by him. Sharing his knowledge with students and others was a passion with Sankalia, and he was able to inculcate in his students a spirit of enquiry, love for knowledge and a sense of commitment and dedication. As soon as he read a new book or article, Sankalia would bring it to the notice of his students so that they could use it for their own researches and remain up-ta-date.

. . . & A POPULAR WRITER

Sankalia did not treat archaeological knowledge as a cloistered preserve of the professionals and the elite. He strongly believed that since archaeological activity was carried out with public money, the masses had a right to the knowledge generated by this research. To this end, he wrote copiously in newspapers and popular magazines, and published a number of booklets in a simple language in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati on his research findings. He also organised exhibitions at his excavations so that the masses could know the history of their region. He was strongly critical of the archaeologists who did not care to share their findings with the common people. Because of his popular writings, Sankalia became a household name all over the country, and in the popular mind he came to be identified with archaeology.

Throughout his life, Sankalia remained a student at heart. He had an unsatiable hunger for knowledge. He kept himself abreast of all new developments in archaeology. Much before the rest of the archaeological community realized the importance of ethno-

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archaeology (the study of living simple societies for reconstructing the past). As early as 1962, Sankalia asked one of his students to do a thesis on ethno-archaeology; and soon after made a provision for the regular teaching of this branch at the M.A. level. Similarly, when in the early sixties, New Archaeology movement started in the West, Sankalia immediately grasped its importance and chose *New Archaeology and its Application to India* as the subject for his D N. Majumdar Memorial Lectures in 1974. The lectures were published as a book in 1977. Again, he realized quite early the importance of rock art in pre-history and encouraged one of his students to take up its study for his doctoral thesis. He himself chose Pre-historic Art for his second Father Heras Memorial Lectures in 1974.

A CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Apart from his monumental research work and publications, Sankalia's lasting contribution to archaeology is the development of the Department of Archaeology at the Deccan College. Starting from scratch in 1939, he developed it into a premier research institution by the time he retired in 1973. Step by step, he created teaching posts in different branches and technical posts for drawing, survey, photography, modelling etc. He fully realized the need for expertise in physical and biological sciences for the study of varied archaeological materials and all-round training of young archaeologists. To this end, he created teaching and research posts in archaeological chemistry, geology, geomorphology, palaeontology and palaeobotany, and laboratory facilities in these fields. He also built a fine museum in the department, based mainly on finds from the excavations and explorations conducted by him, his colleagues and students. The U.G C. has been giving generous grants to the department, and has accorded it the status, first as a Department of Special Assistance and later as a Centre of Advanced Study.

No other archaeological centre in South Asia today has such specialised staff and facilities or enjoys such high reputation as Deccan College. That Sankalia's colleagues and students have maintained the dynamism and high standard of research he set, is a tribute to the spirit of research he was able to inculcate among them.

A SIMPLE MAN OF WORLD FAME

As a human being, Sankalia was exceptionally simple, unassuming and honest. Every one, irrespective of his or her status, had easy access to him in his office or at home. He took keen personal interest in the welfare of his students and employees of the Institute. During his daily morning walks in the large campus of the Institute, the inmates would approach him with their problems and he would direct the concerned official of the Institute to attend to these immediately. He had great respect for the dignity of labour and did not consider any work inferior. He strongly disapproved of any wastage, and was very particular about the economic and proper use of both public and personal money.

Fame and status did not in the least affect Sankalia's intrinsic humility and simplicity. He avoided being nominated on government committees as he treated them as a distraction to his research work. But, recognition and honours from academic institutions, government and the public came to him in abundance.

He was invited to lecture by numerous universities in India and abroad. The prestigious lectures delivered by him include : Thakkar Vassonji Madhavji Memorial Lectures (University of Bombay, 1944,1965), Bhagwanlal Indraji Memorial Lectures (University of Bombay, 1960), Father Heras Memorial Lectures (St. Xavier's College, Bombay, 1960, 1974), Rao Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha Memorial Lectures (Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, Udaipur, 1969), and D.N. Majumdar Memorial Lectures (Ethnographic Folk Culture Society,Lucknow, 1974).

He was awarded Bhagwanlal Indraji Prize for his M.A. thesis on the *University of Nalanda* in 1933, Silver Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay in 1944, Gold Medal of the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad in 1967, Dadabhoy Naoroji Prize in 1968, Chakrabarty Silver Medal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1972, Robert Bruce Foote Plaque of the Anthropology Department of Calcutta University in 1974, Hari Om Trust Prize of South Gujarat University, Surat in 1975, Campbell Memorial Gold Medal of Asiatic Society of Bombay in 1977, Vishwa Gurjari Award of Ahmedabad in 1981, and Explorer's Medal of the Explorer's Club, New York, U.S.A. in 1984.

He was conferred Honorary Fellowship of several prestigious academic societies and institutions including the Indian Archaeological Society, Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association, and the British Academy. He was Honorary Tagore Professor of Indian History and Culture at the M.S. University of Baroda from 1960.

The President of India conferred on him the title of *Padma Bhushan* in 1974 in recognition of his important contribution to archaeological studies.

Sankalia formally retired from the Deccan College in 1973. The authorities of the College made him Professor Emeritus in recognition of his personal contribution to the development of the College. The only difference retirement made to Sankalia was that he stopped doing field work. But there was no change as far as research as such was concerned. He continued to read and write until almost the last day of his life. His death came because of old age and weakness and not due to any illness. He was widely mourned in the country and abroad.

Even though physically he is no more. Sankalia's name and memory will live for ever in the form of his monumental work and the Deccan College that he contributed so much to build as a great centre of learning.

Dr. V.N. Misra, is Joint Director, Deccan College, Pune-411 005. [*This piece has been in response to our special request.—Eds.*]

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POLITICS AT THE GRASSROOTS (A STUDY FROM ANDHRA PRADESH)

Marguerite S. Robinson

LOCAL POLITICS : The Law of the Fishes

Development through Political Change in Medak District, Andhra Pradesh (South India)

Oxford University Press, Delhi. (1988) pp. xv+345: price Rs. 190/-

Review by K. Srinivasulu

The complexity of Indian politics is such that it defies generalisations. So also is its economic structure characterised by the preponderance of agrarian component. In the midst of proverty, survives an island of prosperity. Despite the glaringly incompatible contrast that is characteristic of Indian social reality, the democratic institutions continue to survive. Indeed it is the existence of the incompatibles—political equality and rule of law on the one hand, and blatant socio-economic inequality, governed by the caste system and justified by tradition whose chief component is religion, on the other—that have caught the fancy of many a foreign scholar.

THE REALITY BENEATH THE 'ICEBERG'

There are many ways of coming to grips with this complex reality. The way one resolves to unravel the 'riddle' in it, depends on one's theoretical perspective, which in turn determines the questions one poses, the priorities one establishes and the explanation one seeks. Some satisfy themselves with the 'iceberg' that shows itself out. Those who are out to discover the "huge portion which is completely hidden (beneath the iceberg and) supports it" (*Prof. K. Seshadri quoted on p. 19*) have to ask a wholly different set of questions and see the iceberg and the reality beneath it in its total perspective.

The book under review makes an attempt to grapple with this problematic in its microscopic manifestation. It is "a study of the dynamics of power in one small part of south India; in particular, it is about the ways in which poverty and political power have been mutually dependent during the past twenty five years" (*p. 1*). The village chosen for study is Mallannapalle of Medak district in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh State, which the author hopes would provide "an intriguing vantage point from which to view the larger Indian society." (*p. 17*).

EAST Vs. WEST

The crucial point of departure for the author to understand Indian society is the distinction between the Orient and Occident or East and West. The essential elements of Indian society, the author suggests, are the traditional concepts of mutual dependence, opposition and complementarity (which are drawn from Hindu thought) whereas the West is viewed as being governed by the Enlightenment ideals of 'equality, progress and technology.' The ruling elites of India, with their exposure to the western ideas, set to translate the ideals of the Enlightenment West into Indian reality. It is this attempt and the resultant process of change that is the subject of inquiry in this book.

THREE CRITICAL RELATIONSHIPS & CASTES

The key to an understanding of Indian society, the author points out, is the overlapping of caste hierarchy, agrarian system and local power structure, seen not as distinct items but in their dynamic interaction. The issues of land, labour and credit are here identified as the basis of three "critical relationships" in the rural microcosm between landowner and labourer, landowner and landowner, and landowner and merchant. The term 'landowner' here refers to any household "whose members do not work for others as agricultural labourers" (*p. 25*).

In Telangana area, while the major landowning caste is the Reddys, the bulk of the landless labour constitutes of Harijans, who are employed both in the capacity of daily-wage labourers and as farm-servants. The merchants in rural Telangana traditionally belonged the Komati caste. Thus, the three critical relationship referred to earlier are, in terms of caste, essentially relationships between Reddys and Harijans, Reddys and non-Reddy landowners and Reddys and Komatis.

Here, it may be noted that the author has consciously opted to avoid the deployment of the concept of 'class', for, in her opinion, "it may hinder analysis of the subtleties behind the glaring economic disparities critical to an understanding of the local stratification." (*p. 19 f*).

Needless to add that at the root of this viewpoint is an economistic notion of class. This sort of empirical identification of social relationhips may be helpful in describing the pattern of interaction in the village microcosm, but its analytical usefulness for the understanding of macrocosmic social reality is doubtful. Nevertheless, any analysis that takes caste as integral to rural India would be better than an economistic–reductionist interpretation, with caste thrown in as one of the many elements.

LANDOWNERS & LABOURERS

The above-mentioned "critical relationships" are crucial to the understanding of social interaction and rural power structure. The relationship between landowner and labourer is enforced through employment structure, the former's help to the latter to acquire land and debt-bondage. This relationship is crucial to the Reddy landowners' control over the labourers' votes. Added to this, the untouchable labourers are indispensable to the Reddy–dominated power structure. The latter are used as "strong men" to enforce obedience among the villagers and to provide force to deliver vote banks, since force is intrinsic to the rural power structure. "Physical force", according to the author, "was employed in Mallannapalle and Narsapur (*taluq*) primarily in four ways in the early 1970 : "as a sanction

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for insuring obedience; as an aid in acquiring control over land; as a means of establishing and maintaining economic and poiltical boycotts; and as an element in the delivery of vote banks". (*p. 40*)

In the case of second relationship, (i. e , between landowner and landowner) both small Reddy and non-Reddy landowners have to be customarily loyal to the Reddy land-owning leader. In any instance of disobedience from the fromer, the Reddy landlord would bring them round by resorting to measures like foreclosure of loans, destruction of crops and eviction from land, and in extreme cases, through beating.

The relationship between landowner and merchant, from village level upto taluq and district level, is one of mutual benefit. The former provides political patronage to the latter, and the latter makes loans to the former, especially during elections. Goodwill apart, this relationship survives also due to the m rchant's fear of being looted and beaten up by the landowner's henchmen.

Thus, crucial to the understanding of the rural power structure are the relatlonships based on land, labour, credit, caste and force.

THE KALEIDOSCOPE OF LOCAL POLITICS AND THE VOTE BANK

Against this background has to be seen the local politics of Mallannapalle in its relation to the taluq and district politics. They together, in their inter-connections, form the 'kaleidoscope' (*a la Prof. Seshadri*) of local politics, whose changing pattern is governed from time to time by the formation of factions and grouping and regrouping of alliances determined by the considerations of kinship relations, economic interests, inter-household rivalries and political ambitions of the elite. Here, the concept of 'vote banks' is crucial to the author's understanding of the dynamics of rural electoral politics till mid-1970s. Through a detailed empirical description of the political processes during the period between 1957–72 *(See Chapter IV and V)* the author tries to unravel the kaleidoscopic pattern in local politics based on the concept of 'vote bank',

There was a qualitative shift in the kaleidoscope in mid-1970s. This was a consequence of the accumulated changes that were occuring for a decade or so. According to the author, "By the mid-1970s, however, national economic policies and political strategies began to have critical and often unexpected effects on local political processes. Rural development in India has made some significant progress, reaching even Mallannapalle" (*p. 187*).

LAND REFORMS & POPULIST MEASURES

The three kinds of reforms that have been attempt -ed to be translated into practice were the land ceiling legislation, indebtedness relief and bonded labour rehabilitation. Though, in pracice, they were no gr success ("relatively little land has been reallocat under the land ceiling laws" *p. 189*); but the pro ganda given to them seems to have affected the popu expectations.

In the case of Mallannapalle, the above legislatio have brought about a perceptual change in the lan lords (whose major source of income was mon lending) towards money, lending, as "higher retur could be realised from moneylending than fro farming." (*p. 121*). The typical landlord response this can be captured from the following statement a Mallannapalle landlord :

> "I am no longer giving loans and the people these villages are in difficulty. They have no whe to go when they need money or grain . It is a the fault of the land ceiling. Why should I giv loans if I cannot take their lands on mortgage It is useless to give loans if you have to depend o the mercy of your debtor in order to recover th loan" (*p. 190*)

In addition to these reforms, the Emergency campaign against hoarding, blackmarketing and tax-evasion by the Congress Government seems to have deterred the landowner-merchant nexus in general, and disastrously affected certain section of the landowners (*See Chapter VI for details*). The rise of the populist image of Indira Gandhi as *Amma*, which is a culmination of the popaganda mileage drawn from the above-described measures. and the loan *melas* and sanction of house-sites to lower castes, has contributed to the decline of the traditional vote bank system, for, as the author suggests in the beginning, "a landlord without a regular labour supply or a money lender without mortgaged or bonded debtors, is also a man without a vote bank." *(p. 13)*

Thus, though the development process has neither contributed in any significant manner to the amelioration of the poor, nor can it be said to serve as an "answer to Indian poverty" (given its colossal nature), yet it definitely has led to the rise of expectations at the bottom, and the decline of vote banks in which the poor were organized by landed classes to serve their interests. In other words, with the decline of vote banks, the poor were left politically unorganized.

ANNA Vs. AMMA

The N. T. Rama Rao–led **Telugu Desam Party's** success at elections in 1983, within a year of its formation, has to be seen against this background. With the masses rendered volatile, the *Anna* (as NTR is referred to) with his cinema popularity and a populist image implicit in it, could pose an alternative to the *Amma* (Indira Gandhi). It is, perhaps, pertinent to note that the abolition of the posts of *patwaris* and *patels* (village

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officers), which had been useful for the electoral success of the Congress party, by the TDP Government, was done with an aim to uproot the Congress from its grassroots.

RISE OF A RURAL MIDDLE CLASS AMONG THE BACKWARD CASTES

Despite the perceptive understanding of the political process, what has been lost sight of in the present study is the rise and significance of a rural middle class belonging to the backward castes in the local politics. The important castes in this stratum are **Padmashali** (weavers), **Goundla** (toddy tappers) and **Gollas** (shepherds). It is these castes, given their numerical strengh and encouraged by their proximity with other depressed castes, despite the limited resources at their disposal, who have begun to assert themselves. As a recognition of this change in the rural structure, the TDP Government has restructured the *Panchayati Raj* system by creating more *Mandal Panchayats* in the place of the bigger *Panchayat Samithis.* This is done to accommodate the interests of the rising rural middle class. To satisfy their expectations, reservations are also provided to the backward classes. Ideologically, this has served the rhetoric of 'decentralisation', without actually realising it, for, the fact of the matter is that the *Pahchayat Samithis* were entrusted with more powers than the *Mandals.*

LANDED CLASS REACTS TO HARIJAN'S ASSERTION

Another important aspect of change that has not been focussed adequately is the assertion of Harijans, who have been claiming independence, dignity and, of course, better wages for their labour. This has undoubtedly caused sufficient injury to the dominance of the landed interests. Unable to swallow the challenge from the lower classes/castes, the landed classes/castes (**Reddys** in Telangana and **Kammas** in Coastal Andhra) with their irrepressible arrogance and un-democratic temper, have reacted with brute force. This has been one important consequence of the changes in political economy consequent upon the developmental process. An instance of this was the Karamchedu carnage in Prakasam district in 1985, which drew national attention. Six people were killed and many more were severely injured in this assault on Harijans by the prosperous landowning **Kammas** (NTR's caste). The author is well aware of the "serious and increasing outbursts of violence against Harijans in recent years" *(p. 263)* but does not find it worthwhile to inquire into its impact on the organisation of the rural poor, especially Harijans. Karamchedu in recent times has enforced such a solidarity.

ANTI-FEUDAL STRUGGLES

Lastly, it would be naive and simplistic if one were to believe that there is no alternative political expression of the lower classes against the structures of dominance. An anti-feudal struggle has been simmering in the North Telangana districts of Adilabad, Karimnagar Warangal and Khamman from the post-Emergency period. Though the present study is focussed on Medak district, the author's promise to relate it to larger political processes does not deter her from making certain sweeping observations on lower class politics. For instance, the following statement on the psyche of Indian poor : *"...most of the Indian poor do not want violent revolution, but prefer, themselves, a more gradual process of change.* I suggest that this is not primarily because they are uneducated, mal-nourished, afraid, or even because they are too divided to unite against a common enemy. Partly it is because the Indian poor are more experienced in violence and suffering than many of their would-be advisors. Partly, *it is because of the Hiudu-Buddhist ethic of non-violence and the Gandhian heritage*". (*p. 276*, emphasis added)

We however, disagree. Substantially.

K. Srinivasulu is a Lecturer in Kakatiya University, Warangal (A.P.).

THE BACKGROUND OF TELANGANA REVOLT

V. Bhaskar Rao : AGRARIAN AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN HYDERABAD STATE

Associated Publishing House, Delhi (1985) pp. 179, Price Rs. 120/-

Reviewed by Ram K. Vepa

One of important landmarks in the history of Independent India was the peasant revolt in Telengana which some had hoped would develop into a nation-wide mass movement as it did in China. In fact, it was fashionable at one time to compare Telengana with Yennan, which was used by the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao to capture political power. But this was not to be ! The Telengana Revolt was crushed by the Government of India under the direction of the then Home Minister, the indomitable Sardar Patel. It petered out in course of time, till its resurrection in a remote pistrict in West Bengal in the sixties.

CAUSES OF UNREST

But the question pertinently asked is : why did the Telengana Revolt arise in the first instance ? What made the bleak, arid region set in the heart of the Deccan the scenc of the first 'mass' movement in recent times ? The book, under review, seeks to provide partial answers to such questions.

Written by an academician with considerable experience of the subject, the book is *not* about the Revolt itself. It seeks to give the **background** to that event, but makes the point that the uprising was not a sudden, inexplicable event, but the cumulative result of numerous social and economic injustices which exploded into a revolt. The relatively large proportion and number of agricultural labour, their absurdly low wage rates (even by the low standards prevailing elsewhere in the country), the monstrous inequity of 'bonded' labour—all combined to make the landlords

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The Background of Telangana Revolt *(Continued from previous page)*

the targets of the pent-up fury of the oppressed classes.

A LARGE PUBLIC SECTOR

On the industrial front, a sepcial feature of the erstwhile Hyderabad State was the large public sector that was brought into being .....well ahead of its emergence in the rest of India (with the exception of Mysore State). Although considerable labour welfare legislation was passed under the Nizam, the State itself being the employer, lent to the Trade Union movement a frankly political complexion. The Communist Party was also quick to take advantage of the situation, when the Nizam's Government was under considerable pressure from India to merge with it. Thus politics, social injustice, and industrial unrest coalesced during the late forties into a major movement, which threatened to spill over into neighbouring States.

The book documents well the forces that led up to the movement and gives useful statistical data culled from official documents. It would have been interesting, however, if the author had added a final chapter to discuss the conditions in Telengana (and Marathawada) in the three decades since their merger with Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Have things become significantly better or are they pretty much the same ? One still hears of bonded labour in spite of efforts to eradicate it. The readers of the book would be a little curious to know what has happend in recent years.

The price of the book is too high even by present-day standards.

Dr. Ram K, Vepa, retired civil servant and former Development Commissioner, Small Scale Industries (GOI) is deeply interested in the application of science and technology to the problems of socio-economic and industrial development. He is now based in New Delhi.

POETS' CORNER

TWO POEMS

POETS' CORNER

THE HILLS AROUND THE LAKE

There were hills around the lake,
Which laved their feet with the fluid of love.
The fish spawned in the water,
A million other creatures lived and played and fought,
From dawn to dusk and through the night.

The lake was full after the rains.
It overflowed its banks,
And its little choppy waves
Played the miniature role of the sea tides.
They played and played
Till autumn gave place to winter,
And winter to spring and summer.

The water ebbed, its edges dried.
Its inmates all but died.
The hills missed its lavings,
And fish and frogs its self-effacing care.

Only the muddy core preserved its lakeness.
This kept the seed of life alive,
And held the promise of the life to come,
And sang the rhythm of death,
Ever flowing into new life,
Till the rains came again.

P. V. Dhamija, *Reader, Central Institute of English and Froeing Languages, Hyderabad.*

PAINTER RAIN

Watching rain
is a lovely pastime,
when you have nothing else to do.

The rain by itself
is no beautiful sight.
It's just a spray painter. That's all.

But one should have a thousand eyes
to see the scenes the painter creates.
Bat-eyed men are the losers.

Dust–laden leaves
slough off their dirty coat
to swing in their true colours.

Silver cascades like the many tributaries
of a perennial river pour from tiled roofs
washed clean free of charge.

Unsheltered crows shower-bathe
huddling close to one another
towelling their wet feathers with beaks.

Miilipedes in their ungainly hurry,
snails shouldering their ftagile burdens,
wheel their way to Erewhon.

Yama's vehicle gallops in glee
followed by naked urchins fed up
with sinking paper boats.

Dutiful hen shelters its new brood
under its puffed-out wings, while
the cock proud of his progeny stands sentinel.

And I, imprisoned in my study,
move from windows East to West
to frame in words the scenes the rain painted.

P. Raja, *2/6 Poincare St. Olandai-Keerapalayam, Pondicherry-605 004*

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AN AGENDA FOR FEDERALISM

Jayant Kumar Ray & Hiroshi Sato
CENTRE-STATE FINANCIAL RELATIONS IN INDIA : A Focus on West Bengal
Institute of Developing Economics, Tokyo–162

Reviewed by Sheel K. Asopa

The Institute of Developing Economics, Tokyo (Japan) initiated its Joint Research Programme in 1976–77, and the present study is the result of a joint research conducted by Jayant Kumar Ray and Hiroshi Sato of Japan, in the Centre–State Relationship in the Indian Federation with special reference to West Bengal (Bengal in pre-independence India). Having taken Bengal as a case study, the authors have brilliantly demonstrated how some thoughtless policies of the Centre can ruin the economy and industrial base of a prosperous State.

The relationship between the Centre and the States (in India) has recently come under strain. The matter has figured in many political and academic debates, but no enduring framework has been worked out for giving the States a vigorous role in the socio-economic development of their people and the country at large.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY & AFTER

With the widespread demand by the Indian leaders for "provincial autonomy" during the British rule and their dis-satisfaction over "dyarchy", and the provisions of the Government of India Act of 1935, which had given the Central Government enormous powers of control and authority over the state administration, particularly in financial matters, it was expected that the new Constitution of India would give the country a federal structure in which States would enjoy greater autonomy and freedom to control and develop their resources, and utilize them in the interest of their people.

However, the Constitution-makers' lack of trust in the ability of the then Indian leadership in keeping the territorial integrity of the country intact and governing it skillfully, in the face of various challenges from the rise of communalism, regional chauvinism, ethnic and linguistic nationalism etc., prompted them to opt for a strong central government within the federal structure, which can be converted into a unitary system whenever required. The trauma of partition made them so panicky that they designated the Indian Federation as a *Union of States*, in which the States, once incorporated in the Union, do not have a right to secede. These provisions could not be easily accepted by the States, as these not only crushed their autonomy, but also made them subservient to the Centre.

STATES REORGANISATION

The silently brewing-up turmoil in the States resulted in agitations in the fifties, and led to reorganization of the States on linguistic basis in 1956. By merging some of the States, the number of federating units was reduced to 14. This also enlarged some of the States by giving them more territory and a more heterogeneous population which, in turn, caused further intense agitations and led to the creation of new States on linguistic basis, raising their number from 19 to 24. Still some States remained fairly big—difficult to be governed by one government, without decentralizing power and sharing it with the districts and local bodies. It created tensions between the Centre and the States on the one hand, and the State set-up and the districts on the other.

The Constitution makers, while envisaging a powerful Centre, had not thought of a situation in which the same party may not be in power at the Centre as well as in the States. With the growth of Indian polity and its attaining maturity, Opposition party governments emerged in a number of States. The basic distrust by the ruling party at the Centre, of State governments run by Opposition parties, led them to adopt discriminatory attitude toward them. In a number of cases, the Central government adopted measures which robbed the States of their financial resources.

SARKARIA COMMISSION

The growing distrust between the Centre and the States and increasing confrontation between the two over financial powers and distribution of resources, prompted Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to appointed a Commission on Centre–State Relations, which has submitted its report in October, 1987. The Commission has concluded that the undue centralization has led to blood pressure at the centre and anaemia at the periphery, resulting in morbidity and inefficiency, and has emphasized the need for greater decentralization of powers. It has suggested regular consultations between the States and the Union Government for evolving consensus on major issues and sorting out the problems which create tension in their relations

The report has suggested that an Inter-Government Council should be set up, assisted by a Standing Committee of Ministers and Advisory Committee of Experts. Zonal problems will be first considered by the Zonal Councils prior to placing them before the Inter-Governmental Council.

It has also suggested that the National Development Council should be reconstituted as Economic and Development Council, and the State Planning Boards should be strengthened to enable them to coordinate the financial matters and measures with the District Planning Bodies. It has strongly recommended that corporation tax should be made shareable with States; levies, loan procedures and foreign exchange entitlements should be liberalized in favour of States. Municipal bonds should be tax exempt. A restraint on excessive "occupation" or adoption by the Union of the Concurrent field is also advised.

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THE PLIGHT OF BENGAL

In the light of this report, the present study is extremely useful as, through a well-cordinated research, it has shed enough light on Centre–State Relations and has highlighted how some thoughtless policies of the Central Government have ruined a prosperous State like Bengal. The British rule, both in the era of dyarchy, as well as under the 1935 Government of India Act, recklessly exploited the economy of Bengal and weakened its jute production as well as the industrial base of the Province.

By referring to the debates in the Legislative Assembly and bringing out the role of Indian representatives in the Bengali society during the British rule. part I of the book concentrates on the impact of the Centre's *financial suzerainty* on the socio-economic development of the Province. They have discussed how some discriminatory policies adopted by the Central Government inflicted some scars which could not easily be undone by remedial measures adopted during the tenure of Sir John Anderson.

STATES—SLAVES OF THE CENTRE

The second part of the book deals with the inadequacies of the Indian Federalism. It has dealt in depth with the scheme of distribution of powers between the Centre and the States—which gives 97 subjects to the Centre, 66 to the States, while 47 are placed in the Concurrent List.

According to Article 254, the Centre can transfer any subject from the State List to the Centre List; and during the time of President's Rule in a State, it can enact laws on subjects of the State List as well. In Concurrent List too, if the legislation enacted by the State is in conflict with the legislation enacted by the Centre, the Centre's legislation will prevail. This provision has made the States slaves of the Centre, as they had been under the British rule. The authors have brought out very cleverly that the emergence of Opposition Party governments at the State level and their intolerance towards the omnipotent position of the Centre and its almost dictatorial authority, has put the Centre–State Relationship under heavy strain. In fact, the very workability of the present form of federalism is being questioned.

Jayant Kumar Ray and Hiroshi Sato have demonstrated a remarkable intellectual tuning in and perfect understanding of this intricate dimension of the Indian Federation. The financial relationship—as reflected in the undue interference of the Union Government, or its policy of depriving the States from revenue and keeping them dependent on the Centre, has been brought out by the authors skillfully in the second part of the book.

The authors have pointed out that the Centre has consistently ignored the establishment of Inter–State Council by the President to coordinate interests of the Centre and the States.

The Emergency provisions, especially Article 356 gives the Centre unrestricted right to interfere in the state administration. Dwelling upon 70 cases of Centre' intervention in States through President's Rule during 1950–84, Dougles V. Varney has hinted at misuse of Article 356 to the detriment of the States.

While discussing the problems faced by West Bengal in the post-Independence period, the authors have also highlighted the partisan role of the Governors. They hold the same opinion about the role of the Indian Administrative Service (I.A.S.) officials.

FINANCIAL STRINGS & UNBALANCED RESOURES

In financial matters which are the key factors responsible for Centre–State, conflicts and confrontation have been dealt with at length—both in general context as well as in the context of West Bengal. Entries no 7 and 52 of the Union List undermine the entry no 24 in the State List. Entry 52 has enabled the Union Government to expand its domain over the Concurrent List; by and by, it has established its control not only over big industry and agriculture, but even over items like agricultural tools, bicycles, canned fruits, fruit products, cosmetics, household electrical appliances, hurricane lanterns, fabrics and footwear, match-sticks, paper, pressure cookers etc.

In the distribution of resources, the State Governments are given only 30 per cent of the total resources raised in public domain and 70 per cent are used by the Centre. Similarly, Centre retains 90 per cent of the public borrowings from the market. In matters of foreign borrowings too, States have to pay higher rates of interest to the Centre, even when the Centre is paying lower rates of interest on foreign borrowings. Several examples are given to prove the exploitative attitude of the Centre towards the States.

The discriminatory attitude adopted by the Centre towards the States ruled by Opposition Party becomes awfully oppressive when some natural calamity befalls the State, or when a State is subjected to a situation inflicted by Centre's policies or external factors, like influx of refugees from across the border. State Governments have to face the problems with their own resources or face public anger and earn disrepute.

A PLEA FOR REAL FEDERALISM

Section four of the second part of the book is very useful. The authors have suggested that the self-sufficiency measures adopted by the State reformatory administration can promote economic development "despite inadequacy of resources brought about by inequities in Centre–State relations". The authors maintain that the time has come when the Indian *Union* of States, in view of the developments that have taken place in the Indian polity during the last 38 years, should turn itself into *real* federalism, and the Centre should give up the role of an omnipotent suzerain of the pre-Independence British style.

Written in a simple language, the book is extremely informative, revealing and absorbing.

Dr. Sheel K. Asopa is Professor in the Department of Political Science, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

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A TURBULENT HISTORY : UNCERTAIN FUTURE

B. M. Jain : SOUTH ASIA, INDIA AND UNITED STATES

R.B.S.A. Publishers, Jaipur (1987) Pp. 189

Reviewed by Abha Dixit

Since the end of World WaIr I, the relative importance of South Asia in US perceptions has increased progressively. In the early years of the 'containment policy' followed by the US, Pakistan evoked interest of US policy-makers on account of the generous facilities that were offered to the anti-Communist alliance systems. India, on the other hand, was looked upon with some amazement for its experiments in becoming the largest democracy in the world. Her non-alignment, however, did not go down well with a strident anti-communist U.S. Administration that only saw the "super power" equation in "moral and immoral" terms. Over the years, with a succession of events like the US withdrawal from Vietnam and the chain of events in the Middle East etc., South Asia began to have a larger role in US strategy.

As the importance of the region increased, the tensions too have increased considerably. The gaps between regional perceptions of the regional states and those of the super-powers have exaggrated these tensions.

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS : NUCLEAR POLICIES

This book by Dr. B.M. Jain of the University of Rajasthan attempts to analyse Indo–US relations in South Asia in the changed context. The book tries to cover nearly all the aspects of bilateral relations; and it also highlights the impact of India's neighbours' relations with India and the US on bilateral issues. While the book provides the reader with some insight into the unfolding of events in the turbulent history of relations between the two countries, the work suffers from some fundamental misperceptions of India's foreign and strategic policies.

A part of the reason could be that the book is not a continuum from one chapter to another, but each chapter is an article published elsewhere, which have been put together and published as a book. Such an effort has its disadvantages, especially if it is written over a long time span, because the periods under study become uneven. This is one of the shortcomings of the book.

To give an example, the chapter on India's Nuclear Policy and the US deals with the fuel issue only till 1979, while most of the contentious issues came up later, and the Indo–US–French Agreement which should have been dealt with at length in this chapter overspills into the next chapter that deals with the Reagan Administration and Indo–US Relations. Even here, it just merits only a mention, when in fact, this trilateral agreement had important policy implications for overall nuclear policy objectives, which should have been addressed to at length.

ON INDO—SRI LANKA & INDO—CHINESE RELATIONS

The other major shortcoming that the book suffers from is that the premises on which certain assumptions have been made for Indian foreign policy and strategic policy options are misplaced. In chapter 1, while discussing the Indo–Sri Lanka problem, the author has discussed all the other options available to both sides. But somehow, even with the advantage of hindsight, he has not visualised the possibility of India and Sri Lanka coming together to solve the ethnic problem. India and Sri Lanka, on the other hand, are cast in the typical adversarial mode.

Another premise that pervades all his hypothesis about the future of Indian defence and strategic planning is based on the assumption that China is inherently a 'hegemonistic' power and is also expansionist in nature. Such stereo-types were very much in vogue after the battering that an ill-prepared Indian army suffered in 1962. The equilibrium has changed in the region, and subsequent events have proved that, while the border issue has put brakes on further improvements in bilateral relations, China's foreign policy goals and orientations are towards creating spheres of influence, an achievement which, all nations in the modern day aspire for. 'Hegemony' and 'expansionism' are, curiously, words of Chinese origin to explain its differences with the Soviet Union ! Incidentally, one of the biggest challenges that Indian strategic policy faces is the inadequate attention that we have paid to the Chinese manouvering, being totally obsessed with the immediate threat from the north–west. This is not to say that Chinese intentions are hostile, but Indian policy-makers haven't paid sufficient attention to this aspect.

NUCLEAR POLICY OPTIONS

While discussing India's nuclear policy and the options open to it, the author quotes William Sweet, who in an article in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists in 1978 said, "As a matter of practical policy, India is willing to forego a nuclear deterrent only if sustained world pressure keeps China's nuclear aspirations in check". Here again the premise on which India's nuclear policy has been based is misconstrued. Firstly, India's nuclear policy has been entirely peaceful in content, and has no co-relation to the progress of the nuclear industry in other countries. Secondly, India has traditionally disavowed the theories of 'deterrence', which it feels are derived from outmoded theories of the balance of power; and therefore, the view of India

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A TURBULENT HISTORY : UNCERTAIN FUTURE

looking upon the Chinese nuclear weapon development through the prism of "deterrence" is unfounded. India has neither used a deliberate policy of competing with the Chinese to match its deterrent capability, nor it has used diplomatic means to offset this Chinese move. Our programme has its own internal compul-sions. And thirdly, India has categorically stated that India would be willing to forego its nuclear option, only if all nations forego their claim to producing nuclear weapons. It has not been designed towards any individual country.

While on the same subject, the author is of the opinion that India's nuclear policy has been influenced by the US policy of massive arms and military equipment supply to Pakistan. Here again, Indian leaders have repeatedly stressed from time to time that supply of sophisticated armaments to Pakistan has a destabilising effect on general Indo-Pakistan relations. But nowhere has there been a justification that the Indian nuclear option has been kept open because of this policy. Our leaders have repeatedly stressed that the nuclear weapons programme in Pakistan is an indigenous one. They have at best had covert help from other countries like China. What has disturbed the regional equation is that, while the US talks of non-proliferation in the global context, it does want to do it at the cost of its own strategic interests and, therefore, is turning a blind eye to Pakistan's programme and even agreeing to "waive" the Symington Amendment. Supply of conventional arms *per se* has not been the only reason for India keeping its nuclear option open.

THE THREATS WE FACE

In the author's prescription for an effective 'defense and strategic' policy, he laments that there has been none in India. This would be a traversity of truth. There can be arguments about the efficacy of such plans and doctrines, but then such debates are also there in the Western countries, of an even higher intensity. Throughout the author's sketching of the compulsions for the growth and modernisation of Indian defence, the China factor is used again and again. To my mind, it is exactly the opposite. We have not taken the 'Chinese threat' as an independent entity and done any significant planning to meet it. We have been more pre-occupied with the threat from the north-west; and the Chinese threat comes into the picture only in conjunction with the Pakistani threat.

OUR OPTIONS

In the last chapter of the book, "India's Defence and Security Options", the author is of the opinion that India's nuclear policy should be crystal clear. His reasoning is that given the covert nature of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme, India cannot afford to dilly dally in considering the options, because if one fine day, the Pakistanis were to announce to the world that they indeed have the bomb (and have also stored some) then India's security would become vulnerable.

To my mind, Dr. Jain is missing the point completely. We have always maintained that our nuclear intentions are peaceful, and that we are keeping the 'option' open because of developments in the neighbourhood, which may prompt us to take recourse to making the bomb as a last resort. Fundamentally our intentions are peaceful; and, therefore, any foreclosing of options would have an adverse impact on our security. On the other hand, an unilateral decision to go for the bomb would invite criticism from the rest of the world and make us appear as a belligerent power in the region. We would stand to lose from pre-determining the nuclear issue in the sub-continent. Our present policy of keeping the option open is best suited to the evolving situation in the region. Any attempt to make the bomb unilaterally would give the Pakistanis the legitimate cover to announce that they too have the ultimate weapon. Any move towards foreclosing our nuclear option would not necessarily mean that Pakistan too would forego its option. Therefore, our policy being followed at present has been time-tested, and is being practised after giving it a lot of thought.

SOME ERRORS

While the premises of India's foreign and defence policies are sometimes based on incorrect fundamentals, the work at times suffers from factual errors. Here are two examples : on *page 142*, the author claims that by 1980, India had 15 nuclear reactors, the SIPRI Year book 1980 has a head count of 8 reactors producing electricity and another 4–5 (if the Dhruva which was still under construction at that time is included) research reactors, giving a total of 12/13 at best. Another example is that of the definition of the AWACS. They have been described as "striking power" when, in fact, they are entirely defensive in nature. They have the ability to detect enemy aircraft and other offensive armaments, while they are still quite a distance away from the target.

In sum, while the book offers the reader a wide vision of the problems bedevilling Indo-US relations, its weak point is the highlighting of the 'compulsions' which make the actors behave the way they are, but which are not convincing. This can partly be explained by the misperceived foundations of these countries' basic impulses and policies.

The format of the book is something to which the author could have paid more attention. The irregularity of the periods under study could have been harmonised and the glaring typographical mistakes rectified.

Research scholar Ms. Aabha Dixit works at the Indian Defence Science Academy, New Delhi.

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PORTRAIT OF "A BELOVED REBEL"

William Knox : JIMMY MAXTON—
Romantic Prophet of Protest

Manchester University Press (Pages 149; £ 4.95)

Reviewed by Atul Chaturvedi

Jimmy Maxton, almost from the beginning, was the perfect symbol of the Party of Protest, seeing socialism as a moral crusade rather than as an instrument of power, relishing the isolation of the wilderness like the Hebrew Prophets of old.

He was twice imprisoned during the First World War, and sacked from his job as a school teacher. Elected to Parliament in 1922, he was immediately an incorrigible rebel on the far Left, best known for being suspended from the House in 1923, after denouncing the Conservatives as murderers, for denying milk to infants.

LEADER OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

Throughout the 1920's, he led the Independent Labour Party's campaigns against the Labour Party leadership, headed by his old hero, Ramsay MacDonald. His championing of the 'living wage' scheme in 1928, along with that other erratic Evangelist, A. J. Cook, led to his being carpeted by his own ILP, of which he was purportedly Chairman. In 1932, he strongly endorsed disaffiliation from the Labour Party. This led to ILP representation in the House of Commons being cut to five, which defections had further reduced to two by 1939. In the Second World War, he was implacably opposed to military action and consistently urged a negotiated peace.

He died relatively young in 1946 (due to a diet consisting almost entirely of cigarettes and coffee), a "beloved rebel" universally respected throughout House of Commons, from Churchill to Michael Foot, but not much more than a romantic prophet of protest, an endearing survivor, totally devoid of any influence upon national or international events.

This fascinating and, in many ways, deeply tragic career is lucidly recounted by William Knox. His book gives us much the fullest picture of the life and hard times of this awkard prophet and pioneer of the Scottish Left. He is illuminating on Maxton's relationship with fellow Scots MPs like Tom Johnston, Emanuel Shinwell, John Whealtey (once described as the Scottish Lenin) and George Buchanan, all of whom, in different ways, migrated to the labour mainstream, the first three becoming Labour Ministers. There is also a lively account of the famous ILP programme, "*Socialism in Our Time*" (1926), an important proposal for restoring purchasing power as a remedy for mass unemployment—though the author goes too far in linking it with later Keynesianism rather than with the somewhat antique Edwardian ideas of "under-consumption". This is somewhat surprising, given the fact that much of the theoretical economic under-pinning of the programme was provided by that distinguished Edwardian, J.A. Hobson.

Knox is also less successful in projecting the ILP against broader patterns of British politics in the 1920's and 30's.

A MAN WITH A MESSAGE

Jimmy Maxton emerges as a man of immense warmth and charm, of unimpeachable courage, sincerity and moral passion. In private life, he could prove to be the life and soul of the ILP, with a talent for songs and comical acts at conference time. His skills as an actor helped to make him, for a time, the most powerful mass orator in British politics. To a degree unusual in the hard, sectarian world of the British far Left, he inspired devotion close to love from his Scottish and other disciples. Whether he was much more than this, whether he was the genuine prophet of an alternative 'Lost Left', fusing Scottish nationalism and internationalism-socialism, translating the harsh dogmas of Marxism into simple local terms, is, however, very much open to boubt.

It is clear that Maxton was always most at home on the public platform or the street-corner soap-box, much less so in the committee rooms, almost never before the drawing-board for plans for elevating the Left into government. He was a very limited theoretician and, for all his university background, unable to set his thoughts down effectively in writing. Shinwell charges that Maxton was intellectually indolent, impatient with details, perhaps happier in reading detective stories rather than in getting to grips with the hard, intellectual problems of the Socialist Commonwealth. A L. Jones. J.A. Hobson and E.F. Wise did the real spade work for "*Socialism in Our Time*", though Maxton was supreme as its propagandist.

PAROCHIAL BUT NOT A POWER SEEKER

His strengths and weaknesses lay, too, in his Parochialism. The further he ventured from his native Glasgow, the less was his impact. For all his professed Internationalism, his knowledge of world affairs was distinctly limited. He had little worthwhile to say about the challenge of Fascism in the 1930's; and he never seems to have travelled abroad very much. He once described socialism as a "home grown article and not imported from foreign lands". The words were highly appropriate for Maxton himself.

Above all, Maxton never sought, or relished, power. His only position of executive authority was a brief spell on the Glassgow Education Authority in 1919 He was always "minority"-minded, and thus out of sympathy with the broad spectrum covered by the Labour Party after 1918. On these grounds, he parted company with one after another of his ILP comrades. In the end, only Campbell Stephen was left in what was virtually a one-man Glasswegian band.

Maxton had differed from John Macleans anti-Parliamentarism in 1911, and urged the need for

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Comments on Linguistic Styles

Suresh Kumar (Ed) : STYLISTICS AND TEXT ANALYSIS

Bahri Publications (p) Ltd. New Delhi, 1987
Page viii + 228; price Rs. 150/-

Reviewed by V. D. Singh

The book is a collection of papers contributed by scholars of linguistics. Most of the scholars have studied style in relation to an Indian language—Sanskrit and some modern Indian languages, The discussion of stylistics is, therefore, related to the literature not only in English, but in many Indian languages. In the introduction, of the editor rightly stresses the varied character of the volume:— "texts from Hindi, Urdu, Panjabi, Marathi, Tamil and English form the data base of the papers." The papers deal with theoretical aspects as well as with practical analysis of literary as also non-literary writing.

The editor makes the statement in his introduction that the history of modern stylistics in Anglo-American Studies is 25 years old, and for him "the most obvious cut-off point" is the appearance in 196 , of the book *Style in Fiction* edited by Thomas A. Sebeok. Therefore, "To mark the 25 years of the growth of the discipline, we offer a Silver Jubilee Volume as a contribution to the subject by Indian scholarship". One should have liked the editor, Dr. Suresh Kumar to give the readers an idea of the history of stylistics in the languages of the continent of Europe and a survey, howsoever brief, of the Indian tradition of stylistic studies. This would have made the 'overview' section of the Introduction more useful.

In their papers, Ashok R. Kelkar, R.N. Srivastava and R. S. Gupta. and R. V. Dhongde deal with theoretical aspects of stylistics, while H. C. Trivedi argues that the meaning of a text cannot be separated from its form and its internal and external context.

R. V. Dhongde presents an analysis, along with his comments, of the first chapter of Anandvardhana's *Dhvanaylaka.*

Some other contributors discuss aspects of style in relation to a particular text. M. A. K. Beg analyses Mohammad Iqbal's *EK Sham* to explore the correspondence between sound and and sense. Shiva M. Pandeya and R. R Mehrotra apply Mammata's theory of grammatical and semantic co-relations to an education of obstructed meanings in Cummings' poem "anyone lived in a pretty how town".

Ravindra Gargesh analyses and explicates a Panjabi poem *Amrita Pritam*, composed by Amrita Pritam, to explore the multi-levelled relationship occurring between words.

R. C. Sharma approaches the interpretation of a character through his "language behaviour" in the narrative/discourse. He illustrates his point by taking the examples of Mallika and Ambika, two characters in Mohan Rakesh's play *Ashadha ka Ek Din*

Hans Raj Dua bases his discussion of point of view as a narrative technique on Dudhnath Singh's short story *Duswapna.*

Suresh Kumar presents structural analysis of a Hindi short story in the methodological framework of discourse analysis and the theoretical framework of semiotics. Omission of the bibliographical details of the story he has taken up is rather anomolous.

The eleven papers referred to above constitute the section "Language Use in Literature".

To remind the reader that 'style' is not always associated with sublime creative fervour and that it can be manipulated, R. S. Sharma's "Style as Artifice" (extending over 30 pages) discusses to deliberate distortion under such sub-titles, as 'impersonal style', 'adver tising', 'muddling', 'fallacies' and 'journalese'. The editor gives the section containing R. S. Sharma's paper the title, "Misue of Language".

The last section (**section 3**) deals with "Language Use in Non-Literature" and the three papers in this section are : Brinda Balasubramonian's "Language of Film Reviews in Hindi, English and Tamil", Indubala Pandya's "Clause Structure of Advertising English," and Ashwini Dhongde's "The Language of Advertisements."

The authors have generally appended notes and refernces to their papers, and there is also, at the end of the book, a general bibliography of important titles published during the eighties.

The book is comprehensive in its coverage of the subject and representative of the work Indian writers have recently done in this area of stylistics and text analysis.

Prof. V. D. Singh is Professor of Methods in the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages (CIEFL) Hyderabad.

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PORTRAIT OF A BELOVED REBEL

relism and consensus, but the outcome of his own career was scarcely more profitable in the end.

A LOST LEGEND

His hero was Keir Hardie, and one can well see how this charismatic prophet, the symbol of uncorrupted working class independence, appealed to a free spirit like Maxton. But Hardie's main achievement (admittedly in the pre- 906 years, before Maxton entered politics) was the creation of a nationwide coalition of trade unionists, socialists and dissenters of various shades, with "free play between the sections."

Hardie's vision of the 'Labour Alliance' was the very anti-thesis of Maxton's inward-looking strategy. The eventual fu ility and impotence of the once great ILP was the result.

Hardie and Maxton both gave rise to legends But whereas Hardie's was a legend that is still alive, still useful to the present Labour leadership of Neil Kinnock, Maxton's was a legend that disintegrated and died.

Atul Chaturvedi is a young and promising scholar of Delhi University. [We hope to publish a few more of his write-ups soon. —Eds.]

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A PLEA FOR PROFESSIONALISM

S.P. Ranga Rao & V.M. Sinha : PROFESSIONALISM IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Associated Publishing House, New Delhi. Rs. 170/-

Review by Pradeep Sachdeva

During the last several years, discussions have been going on among the students and practitioners of public administration regarding the status of their discipline as a profession and professionalism in public administration especially in the context of generalist *versus* specialist controversy. These issues had received the desired attention in the Fulton Committee Report in Britain (1966) and the Administrative Reforms Commission Report in India (1967). The seventeen essays included in the volume discuss comprehensively the twin themes of "Public Administration as a Profession" and "Professionalism in Public Administration", as also other vital aspects which have an important bearing on the profession of public administration such as recruitment, morale and motivation, and socio-economic basis of the profession.

A PROFESSION ?

While there is a universal agreement about the existence of the professions of medicine, engineering, etc. with scientific knowledge as their basis and backed up by groups of people who apply the same, serious doubts are often expressed about the existence of the profession of public administration. At the same time, no one can ignore the existence of groups of persons occupying higher echelons of governmental systems who have made it their job to apply their knowledge of men, materials, methods and matters, to bring together varied knowledge provided by several scientific channels and make decisions and implement them with the objective of making a civilized, comfortable and peaceful existence possible for the citizens. May be, the skills and knowledge acquired by them over a period of time have not so far been reduced to a form in which they could be readily conveyed to others, as is done by the traditional professional groups That is why Public Administration is denied the claim to be a profession.

TOWARDS PROFESSIONALISM

It has been repeatedly emphasized by the contributors that modern civil servants have to be truly professional, as they have to acquire knowledge to manage the political, social, economic, scientific and technical issues of our times, and keep themselves abreast of the latest developments in their respective field of operation, as well as acquire related new competence.

B. K. Dey feels that professionalism alone can inject a satisfying element into the services to bring about better policy formulation, more effective programme implementation and all-round community contentment. He believes that the winds of professionalism in public administration have already started blowing in India also, and that administration can no more rely or stand on the crust of amateurism.

Dubhashi comprehensively defines the progress of public administration as consisting of the formulation and implementation of plans, policies and programmes reflecting the aspirations of the people, and pleads for collaborative roles of politicians and administrators in the common task of governance.

Harry Green lists out the criteria of professionlism as inclusive of specialised knowledge or skills and their use in the interests of clients, autonomy of judgement, strong motivation, full-time occupation and existence of professional associations to ensure standards and to protect the autonomy of the profession. In his opinion, professionalism is the least in the field of management which is just beginning to claim professionalism itself.

Shameen Aleem feels that, while the concept of profession of public administration has been advocated most enthusiastically, similar efforts havs not been made to materialise this concept in actual practice taking into account its consequences on various aspects of personnel management and, therefore, the talk of "professionalisation of civil service" in India, essentially remains an academic one, and the theme of ARC seems to be "an attempt to resolve the *generalist-specialist* controversy rather than making any plea for professionalisation of civil service" She says that the recruitment and training policy of the French Government is "indicative of the existence of a highly professionalised civil service".

Sinha, Haranath and **Subramanyam** in their discussion on the subject of morale and motivation analyse the various factors that play a vital role in promoting the morale of civil servants. The remaining contributors also focus on professionalism in public administration while discussing related aspects *viz.*, selection of administrators, bureaucracy and society, social and political milieus of civil service etc. One of them observes that a change in "the social attitudes towards the civil service and a complete reorientation of the attitudes of the civil service are essentially required" today in India.

Indian Public Administration Association (IPAA) deserves appreciation and gratitude of the students and practitioners of public administration as also of the general public for getting the papers presented at its eighth annual conference held at Jaipur on such a vital and interesting theme as Professionalism in Public Administration, edited by two eminent professors of long-standing, and publishing these in the form of a book, thus preserving these indepth studies for the present and future generations. The volume is elegantly produced, but is exorbitantly priced (at 170/-) which is beyond the reach of a common student or reader.

Pardeep Sachdeva is Lecturer in Public Administration in the Department of Public Administration, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra (Haryana)

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LAWS OF TELECOMMUNICATION THROUGH SPACE

G. N. Sharma :
SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS**
AND OUTER SPACE : Regularatory Apects

Review by Suresh Mathur

In ancient and mediavel times, countries or communities came into contact with each other the either for trade or for war, the spread of Buddhism (a metamorphism of Hinduism) providnig an honorable exception. Modern inventions made by Morse, Maxwell, Graham Bell and Marconi have, however, revolutionalised the means and speed of international contacts and communications, annihilating the factors of time and distance.

All such scientific efforts are claimed to be for the betterment of mankind; but with each revolutionary discovery or invention, humanity rises higher at one moment (and in one respect) but falls equally lower at the very next. Such is the case with our "pacing of the space" as well.

Electro-magnetic waves indicating a new natural recource or channel of communicotion were discovered about a century ago. The use and apportionment of this natural resource between various users are governed partly by the International Telecommunication Convention and its annexed Radio Regulations and partly by internationally adopted technical recommendations. Global organisations like the (International Telegraph Union (*I. T. U.*) now changed to International Telecommunication Union) claiming a membership of 159 nations have been formed.

Though a proverbial "ass", law has to move now-a-days as fast as science to keep peace with it. In fact strides in science and the evolution of international law are both hovering on the same wave-length. The more the scientific developments, the more there is need and demand for the laws (both municipal and international) to regulate human activities generated by new science and technology. The story has been the same from the onset of the industrial revolution to these days of inter-planetary jaunts and sojourns. Naturally, the study of the evolution of regulatory laws makes as much demand on our intellect as does the history of scientific progress.

The publication under review '*Satellite Communications and Outer Space : Regulartory Aspects* by G. N. Sharma is a techno-legal study of a subject which, though new for many a student of science and law, is fascinating and of absorbing interest for those with an inclination to study it. It deals mainly with the *Radio Regulations* (*Edition of 1982*) which is a body of rules and regulations within the meaning of international law and has taken into consideration the interests of all nations on the principle of 'equallty of right'. It has the essence of the fundamental principles of the U N.O. Its provisions aim at developing an *'esprit de corps'* among administrations. The Regulations seek to control the electro-magnetic waves for useful and efficient utilisation of the same, and for imparting justice in the use of radio waves spectrum. In addition, there is a provision for review in case any administration (defined as any governmental department or service responsible for dischaging the obligations undertaken in the convention of the I.T.U. and the Regulations) is not satisfied with the assignment of frequenty (to it) by the International Frequency Registration Board.

All such provisions are necessary to avoid confusion and chaos in the matter of broadcasting by the various administrations, because otherwise, with everybody in the air, nobody could be heard.

Besides a lucid elucidation of the various provisions of the *Radio Regulations*, *Edition of 1982*, the publication contains very useful information about satellite communications, air space and outer space, electro-magnetic energy and geo-stationary orbit—all of which subjects have been examined and explained in the light of international law.

The publication contains as many as 18 appendices, which include a brief discussion of the relevant international law, a mention of important years or landmarks in the history of Telecommunications, a list of important treaties, conventions etc., in Space law and Communications law, terms and definitions, list of communications satellites lanuched up to 1984, I.T.U. and U N.O. resolutions and recommendations, a list of I.T.U. members, designations of Radio Frequency Bands, useful constraints, and bibliography.

Although the author has taken pains to inform the inquisitive reader in as simple a language as possible, the fine parts and intricacies of the complex system and the law, only those with a background of scientific and technical knowledge would be able to derive full benefit of the effort. The publication should, however, arouse interest in and satisfy the curiosity of readers about a subject which has become one of the latest disciplines in the international context.

Suresh Mathur, a former member of the Rajasthan Higher Judicial Service, retired recently as Member, Board of Revenue, Ajmer, and as an Advisor/Consultant to the State Government.

*** Academic Book Centre, 10 Walkeshwar Ambawadi Ahemdabad (380015) 1988 Pp (xii)+160 Rs. 105/—*

Patrons are requested to renew their subscriptions and inform about any change of address. Please also write if any recent issue of IBC has been received.

—Editor

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A Short Story

A KNOWN WITNESS

by Ramesh K. Srivastava

Even Hercules, without a witness known to the Savings Bank counter clerk, would have found the encashment of a bearer cheque of a large amount from a nationalized bank more difficult than cleaning the dung of three thousand cattle in a single day.

The bank had opened only literally, for the well-groomed modern princes had not yet occupied their thrones to give *darshan* to others. The customers with their sweat-soaked shirts pasted bubble-free on their backs and having cheque books or pass-books in their folded hands, stood in a queue before the Savings Bank counter as if they were ardent devotees of Goddess Lakshmi with their patience on test before betng blessed with her benediction.

The Savings Bank counter clerk ensconed himself comfortably in his regal chair and, as if to warm up his engine, lighted a cigarette, emitting thin jets of smoke from his well-chiselled outlets, and initiated his sports gossip like a long commercial before a short TV serial. Then he donned a metallic headgear with two earphones, still oblivious of the impatient queued up customers. Looking at his contraption, I thought, it must be the computerized system of a sort they have in the U.S., where all the information is available to the counter clerk on his finger tips, and praised Rajiv Gandhi for launching India into the 21st century.

The work of accepting cheques and of issuing tokens had not yet begun. The clerk was shaking his head, as if the flow of information to him was interrupted due to power break-down or malfunctioning of the computer. Then his eyes popped up, the metallic headgear was flung aside and he yelled, "A sixer by Gavaskar."

So, he was listening to the cricket commentary, not receiving any information about the Savings Bank accounts. The first customer in the queue looked at his watch and loudly reminded the counter clerk, "It is 10.30 now !"

"So what ?" the counter clerk responded carelessly, while placing from a silver box, a large-sized, mouth-filling betel-leaf into his mouth. "Everyday there is 10.30 in the morning. What's so new about it today ?"

Another customer, concealing his face, croaked, "He means to say, Sir, that the counter is supposed to open at 10.00 in the morning. You are already late today", and withdrew his head, like a tortoise, to avoid identification and possible retaliation.

The clerk went on munching the betel-leaf, saying, "Don't bury !"

"Bury what ?",

"Don't worry!" the counter clerk mumbled loudly this time, craning his neck and shaking his mouth like a braying donkey's to stem the mouthful of betel-leaf saliva from falling down. "If I am late in opening the counter, I'll compensate by closing it earlier"; and he laughed at his own joke.

Meanwhile, the electric power, after playing hide and seek for a few minutes and winking a couple of times, made its reappearance; probably it too had gone for witnessing a cricket match. The counter clerk saw the anger of waiting customers beaming through their psychedelic headlights and hurriedly disposed off most of the cases. A bearer cheque had no date; the amount in words and figures on another was at variance, and so on. When my turn came, he looked at the cheque and surveyed me from head to foot, as if I were an extremist from the Punjab or an agent of Bofors. He asked my name, my relationship with the account-holder, the purpose of withdrawing such a large amount, and finally whether I knew someone in the bank who could act as my witness.

I knew none in the bank who could be persuaded to become my witness and hence reasoned with him, "A bearer cheque requires no attestation or witness, the risk being that of the account-holder or the payee."

"Oon, hoon ! No, noo !" the counter clerk squeaked like a rusty, unoiled door on its unused hinges, and shifting his betel leaf to the other side, added, "There have been many cases of impersonation in the past; hence a witness *known* to *me* is necessary. After all we are going to be hauled up if anything goes wrong."

My wife had teased me, derisively referring to my resolve of renouncing U.S. citizenship and of settling down in India. I told her that each country has its own rules, and she should not compare the rules of one country with those of the other.

To comply with the bank rules, I called in my friend who was waiting outside in the car, introduced him to the counter clerk and requested him to accept him as my witness The counter clerk scrutinized him carefully, but refused to recognize his existence any more than the U.S. had recognized Communist China in the pre-"pingpong" diplomacy era.

Angry, exasperated, and finding even the Branch Manager unhelpful, I asked the counter clerk, "Do you have a list of acquaintances from which I could pick up a witness ?"

Instantly red lights beamed on his face. I thought his third eye was going to open and reduce me to ashes. He shot back in a thundering voice, "Do you keep a list of donkeys known to you ?" and without waiting for my answer, donned the hearing contraption again.

I felt like saying that I had one donkey before me, but the condition of my uncle, waiting for an operation in the hospital, kept me quiet. I expected nothing as long as Sunil Gavaskar was playing and prayed for his quick ouster. Meanwhile a bank peon, apparently taking pity on me, whispered an assurance of arranging a witness *known* to the counter clerk for just one hundred-rupee note. Finding no other way out, I complied with his suggestion.

(*Continued overleaf*)

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A KRISHNA CLASSIC IN TRANSLATION

Narayana Tirtha : KRISHNA LEELA TARANGINI
(Vol. I Tarangams I to VI) Pp. 528, Price Rs. 300/-
Translated & Edited by **B. Natarajan**
Mudgal Trust, Ramakrishna Nagar, Madras-600 028

Comment by D. Anjaneyulu

The literary and musical heritage of South India surpasses the boundaries of local languages. Hence the wide-spread popularity of the compositions of Tyagaraja and Purandaradasa, Kshetrajna and Jayadeva, Sadasiva Brahmendra and Narayana Tirtha. The last three poets composed their works in Sanskrit which, in spite of its being simple, lucid and mellifluous, is becoming a 'closed book' to a generation gradually going away from it.

Like Jayadeva's *GITA GOVINDA*, which is dominated by the *rasa* of *Sringara Bhakti* or *Bhakti Sringara*, Narayana Tirtha's work '*KRISHNA LEELA TARANGINI*' is characterized by *Advaita Bhakti*.

B. Natarajan's book is a sumptuous volume, beautifully produced, illustrated with a few art plates, in colour as well as in black and white It is also the first available translation in English, with transliteration in the Roman script, alongwith the Sanskrit text in Deva nagari. This first volume covers the first six *Tarangams* (or waves) out of a total of twelve musical compositions. Its title may be translated in English as "*The River of Sport of Lord Krishna*".

Explaining his own motivation for undertaking this major work as a labour of love, as a sacrament in fact, the author–translator says in his 'Preface' :

"Many musicologists have expressed the view that a translation of the *Tarangini* into English, is long overdue. The work itself is known only in the southern States, mostly in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu and to a certain extent, in Kernataka and Kerala. It should be known in other States in India like Orissa, West Bengal, U. P., Gujarat and Rajasthan, where the Krishna cult has a considerable following and is a living tradition."

He has thereby earned the gratitude of not only lovers of Sanskrit poetry and Indian music in this country, but of others as well, in the outside world. He has rightly anticipated the taste and requirements of others concerned when he refers to the increasing interest shown in recent years by foreign scholars in Indology generally, and in the Krishna theme in particular.

The book is divided into two parts. Part I presents the historical perspective, the biographical details of the composer, alongwith a discussion of the literary, cultural and musical traditions of Puri, Kuchipudi and Bhagavata Mela, Addanki and Ongole. This section, running into over 250 pages, is bound to be of much interest and value to students of Indian literature, history and culture.

Part II, of an equal size, gives the Sanskrit text with transliteration, translation and explanatory notes in Engligh. It also offers a select but detailed bibliography, glossary, index of songs (in Sanskrit and English) and of names, all of which are essential to a scholarly work of this kind. A number of maps relating to the areas of relevance to the composer and the theme are also provided.

The 'fusion of cultures' in South India—Telugu and Tamil, Pallava, Chola, Chalukya, Maharastra in Tanjore—described in the first chapter, is a valuable contribution to South Indian history and indirectly to the social-intellectual milieu for mutual understanding, if not the process of national integration.

With his academic training in Mathematics, it is not surprising that B. Natarajan is a stickler for precision, following the accepted international standards of spelling in transliteration. In the difficult art of translation, which is a dangerous walk on the razor's edge of fidelity and beauty, he has obviously given more importance to fidelity without, of course, violating the familiar canons of English idiom and usage.

As a research scholar schooled under the guidance of his father (S. R. Balasubrahmanyam, a renowned scholar in ancient history, art and archaeology), the author proceeds cautiously from the known to the unknown, having learnt the habit of treating research as "an exercise of intelligent surmise." He also has kept in mind Lord Morley's useful dictum:

"Do not put in what should have been put out; and do not put out what should have been put in."

He has certainly put in all that he could with discretion, judgement, and circumspection.

Author and journalist, D. Anjaneyulu is the President of the Madras Press Club

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(*Continued from page 143*) **A KNOWN WITNESS**

The peon went behind the counter clerk, gently pressed the latter's hands and shoulders, winking at me, as if to reassure that I was not to worry. Slipping the folded blue currency note in between the folds of my cheque, he gave them to the counter clerk, saying, "I know the customer, sir."

The counter clerk opened the cheque, placed the well-known folded currency note in his pocket with an unconcern befitting an enlightened Buddha or a wisened Arjuna, and issued the token to me, giving in bonus a friendly advice that a bearer cheque of a large amount cannot be encashed easily, unless it is accompanied by a witness *known* to him.

A well-known short-story writer, novelist and critic, Dr. Ramesh k. Srivastava is Professor of English, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar (143 005).

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NEHRU
ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(Some Comments with Excerpts)

A prison cell is perhaps not the most congenial place to do any writing, though many a patriot, freedom fighter and revolutionary have used such periods of enforced idlenss and isolation to wield their pens, if only to keep up their morale. Jawaharlal Nehru also belonged to such a rare group. Before independence, he did most of his writing—introspective or otherwise—in the confines of various prison cells. Even his historical writings in which he tried to survey and reconstruct the various episodes or movements of human history came out from the prison cells.

GLIMPSES

Thus it was that on 26th October, 1930, he began addressing a series of letters (from the central prison, Naini) to his daughter, Priyadarshini Indira (on the occasion of her thirteenth birthday according to the *Samvat* era). This correspondence, almost one-sided, grew in volume, content and the sweep of events or eras it covered, until the last letter (No. 196) on August 9,1933. In these letters, he has given us, through his searching eyes, the *Glimpses of World History* in a very readable, coherent and almost inspired manner. When the series was published, it became quite popular, almost competing with *A Short History of the World* by H. G. Wells (published in 1922). Critics, even historians, felt that Jawaharlal Nehru could hold his own with the best in the field as a chronicler of humanity in its march, through ups and downs and along the unchartered paths towards new discoveries, new struggles and achievements and new freedoms.

But for the *Glimpses*, most of his contemporaries and followers might not have become familir with the outside world. Perhaps our freedom movement would not have developed its world view of human struggle.

Nehru did not have a free access to reference books or other historical material. Yet no one can fault him for his facts. Naturally, he had to skip over many dates and details; but his selective narrations of the essentials, the trends and the movements, of personalities and institutions are so vivid and interesting that the gaps do not matter, and history becomes alive and full of drama even for the most placid readers. At that time it was like a clarion call—a call to action. His style is so easy and fluid that few would like to leave the book or a chapter half-read. The vision is that of a lover of humanity, a humanist, a fighter and a liberator, yet one in constant search of some new meaning and a higher purpose in life.

THREE REVOLUTIONS

His account of the great French Revolution preceded by other revolutions of equal importance, the Glorious Revolution in England (1688), the American War of Independence (1776), the slow and prolonged but inevitable Industrial Revolution in England and Europe through the 18th century, forms one of the key stories of his writings in this regard, from Naini, the Bareilly district jail and from Dehra Dun. From letter No. 95 (dated September 19, 1932) to letter No. 107 (November 22, 1932) he has devoted nearly a hundred pages of the text to events which had changed the very face and character of Europe. The period covered is from about 100 years before the French Revolution to about a century after the fall of Napoleon (in 1814-1815) or the whole of the 18th and 19th centuries, of which the French Revolution became both the central theme and a dividing line.

We have nothing substatial (or authoritative) to go by, but we have a feeling that perhaps Jawaharlal Nehru was the first Indian who took a serious note of, or made, an attempt for a systematic study of the French Revolution. (If any writing pre-dates the *Glimpses of World History*, we would like to share the information. *Eds.*) In this compendium, he devoted a lot of time and attention to project the French Revolution as the last but perhaps the most improtant in the sequence of three revolutions which had occurred in America and Europe towards the close of the eighteenth century. We may call him a mixture of a historian, social scientist, writer and youthful revolutionary.

FIVE YEARS OF DRAMA

In his own words, "Three letters I have written about the French Revolution - -three long letters about five years in the history of France. During our journey through the ages, we have taken centuries at a stride, and we have seen continents at a glance. But here in France, between years 1789 and 1794, we have made a fairly lengthy stay; and yet you will be surprised to learn that I have tried very hard to be brief, for my mind was full of the subject and my pen wanted to run on.....

"The French Revolution is important historically. It marks the end of an epoch and the beginning of another. But it fascinates even more by its dramatic character, and it teaches many a lesson to all of us".

Nehru, a humanist and freedom-fighter, could not avoid comparisons between the time of the French Revolution and his own contemporary world. "The world is today again in a ferment", he wrote, "and we are on the eve of great changes. In our own country, we live in a period of revolution, however peaceful it may be. So we learn much from the French Revolution and from the other great revolution, which has taken place in Russia in our day and almost before our eyes." (How could he avoid mentioning the Russian Revolution and drawing some parallel inference from the two?)

"Real revolutions of people, like these two, cast a fierce light on the grim realities of life; like a flash of

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lightning, they reveal the whole landscape, and especially the dark places. For a while, at least, the goal seems clearly visible and strangely near. Faith and energy fill one. Doubt and hesitation vanish. There is no question of compromise with the second best. Straight like an arrow, the men who make revolution go toward the goal . . . ". Thus from his letter of October 27, 1932. (*No. 103 The Ways of Government*).

In such passages one can see the reflections of Nehru's deep interest in revolutionary changes, and also his concerns and motivations. He has approached the scenes of the Revolution not as an academic chronicler or an arm-chair historical writer, but to draw lessons as a freedom fighter, a youthful leader of men and movements, very much in the thick of strife and struggle. Again and again, he found some similarities in the French situation and the prevalent Indian scene. Again and again, he found strength and new hope and courage not only from the clarity of the revolutionary goals, but perhaps more so from the awakening and upsurge of the masses—of the Indian people, of humanity at large.

THE PRELUDE & THE STORM

Earlier, in his letters, he has recalled the varied developments leading to the great event – – such as the fast, deteriorating economic and social conditions in France, the growing burdens of misery of the peasantry, the depletion of the French treasury and the need for the King and the Court to raise more money, the dissatisfaction amongst the army, following previous setbacks to France in the long drawn wars in Europe, on the American continent as well as in India, and the immediate explosive situation or the sudden spark of new hopes and aspirations of the people caused by the convention of the States-General in May 1789, when the Third Estate (or the Commons representing the middle classes) refused to bow to the Royal wishes and toe his line; but insisted on their prior consent being taken to any new measure of taxation (as in America). Then, an exasperated King turned them out, and when they met in the famous Tennis Court, he ordered his troops, even foreign mercenaries, against the bewildered, estranged people, the mob of Paris. As Nehru wrote, "This was too much for the people and, on the memorable 14th of July, 1789, they rose in Paris and captured the old prison of the Bastille and set free the prisoners. (It did not matter who the prisoners were and how many. Bastille was a symbol of tyranny and it fell !)

We may look at the event with Nehru's eyes to appreciate its full impact. "The fall of the Bastille is a great event in history. It began the revolution; it was a signal for popular risings all over the country; it meant the end of the old order in France, of feudalism and grand monarchy and privilege; it was a terrible, terrifying portent for all the kings and emperors of Europe. France, which had set the fashion in grand monarchs was now setting a new fashion, and Europe was amazed. Some looked at the deed with fear and trembling, but many saw hope in it, and the promise of a better day. The 14th of July is still the day of the *Fete Nationale* of France, and every year it is celebrated all over the country".

THE HOLD OF MONARCHY

In contrast (or by way of comic relief from the grim realities of the time), Nehru has also drawn the scenes at the palace of Versailles. "The 14th of July saw Bastille fall to the mob of Paris. Yet, so blind often are those in authority, that on the evening before, on the 13th, there was a royal fete at Versailles. There was dancing and singing, and toasts were drunk, before the King and Queen, to the coming victory over rebellious Paris."

As an aside, Nehru observed : "It is strange how extraordinary was the hold of the idea of the monarchy in Europe. We, in the present age, have got used to republics and hardly take kings seriously. The few kings that remain in the world behave very circumspectly, lest worse befall them. Even so, most people are opposed to the idea of monarchy, as it keeps up class divisions and encourages the spirit of exclusion and snobbery But this was not so in eighteenth century Europe; for the people of those days, a country without a king was a little difficult to imagine."

Let us again follow Nehru with his story after July, 1789: "So it happened that in spite of Louis's folly and attempted defiance, there was yet no talk of deposing the King; for nearly two years more, they put up with him and his intrigues, and it was only when he tried to run away and was caught that France decided to do without a king.

"But that was to be later. Meanwhile, the States-General became the National Assembly, and the King was supposed to have become a constitutional or limited monarch, that is, a King who did what he was told to do by the Assembly. But he hated this and Marie Antoinette hated it still more, and the people of Paris did not love them over much and suspected them of all manner of intrigues. Varsailles, where the King and Queen held Court at the time, was too far from Paris for the people of the capital to keep an eye on them. Tales and rumours of feasting and luxury at Versailles also excited the hungry people of Paris. So the King and Queen were taken to the Tuileries in Paris in one of the strangest of processions." (Thousands of women from Paris converged on the Versailles and marched back with the King and the Queen, almost captive—'the baker and the baker's wife,' as they called the royal couple.)

As Nehru wrote in his letter of October 10, 1932, he found it difficult to write about the Revolution, not for any lack of material, but because of the very abundance of it. "The Revolution was an amazing and ever-changing drama, full of extraordinary incidents that still fascinate us and horrify and thrill." (*101: The French Revolution — letter dated October 10, 1932*). He tried to summarise all these happenings in a coherent brief.

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We may, however, try to guage the sweep of the Revolution, again in Nehru's words : "The Revolution burst like a volcano. And yet revolutions and volca noes do not break out suddenly without reason or long evolution. We see the sudden burst and are surprised; but underneath the surface of the earth, many forces play against each other for long ages, and the fires gather together, till the crust on the surface can hold them down no longer, and they burst forth in mighty flames shooting up to the sky and molten lava rolls down the mountain side. Even so the forces that ultimately break out in revolution play for long under the surface of society. . . . ."

How very true! The comparison between the natural phenomenon and social change is as valid today as it was then, or when Nehru drew attention to it. "Before the eruption and the burst-out, there are slow fires smouldering under the surface. One needs the insight or the power to notice these out-of-sight developments and to anticipate them so as to mould the course of social change and human history !"

IDEALS & MATERIAL CONDITIONS

However, as Jawaharlal Nehru put it very succinctly and appropriately: "Ideas and economic conditions make revolutions."

That was his philosophy of revolution or his under -standing of human affairs. Even before he set to describe the Fall of Bastille or the course of the French Revolution and its aftermath, he had taken great pains to sketch out the course of human history in all its aspects and essential details – – about kings and courts, merchants and adventurers, about religious persecutions and social or religious reforms, about wars of succession and trade wars, about the craze and competition for colonies – – and all that.

He wrote about the fast changing social and economic conditions of the people in England, France, the rest of Europe and in the Americas as well as in the East. These observations based on a deep study and deeper thought had brought Nehru to draw the inescapable conclusion about the explosive combination of "ideas" and "economic conditions" which give rise to revolutions. And he wrote (almost as a rejoinder to the British colonial administrators in India) "Foolish people in authority, blind to everything that does not fit in with their ideas, imagine that revolutions are caused by agitators. Agitators are people who are discontented with existing conditions and desire a change and work for it Every revolutionary period has its full supply of them; they are themselves the outcome of ferment and dissafisfaction that exist. But tens and hundreds of thousands of people do not move to action merely at the bidding of an agitator . . . But when economic conditions are such that their day-to-day suffering grows, and life become almost an intolerable burden, then even the weak are prepared to take risks. It is then that they listen to the voice of the agitator....."

THE SLOW SHAPING OF IDEOLOGY

In this context, Nehru also mentioned other peasant risings in the past, often ending in bloodshed and repression; but "usually they had no clear idea of their goals. Because of . . . this want of an ideology, their efforts often ended in failure." As he emphasised, "In the French Revolution, we find a new thing, at any rate on such a big scale — the union of ideas with the economic urge for revolutionary action." He added, "Where there is such a union, there is the real revolution, and a real revolution affects the whole fabric of life and society – – political, social, economic and religious", as it was happening in the last years of the 18th century.

He continued : "So there were the two processes — economic distress and the formation of an ideology — going on together and acting and reacting on each other. It takes a long time to build up the ideology of a people, for new ideas have to filter down gradually to them ...." He rightly observed that sometimes when the ideas ultimately reach the people, they are "somewhat out of date." He explained : "It is interesting to notice that the ideas of the French philosophers of the eighteenth century were based on the *pre-industrial age* in Europe; and yet almost at that very time, the Industrial Revolution was beginning in England, and this was changing industry and life so much that in reality, it was knocking out the bottom from many of the new French theories. The Industrial Revolution really developed later on, and the French philosophers could not, of course, guess what was going to happen. Yet their ideas, on which, to a large extent, the French Revolution based its ideology, were partly out of date with the coming of big industry."

THE WAR OF IDEAS

"However that might be, it is clear that these ideas and theories of the French philosophers had a powerful effect on the Revolution".

As a curtain-raiser to the French Revolution, Jawaharlal Nehru covered the War of Ideas in Eighteenth Century Europe, in an earlier letter (*No. 95, dated September 1932*).

There had been many political upheavals and, of course, socio-economic changes of significance, such as the Thirty Years' War, the Civil War in England followed by the restoration of a Parliament-controlled monarchy (through the Glorious Revolution of 1688), the race and contest for colonies, especially between England and France, amidst growing pockets of prosperity in these and other parts of Europe, based on colonial trade and early phases of industrial revolution and above all, the emergence of "centralised, States" under the rival monarchies, in addition to the nascent concepts about "nations" as distinct all-embracing social, political entities above the local kings and

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courts, communities or classes. The centralised or unified "national states" were about to be born all over Europe. The French Revolution gave a push to the process. As Abbe Sieyes was to remark later, "The Third Estate is the nation".

That was only one aspect or one side of human history. On the other hand, the bitter controversies, almost wars, between the Catholics and Protestants, the Dark Ages of superstition and witch-hunts, intolerance and inquisition had nearly come to an end, replaced by some measures of adjustment and tolerance, and the growing assertion of a spirit of discovery and inquiry. The Age of Reason and the scientific spirit was about to unfold itself.

New philosophers had appeared on the scene. Among them were :— Voltaire (1694–1778); Jean Jacque Rousseau (1712–1778); and many others, such as philosopher historian Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu (1689–1755) and the Encyclopaedists, including Denis Diderot (1713–1784). In Nehru's words "France seemed to be full of philosophers and thinkers and what is more, they were widely read . . . Thus there grew up in France a strong body of opinion opposed to religious intolerance and social privilege. A vague desire for liberty possesed the people. And yet, curiously neither the philosophers nor the people wanted to get rid of the King. The idea of a republic was not a common one then, and people still hoped that they might have an ideal prince, something like Plato's philosopher - king. . . ."

"....But, as we have seen, the French Revolution did manage to get rid of the King and his court, such was its course." In the context of political ideas, Nehru adds almost a foot–note : "In England, there was no such development of political thought as in France. It is said that the Englishman is not a political animal, whilst the Franch man is . . ."

FALL OF A MONARCHY — RISE OF A NATION

So it was that monarchy was one of the institutions to go, along with its supporting base of the feudal order with its oppression, luxury and corruption. First and foremost, it was a revolution against the dominance of social and economic privilege and political authority. At the same time and out of the mob of Paris and the long oppressed French peasantry, emerged the idea or entity of a new French "nation" and then a new institutional frame-work and ultimately the triumph and contest of new ideas. Here is how Nehru has summed the crowded and often confusing events of the five years of the various phases of the Revolution :—

"...So we see in France, during these fateful five years from 1789 to 1794, the hungry masses in action. It is they who force the hands of timid politicians and make them abolish monarchy and feudalism and the privileges of the Church. It is they who pay homage to the terrible Madame Guillotine and take cruel vangeance against those who had crushed them in the past and those whom they suspect of intriguing against their new-found freedom. It is these ragged, barefooted people who, with improvised arms, rush to defend their Revolution on the battlefield, and drive back the trained armies of Europe united against them. They achieve wonders these people of France; but after several years of terrible strain and conflict, the Revolution exhausts its energy and turns on itself and begins to eat up its own children. And then comes the Counter Revolution, swallowing up the Revolution, and sending the common people who had dared and suffered so much, back to be ruled by the "superior" classes. Out of the Counter-Revolution emerges Napoleon, dictator and emperor. But neither the counter-revotution nor Napoleon could send back the people to their old places. No one could wipe away from the French people, and indeed the other peoples of Europe, the passionatate memory of the days when the under dog cast off his yoke, even though for a while only." Such was Nehru's tribute to the people.

In the first flush of new fervour and enthusiasm, the nobles and the leaders of the Church also vied with each other to surrender their feudal reights and privileges. Thus, on August 4, 1789, the National Assembly, in a dramatic fashion, abolished all such rights and privileges – – the nobles and the clergy were no longer exempt from taxation.

Then came the historic **Declaration of the Rights of Man** .....an idea first expounded at the time of the American Declaration of Independence, but vastly improved upon in content and format. This was to be a charter of human liberty, equality and brother-hood, the charter of liberal and democrat Europe for almost a century.

Many other social and economic reforms relating to Church property, administration and law courts were also introduced by the Assembly. But the land hunger of the peasant masses and the fervour of the Paris mob knew no bounds, though the middle classes began to feel that they had seen and done enough of revolution-making. Thus the differences and cleavages began to surface. Yet, a new power centre had appeared ....the Paris Commune.

Before the Revolution ended, it had to pass through many critical phases New groups and parties emerged which represented various conflicting interests or lobbies.....the royalits, the moderate republicans, the liberals and the extreme republicans and many more. All this led to a lot of infighting. There were also intrigues within the country and outside, mainly by the royalists and circles close to the King. The nobles and the leaders of the Church were also there to join the fray.

Soon, it was felt that the Revolution was threatened, not only by court intrigues a sudden and unwise

(*Continued below col. 2 on page 151*)

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EARLY GLIMPSES OF FRENCH INDIA : PONDICHERRY (*1736-60*)

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI (1709-1761)

—by P. Raja

When on September 6, 1736, Ananda Ranga Pillai began writing a diary to "preserve and perpetuate in his family a souvenir of the events of his time", he could not have dreamt that it was destined to be read by he public and researched by historians and scholars, nor did he know that he was enriching Tamil literature with a prose classic.

DIARY RETRIEVED & TRANSLATED

Since the diary was not written for publication or perusal by others, except perhaps the immediate members of his own family, it would have been lost had not a Gallois Montbru come to its timely rescue in 1846. Father of a Mayor of Pondicherry, this Frenchman, who had learnt the Tamil language and took the deepest interest in old vernacular writings, discovered the volumes along with the diarist's sword and pistol hidden under dust and cobwebs in Ranga Pillai's house.

Gallois Montbru made a copy of the original for his own use, and later translated it into French. Much later, Edouarde Ariel, a minister in the French Government at Pondicherry, had a copy made and deposited the original for safe keeping in the National Library of Paris A complete English translation was undertaken in the early 20th century under the guidance of H. Dodwell, Curator, Madras Records Office and was published in 12 volumes (1917-1928). The French Consulate in Pondicherry bore the expense of publishing the *Diary* in the original Tamil and the work began in 1948.

As a record of matters political, historical, social and personal, the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* is an invaluable treasure. It is commonly believed that Indians have no awareness of history and there is not much of Indian historical literature. But Ranga Pillai dispels such beliefs by having recorded as an eye-witness the manners of the then court and society.

BORN IN A MERCHANT'S FAMILY

Ananda Rangappan was born on March 30, 1709, in Perambur, a suburb of Madras, where his affluent father carried on business as a merchant. In his seventh year, his father, Thiruvengadam Pillai migrated with his family to Pondicherry.

Thiruvengadam Pillai, whose chief intention of coming to Pondicherry was to assist his brother-in-law, Nainiya Pillai, the then Courtier or Chief *Dubash*, in his trade, was able to earn the goodwill of the people and make a name as an honest man. He was honoured with the post of an assistant *native* agent and later Dewan to the French East India Company, an association formed by French merchants for trading directly with India. He carried out competently whatever work was entrused to him, and young Ranga Pillai, who always accompanied his father learnt the nuance of the trade and became well-versed in the politics of the day.

Thiruvengadam Pillai died in June 1726. To keep his head above water, Ranga Pillai had to open an arecanut shop, which he did not abandon even when he was honoured with powerful posts. We are told that he used the shop as a place for meeting his friends in the evenings and gathering information.

In the same year, M. Lenoir came from France to assume office as Governor of Pondicherry. On hearing of the death of Thiruvengadam Pillai, for whom he had high regard, Lenoir appointed Ranga Pillai as native head of the French Factory at Porto Novo, where large quantities of blue cloth known as 'Company cloth' were manufactured both for the Company and for private traders. Ranga Pillai's status in the French service rose as business picked up.

RECOGNITION & HONOUR

But he had to wait for 12 more years for due recognition of his services, when Joseph Francis Dupleix, Knight of the Order of St. Michael, arrived as Governor in 1742. Ranga Pillai did not believe in sycophancy or bribery, yet he rose rapidly to power, working honestly and efficiently. Here is what he wrote about himself in his diary, dated February 26, 1747: "No one has acquired the reputation that I have; and my fame is in the mouths of ambassadors at courts, Governors of Provinces, men of rank and all people living within 300 leagues of this... They all say: 'We have never seen, or heard, a man equal to Ananda Rangappan in diplomatic skill, in keenness of intellect, or in boldness of conception; or in fact, in any other qualification whatsoever' . ."

In 1746, with the death of Kanagaraya Mudaliar, the post of Chief *Dubash* fell vacant and Dupleix, who had full trust in Ranga Pillai's integrity and capacity made him successor to the dead courtier. As the most trusted of the Indian advisors, Dupleix often consulted Ranga Pillai and acted upon his advice on many intricate points.

The public and the officials had high respect and regard for his remarkable shrewdness and honesty in business. The French had unshakable faith in him and never thought twice before they accorded him the privilege of minting French coins in India. He was a prosperous merchant who owned ships that toured the seas. Money came flooding in: but he spent much of it on philanthropic causes. As a connoisseur of the arts and literature of his day, Ranga Pillai helped poets by wiping off their debts and they, in turn, sang songs in praise of their patron. Quite a number of such works exist to this day. Kasthuri Rangaiyar's '*Ananda*

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Rangurat Sandamu', Poet Sreenivasa's '*Ananda Ranga Sambu*', and Poet Thiagaraja Desigar's '*Ananda Ranga Kovai*' deserve mention.

A lover of his mother-tongue, Ranga Pillai always signed his letters, both official and personal, and even documents, in Tamil and was proud to do so. Though well-versed in French, Portuguese, English and Persian, Ranga Pillai preferred to write his diary in Tamil. As a diarit he jotted down his impressions of events in bound volumes of the size of large account notebooks. Begun on September 6, 1736 the diary continued till September 1760. He died shortly after, on January 11, 1761. Though there is no change of style, it is cerarin that the diary was not written throughout in his own hand. There is evidence of several hands, with the occasional writing of Ranga Pillai himself. Perhaps overload of work, or illness because of travel, caused him to dictate to his amanuenses in the privacy of his bedroom after the chores of the day were over.

A RESPECTABLE CITIZEN & PATRON OF POETS

To quote a translator, the diarist "did not record day by day the events which he considered worthy of mention. Sometimes consecutive entries are to be found; then breaks of more or less length occur; then the events of a single day appear; and then the entries are made under one date of the occurrences of several days—perhaps from notes." But the diary gives, for 25 years, a consecutive record of what the Chief Dubash did, of the people he saw and met, and what he thought of them. Dupleix and his wife, Chanda Saheb, Yousouf Khan, Lally, Labour Donnais and many others come to life in flesh and blood.

Here is his estimate of Dupleix's character, after having observed him for four years : "His method of doing things is not known to anyone, because none else is possessed of the quick mind with which he is gifted. In patience he has no equal. He has peculiar skill in carrying out his plans and designs, in the management of affairs and in governing, in fitting his advice to times and persons, in maintaining at all times an even countenance; in closing things through proper agents; in addressing them in proper terms; and in assuming a bearing at once dignified and courteous towards all. Besides this, if his courage, character, bearing, greatness of mind and skill in the battlefield were put to the test, he could be compared only with Emperor Aurangazeb and Louis XIV, and not with any other monarch."

About the Deputy Governor, M. Delorme, when he left for France after his period of office was over, the diarist observes, "Many in Pondicherry were concerned at the departure of the Deputy Governor, for he was liked by the people for his just decisions. He made no distinction between the rich and the poor; never took a bribe and treated the native on a footing of equality with the European." However, about the promoted official, M. Legou, the diarist writes: "The people were also grieved at the thought of having his (M. Delorme) successor M. Legou who is not famed for his uprightness and has a partiality for Europeans. They were aware of the weak administration of M. Dumas and feared that no check would be exercised over M. Legou."

DIARY AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY

Ranga Pillai's keen observation, fostered by his status in society, has made his diary a source book of history. Very interested in contemporary events, he records in his diary "the valuable account of things historical, political and social appertaining to the period embracing the rise, the zenith and the decline of the French power in India". Not only great events like the negotiations ending in the purchase by the French of Karaikal, a village in Tanjore district, and the grant by the Nabob of Arcot to the French to mint their own coinage are recorded, but also the gun salutes which were fired on every possible occasion and the enormous sums of money spent on gunpowder.

ABOUT CEREMONIALS LAW & ORDER ENFORCEMENT & PRICES

The diary opens to us the vistas of times gone by. We are introduced to the customs and manners of the people in the 18th century. When Dupleix came to Pandicherry to assume office as Governor, the local people welcomed him and the rich men and merchants gave him a lot of presents. The following few lines are what the diarist entered in his notebook on July 14, 1747: "With the presents given to Dupleix by the people, he got up and entered his coach. As he passed the gate, 15 guns were fired from the walls, and the soldiers formed a lane from the gate up to the grass market. First went a white banner, then men carrying tufts of peacock feathers, then horses with kettle drums and elephant with flags. Then came the troop of horse, and last of all, the Mahe sepoys and horsemen. Besides these were the dancing-girls and various instruments, drums and so forth. This procession left the tent with great pomp and splendour at half-past seven. It went as far as the painters' bazaar, then turning South-West down Muttayya Pillai Street, passed the Vedapuri Iswaran Temple, skirted the South rampart and reached the East Gate. Then 21 guns were fired. At last it reached the South entrance to the Governor's House, and he went in and sat down, on which there was another salute of 21 guns. In the course of the procession, bundles of crackers were fired 7 or 8 time. It was a grand sight. At last all took leave of the Governor and went home."

The brutal punishments exercised on culprits are also described. The culprit, be he officer or thug, was tied to a *neem* tree and flogged, the number of strokes depending on the nature of the crime, and salt and vinegar were daubed on the wounds before he was thrown into the godown of the Fort.

Intoxicating drinks were prohibited and bootleggers were fined heavily and put behind bars for a year. It is

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very interesting to read in the diary dated June 11, 1739, the following account: "Chevalier Dumas, the Governor of Pondicherry, has issued the following proclamation by beat of tom-tom: 'No person shall commit a nuisance within the limits of the town, either on the beach, or on the banks of the Upparu river running to the South of St. Paul's Church, or in the public roads. Anyone offending in this respect will be liable to a fine of six *panams* (3/4 of a rupee), two of which will be paid to the person who siezes the delinquent in the act, the remaining four being credited to the funds of the court.' The foregoing rule is being reinforced. The number of citizens who have taken to heart the severity of th is measure is beyond calculation".

Here is an example of how the soldiers were punished. "There was a remarkable occurrence this day (June 11, 1738). A soldier who had deserted and been captured, and who had remained in confinement for the last fifteen days, was made an example of, as a warning to others. He was removed to the South of the Fort, near the ditch and ordered to kneel. He was then blindfolded and shot through the heart by 3 soldiers who stood opposite to him with their muskets aimed at his breast."

He details the costs of commodities and the soldier's wages :–Horses (highbreed)–400 *pogodas* (100 *pagodas*=320 Arcot rupees); Horses (lowbreed)—150 *pagodas*; 9 betel leaves for I *kasu* (now paise); 10 *palams* of tobacco leaves for I *panam*, and the wages paid to soldiers—Rs. 20 a month.

FESTIVALS, BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS & GOSSIP

He has also described the religious rites and festivals of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Not only do Pongal and Sivarathri or Bhakr-id and Kandoori or Easter and Christmas find their places in the diary, but also the Fire Festival (the devotees run on a pit of 20 feet in length and 10 feet in breadth, filled up with live coals without burning their feet) and the Hunting Festival (the night on which every house in the town was illuminated and which was passed in rejoicing).

He furnishes information regarding business transactions and affairs of state like "*Prince de Conde* (a ship) was laden with 800 bales of cloth and was to proceed to Mahe and receive there a consignment of pepper" and "A daily post was established between Tanjore, Pondicherry and Karaikal to facilitate communication between these places."

He also narrates trivial things like the gossip of the town; for instance, the case of a French official, M. Coquet, Notary Public, who with Dutch courage entered an Indian house, made a nuisance of himself and pursued a girl who rushed out. He was severely beaten up as a result.

One can always read the *Diary* for the sheer descriptive skill of Ranga Pilliai. Look at the way he describes the havoc caused by a hurricane blast: "Pondicherry was last night (Nov. 3, 1745) visited by a hurricane which commenced immediately after sunset. It blew the whole night. The destruction caused by it cannot, even approximately, be estimated. During the night, the avenues of margosas and portias growing in the town were uprooted. Many trees were twisted out of shape. The coconut, mango, and other trees in orchards and gardens were all laid low, and many persons have thereby been ruined..... The houses in the three streets of the newly formed suburb were all swept away.....Many persons were drowned; the cattle also perished in great numbers .. During this storm, crows, sparrows and other birds perished in large numbers and their remains lay floating on the water which filled the streets. The plantations in the outlying places of the town were utterly destroyed ..... Had the storm continued a day longer, not a single building in the town would have remained standing."

While reading the *Diary*, we feel as if the diarist is himself speaking to us, for Ranga Pillai wrote as he spoke. There is no pundit pomposity in his writings. His charming prose style is rich, racy with the colloquial idioms of the day, and is a boon to linguistic researchers.

[*P. Raja, poet, writer and critic lives in Pondicherry. This review has been reprinted by, courtesy of the Editor, from MOTHER INDIA (Feb. 1983). –Eds.*]

Countinued from page 148. **FRENCH REVOLUTION**

flight of the King and the Queen had given a different edge to the situation. and ultimately sealed their fate) but also from outside France. The powers of Europe did not know how to deal with or contain this new phenomenon. By 1792, France was at war with Austria and Prussia. A new dimension had been added to the situation .....the Revolution had now to reckon with not only the real or imaginary enemies within, but with strong powers beyond its borders.

The National Assembly, giving place to the Legislative Assembly in September 1791,had been replaced by the National convention by Septmber 1792: and France was declared a Republic. But troubles mounted.....at home there was the mob of Paris and its revolutionary Commune, there were the various parties and groups jockey-ing for position, and each suspicious of the other, there was the disenchanted and frustrated peasantry, going its own slow place, and yet new republican/revolutioanry army had to be recruited, fed and clothed and armed to resist and fight the foreign interventions. Thus threatened from various quarters, the Conevention set up its two Committees-of Public Welfare and Safety which soon ushered in the era of terror and torture.

One can quote more liberally and extensively from the *Glimpses of World History* and appreciate his interpretation of facts, the tone and spirit of his writings his fervour and passion for freedom and a vision of the future.

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INDO-FRENCH CONTACTS :

INDIAN STUDIES IN FRANCE

A Note by Ashim Kumar Roy

The French were the first European people to attempt a systematic study of ancient Indian literature.

In the early 18th century, the French, the English and the Dutch were the only European "nations" with trading establishments in India. The English and the Dutch were interested in few things other than commercial; and the people they sent to India were mainly connected with trade. The French, on the other hand, had some Christian priests in addition to the traders and military men. It was due to their efforts that knowledge about the existence of Sanskrit literature in South and South East Asia reached France.

EARLY COLLECTIONS & FIRST CATALOGUES

In 1718, Bignon, the King's librarian, had the idea of purchasing from India and Indo-China all their chief works of literature. Messages were sent to these countries to this effect. Father Calmette in South India was able to obtain copies of the *Rig*, *Yajur* and *Sama Vedas*. "Father Pons who was stationed in Chandernagore in Bengal was able to collect the main works of the different branches of classical Sanskrit literature,epics, *Puranas Vyakarana*, *Nataka*, *Alankara*, *Vedanta*, and chiefly *Nyaya*, which comprised some important works of the *Navya Nyaya*. His catalogue was astonishingly accurate for its time, and contained 168 entries." Pons who knew Sanskrit added to it a Sanskrit grammar which he had written in Latin, and a Latin translation of the *Amarakosha*.

The first printed catalogue of Sanskrit literature was published in Paris in 1739. In 1740, Pons gave in a letter the first sound report on all aspects of Sanskrit literature. This letter, *Lettres Edifantes et curieuses* was published several times. Sir William Jones, the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784), had read this letter while still in England and had come to know that *Natakas* (plays) existed in ancient Indian literature. This useful collection of Indian manuscripts, however, could not be utilized at that time in Paris, for nobody knew Sanskrit in that city.

MARIDAS PILLAI OF PONDICHERRY

Pondicherry in South India became a centre of Indian learning for the French, thanks to a Tamil scholar Maridas Pillai who also knew Latin and French very well. He gave valuable information to many French scholars who visited Pondicherry. One of his pupils was the astronomer Le Gentil, who gave a substantial account of Indian astronomy Maridas Pillai translated the *Bagavadam*, a Tamil version of the *Bhagavata Purana*, into French.

Before publication, the manuscript was sent to Joseph Deguignes in Paris. In the dynastic list of the kings given in this *Purana*, Deguignes found the name of Sandragoutten, i. e., Chandragupta. In this name, Deguignes immediately recognized the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, who was contemporaneous with Seleucas Nicator (303 BC). The synchronism illustrating the chronology of India thus discovered was published in about 1770, in *Memoires de l'Academie de Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. More than 20 years later, Sir William Jones in Calcutta re-discovered the same synchronization and made it popular.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION :

NEW SCHOLARS & NEW SOURCES

Indian studies were again taken up in France in the first quarter of the 19th century. The intervening years did not go waste. Deguignes and others with their knowledge of Central Asian sources were able to prove the wide influence of Buddhism on Central Asia and China.

A.L. de Chezy studied Sanskrit by himself. In 1814, a chair of Sanskrit was created for him in College de France. Chezy who died of cholera in 1832 was followed by several great pupils from a number of European countries. Among his notable French pupils were Deslongchamps who published the *Manusmirti* and the *Amarakosha*, and Langlois who was responsible for the first complete translation of the *Rigveda* and the *Harivansha*. But the greatest of them was Eugene Burnouf.

Burnouf devoted his life to gain knowledge of India. He did not want to limit his studies to any narrow segment of Indology. He discovered for the Europeans the Pali language. He found the key to the *Avesta*, written in the sacred language of the Parsis This he was able to do by wide use of Panini's grammar. He translated into the French the first nine *skandhas* of the *Bhagavata Purana*. He was a pioneer in the study of the Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts. But above all, he left a number of distinguished pupils. Among them was the German scholar Max Muller who published the *Rigveda*.

The Societe Asiatique, the first among all the oriental societies in Europe, was founded in Paris in 1823, on the lines of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

It is interesting to note that Indian studies did not flourish in Britain as they did in France and Germany. There were few people interested in Indology in Britain at that time. Why this happened is not clear. Perhaps it was due to the influence of James Mill who, in his *History of British India*, refused to believe that ancient India had any culture or civilization. But in France, as well as in other European countries, Indian studies were taken up with enthusiasm.

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INDO-CHINA & TIBET

France had by that time spread its influence in Indo-China. Bergaigne (1838-89) who was Professor of Sanskrit in Ecole de Hautes Etudes studied the Sanskrit inscriptions of Indo-China. "Many inscriptions in very correct Sanscript and frequently elaborated in *Kavya* style were found in Cambodia and on the eastern coast of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. Bergaigne, along with Barth, did the important work of deciphering, translating, and publishing many of these epigraphs."

Sylvain Levi, who became the Professor of Sanskrit at the College de France a few years after Bergaigne, engaged himself in Buddhist studies in Nepal and Tibet. He mastered the Tibetan and Chinese languages, and was thus able to correct many Buddhist Sanskrit texts rediscovered by him in Nepal and Tibet.

In the early 20th century, some fragmentary Buddhist manuscripts were discovered in Kucha and other places in Central Asia. A fragmentary Sanskrit text was accompanied by its Kuchean version. Sylvain Levi, with the help of the linguist Antoine Meillet, was able to decipher the Kuchean language and thus get the contents of the original.

Levi's pupil, Jules Bloch was a philologist. His work both on the Indo-Aryan and the Dravidian languages, in the second quarter of this century, was considered almost the final word on these two language groups at that time.

The French have continued their interest in Indology. When the French possessions in India were taken over by the Government of India, an agreement was entered into between the Indian and French governments by which the latter established a French Institute of Indology in Pondicherry. Jean Filliozat, Professor of Indian Languages and Literature, College de France, Paris, was the first Director of the Institute.

[This essay is based on a lecture delivered by Filliozat in the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture in Calcutta. The lecture was published in 1964 in *Indian Studies Abroad*, a compilation by the Indian Council of Cultural Relations. *AKR*]

Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy has contributed this short note in response to our request for a suitable contribution to mark the Bi-centenary of the French Revolution. –Eds.

A Long Affair | TORU DUTT |

INDIA'S GIFT OF LOVE TO FRANCE

by I. K. Sharma

In this bicentenary year of the French Revolution, it is good to recall our association—mainly literary—with that land and nation of several revolutions that have inspired several minds and movements the world over.

Voltaire, who was 'half the Revolution' was a creator of new ideas. Paris was then the intellectual capital of the world, and remained so for long. Being French was some thing to be proud of! The triumphant march of French culture, which had begun long before the 1789 Revolution had brought under its spell all important personalities of Europe. Fredrick the Great of Prussia, Catherine of Russia, Christine of Sweden and many more—kings, courtiers and commoners felt French influnce strongly. The spirit of France was then alive and flowing in every direction.

But India remained aloof or cut-off from the French influence for about a hundred years, although the French trade and culture had touched its shores in 1674.

However, in the third quarter of the 19th century, a Bengali Hindu turned–Christian, Govind Chunder Dutt made up his mind to stay in Paris 'the capital of the world'. Finally, he sailed for France in 1869 with his two gifted daughters, Toru and Aru. They stayed at Nice in France, and their four–month stay interestingly, opened a new chapter of cultural contacts and exchange between the two countries. France sent the young daughters of India into raptures. They learnt French quite fast and gained utmost proficiency in it. French literature soon became their staple diet.

The elder daughter, Toru Dutt (1856–1877) was maddeningly in love with France. She would often call herself 'a French girl'. In her letters to cousins in Calcutta, she would weave in French words and expressions. The openness of French society impressed her so deeply that she decided to shape herself on the lines of French women.

But what is of interest to us is how she built an unseen bridge, unwittingly though, between the two countries, through the translations she had done of French lyrics These translations earned high praise from a celebrated literary critic, Sir Edmund Gosse, who said ....."if modern French literature were entirely lost, it might not be found impossible to reconstruct a great number of poems from this Indian version." No small praise it was ! And he concluded by saying that they are "an important landmark in the history of the progress of culture."

These translations were put under one cover enlitled *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields* (1876) Within four years, the book ran into three editions. The book

(*Continued*)

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had translations of seventy-five poets beginning from the sixteenth century, including Du Bastas, Du Bellay, Hugo, Soulary, De Gramont, Alphonse Marie Louis De Lamartine, Sainte-Beuve, C. Baudelaire, Mme. Valmore.

Not only French literature, even political speeches made in the Legislative Assembly thrilled Toru Dutt. She translated one of the speeches of Victor Hugo in English and published it under the title 'A Scene from Contemporary History' in the *Bengal Magazine*. Also, she translated another speech (this time by another speaker M. Thiers made in 1870) and published it in the same magazine. All this activity of Toru Dutt, a girl in her teens, shows how far she had gone French.

Not satisfied with that she carved out a new course for herself. She chose to write a novel in French. Her novel *Le Journal De Mademoiselle'd Arvers* appeared after her death with a prefatory memoir by her father. The novel was in the from of a diary written in French by a young lady. In it she portrayed characters drawn from French society.

Her love for France was absolute and unwavering. Nothing reveals it more than a poem on France she composed at the age of 15. (*See next column—Ed.*)

The mysterious French spirit that possessed her since her arrival in France, body and soul, stayed with her till her end. She was perhaps India's first 'unacknowledged' but an ardent lover of the spirit of France and probably also the last.

FRANCE (1870)

Not dead,—Oh no,—she cannot die !
Only a swoon, from loss of blood !
Levite England passes her by,
Help, Samaritan ! None is nigh;
who shall stanch me this sanguine flood ?

Range the brown hair, it blinds her eyne,
Dash cold water over her face !
Drowned in her blood, she makes no sign,
Give her a draught of generous wine.
None heed, none hear, to do this grace.

Head of the human column, thus
Ever in swoon wilt thou remain ?
Thought, Freedom, Truth, quenched ominous,
Whence then shall Hope arise for us,
Plunged in the darkness all again ?

No, She stirs ! - There's a fire in her glance
Ware, Oh ware of that broken sword !
What, dare ye for an hour's mischance,
Gather around her, jeering France,
Attila's own exultant horde ?

Lo, she stands up,—stands up even now,
Strong once more for the battle fray,
Gleams bright the star, that from her brow
Lightens the world. Bow, nations, bow,
Let her again lead on the way !

[*We hope to offer a more detailed appreciation of the genius and gifts of young Toru Dutt in some subsequent issues.* —*Eds.*]

A–BIO SKETCH : TORU DUTT (1856–1877)

TORU DUTT (1856–1877) : Indian poetess and translator was born in Calcutta on March 4. 1856, and died there of tuberculosis on August 30, 1877. She was the youngest child of Govinda Chundra Dutt, of Rambagan in Calcutta, member of a distinguished family noted for its poetical gifts. In 1862, the family was converted to Christianity. Toru visited Europe with her parents in 1869, and spent some time in Nice in a *pensionnat* (boarding school) and then at Paris.

Toru Dutt, then in an impressionable age, war soon in love with France and French literature James Dermesteter, in his *Essais de Litterature Anglaise* has stated that "French became her favourite language and France the country of her election."

Early in 1870 the family arrived in London, moving in 1871 to Cambridge. On return to India in 1873, Toru began to learn Sanskrit and contributed to the *Bengal Magazine* translations in English from the French Romantic school of poetry. Late in 1876, she published with other pieces, poems of about 70 French poets in a volume entitled *A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields*. This established her as a poet and, in due course, won the praise of Andre Theuriet and Sir Fdmund Gosse. Her first published writing was *Lelonte de lisle*, a review of French poems, published in the *Bengal Magaine*. Her translations of speeches deliverd by victor Hugo and Thiers in the French Legislative Assembly were also published in the *Bengal Magazine* in 1875.

Her most remarkable work, however, was French novel, *Le Journal De Mlie. D' Arvers*. Dedicated to Lord Lytton, this was pnblished posthumously by *Didier (Paris 1879)*, with a preface by the Orientalist, Mlle. Clarisse Bader. This book was highly praised by Madame de Saffray, and James Darmesteter who included an appreciation of it in his *Essais*.

Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindsutan (*London, 1882*) constitute Toru Dutt's best known poetical work in English. In this book, she presented, for the benefit of English readers, some of the great stories form the Indian classical literature, and also some other beautiful miscellaneous poems. Of these, *Our Casuarina Tree* is rich in imagery and musical cadences.

One of her novels, *Bianca* was published in the *Bengal Magazine* in 1878, soon after her premature and untimely death.

[*Note based on information culled out from an earlier edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica and material collected my Dr. Asim Kumar Roy from a Bengali Who's Who.* *Eds.*]

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FOUR SHORT COMMENTS by D. D.

[This is the last instalment of Book Notes by (late) Prof. Devahuti of Delhi University. — Eds.]

NEW ESSAYS ON THE BHAGAVAD GITA

Compiled by Arvind Sharma

Books & Books, New Delhi, (1987) pp viii+204.

The compiler of these essays, Arvind Sharma, is associated with Harvard, Sydney and McGill Universities. He has himself made an intensive study of the *Bhagavad Gita*. His twelve contributors hail from different countries such as India, U. K., U. S. A., Canada, Australia and Singapore. Expectedly, a study on the *Gita* has two essays on Shankara and Ramanuja. Others deal with the Concept of Duty, the Concept of Abandonment, the Thesis of Action, Contradiction and the Logic of Conversion in the *Gita*, the *Gita* on War, Religious Experience in the Eleventh Chapter of the *Gita*, *Gita* and Modern Hinduism and finally the Prologue scenes in the *Gita* and in Dante, *La Divina Commedia* under the title "Dying into Life".

It is good that the bicentennial of the first translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* in English, in 1985, was commemorated with the publication of such a valuable collection of essays.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy :

TIME AND ENTERNITY

Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, (1988) pp 140.
First Indian Edition

In the tradition of medieval scholarship, this great savant (1877–1947) made important contributions in the fields of geology, anthropology, music, science and Islamic art, in addition to his major works on Indian philosophy, religion, art and iconography, taking into his sweep the Indian elements in world civilization.

In this book, Coomaraswamy deals with the two concepts of Time and Timelessness which, being associated with the supreme principle, attracted the attention of great religious thinkers. He discusses with rare insight, the treatment of these concepts in the Hindu, Greek, Christian and Islamic traditions.

[Note : We also have two other recent books, (Compilations of Anand Coomarswamy's Letters, and Writings) awaiting review.—*Editors*]

[May we, once again, request our contributors to send us detailed comments on some of these books, review copies of which have not been sent to the Indian Book Chronicle by the publishers. —Eds.]

Marianne Yaldiz and Wibke Lobo (Eds.)

INVESTIGATING INDIAN ART

Berlin 1987, pp 384.

[Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography held at the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin in May 1986.]

Participants in the seminar belonged to India, Germany, France, Italy, U.K. and U.S.A. . While all the papers are on Indian themes, and most of them are in the context of India and Pakistan, some are related, relevantly so, to Central Asia. The Museum fur Indische Kunst in Berlin has one of the best collections in the world on Central Asian antiquities in spite of the ravages wrought by the second world war.

Some of the topics discussed are Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Indian Art (**Fussman**), the Development of Buddhist Symbosium on the Coinage of the North-west (**Mac Dowall**), Rama, Kama, and the Archer Type of Gupta Coin (**P. Pal**), Origin and Date of the Bower Manuscript: a new approach (**Sander**), Shaiva Temple Forms' loci of God's Unfolding Body (**Srinivasan**) etc. Almost all the papers carry illustrations in black and white.

This handsome volume is a fitting tribute to **Prof. Herbert Hartel** who is best known in India for the discovery of exquisite art objects during his excavations at Sonkh near Mathura.

Krishan Murari

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI

Concept Publishing Co., Delhi (1987), pp xvi+402.

The Chalukyas of Kalyani ruled from the capital of that name in Bidar district of Mysore from A.D. 973 to 1200. They had some illustrious contemporaries such as the Rashtrakutas, the Hoysalas, the Kakatiyas, the Pallavas and the Cholas. Their history, therefore, has no dearth of sources. Part I of the book deals with the sources and legendary as well as historical accents of the origin of the Kings; part II with their geneological and political history; and parts III and IV cover the social and cultural history of the Kingdom. There is a detailed study of polity and trade as well as of religion, art and literature.

This study forms a substantial part of the doctoral thesis by Dr. Krishna Murari, approved by the Magadh University Bodh-Gaya, in 1968.

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BOOKS FROM PAKISTAN

by Raghuraj Gupta

I had the good fortune of visiting Pakistan in March-April, 1989, for collecting some material and field work for my forthcoming book on *'The Politics and Communal Relations in Pakistan, Bangladesh and India'*. I availed this opportunity to select a few significant books that could help me in understanding and analys -ing the present Pak-scenario. I also visited the best book-shops in that country. It was a rewarding and revealing experience.

COPY-RIGHT LAWS, BANS & PIRATD EDITIONS

The book-lovers, writers and publishers in the sub-continent will be shocked to learn that the Pakistan Copyright Laws do not provide protection to Indian and other foreign writers or publishers. There is a flood of pirated Pakistani editions of the pot-boilers and the emergence of some unscruplous publishers who have become multimillionares overnight. The Zia regime helped them in their unfair practices and misdeeds by banning all Indian books on Humanities and Social Sciences, which the dictator had feared might erode his 'credibility'. For instance, Maulana Azad's "*India Wins Freedom*" a best-seller, is available in a pirate edition in Pakistan. A publisher of Lahore, perhaps the most prominent pirate with the biggest showroom on the Mall, has prospered with impunity.

It is unfortunate that the Indian Government which has cordial relations with the present Pakistan rulers (and when the Pakisten Prime Minister is a "popular" author of the *Daughter of the East*) has not yet approach -ed the Pakistan Government to rectify this wrong of the Zia era. This has greatly harmed Indian authors and publishers.The *Authors Guild of India* and the Indian Federation of Publishers should also initiate action and persuade the Pakistan Government to undo the past wrong with a view to furthering friendly relations between the Indian authors and publishers and the Pak Government.

MY PICK OF ELEVEN BOOKS

From Pakistan, I picked up eleven books. Of these, shockingly enough, six have been arbitrarily detained by the Amritsar Customs Authorities at Attari. The six books that were seized include the following:

1. *The Lahore Resolution : Arguments For and Against* by Shafiq Ali Khan
2. *Broader Dimension of the Ideology of Pakistan* by Ausaf Ali
3. *Emergence of Pakistan* by Mohammad Ali.
4. *Indian Secularism and Minorities* (in Urdu) by Tahira Anjum
5. *South Asian Studies Vol. 4, No. 1*, published by the Punjab University, Lahore.

FROM ACROSS

The Finance Minister, Goverment of India, has been approached to intervene in the matter to get these books released. After two months, the Attari Customs has been able to "pass" and return one book. With such speed, they may take ten more months to clear the remaining five, and by that time, I may not be there to read or use them. [*We hope and trust that the remaining books have since been restored to the scholar. Eds.*]

I will, therefore, confine my comments to the other six books that the Indian Customs allowed me to bring.

PRSS IN CHAINS

1. *Press in Chains* by Zamir Niazi is a famous book published in 1986, during Zia's rule, by the Karachi Press Club to circumvent the cunning autocrat ruler who declared that the press was free to publish anything. In practice, it was impossible, as no publisher dared to accept the Niazi *Mss*, which compelled him to persuade the Karachi Press Club to come to his rescue. After its publication, he invited Mr. Dorab Patel, the retired Chief Justice to release his book. Zia had to eat a humble pie. *Press in Chains* is a well-documented work on the suppression and manuipulation of press in Pakistan.

I was privileged to receive an autographed complimentary copy from its author, Niazi. A book equally worth reading and rewarding for the students of Indian Press.

Press in Chains is a saga of the journalists who braved and defied the powerful rulers, suffered and even met death; and also a fuly documented description of those who sold their conscience. This objective and bold book is now a best-seller. Two pirate editions from India bear testimony to its success [*This has been reviewed in this Journal by Madan Gopal, a veteran journalist and former editor in the issue of March 1988 Vol. XIII No. 3 —Eds.*].

RLIGION, POLITICS & SOCITY

All the following books have been published by the Royal Book Co., Karachi :—

(2) **Akbar S. Ahmad** : *Religion and Politics in Muslim Society: Order and Conflict in Pakistan, 1986.*

(3) *Pieces of Green: The Sociology of Change in Pakistan (1964-74).*

(4) *Pakistan Society: Islam, Ethnicity and Leadership in South Asia, 1988.*

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THE BORDER

These three books are by the eminent and widely known Pakistani anthropologist, Akbar Ahmad. Strange -ly enough, he has been a senior member of the Pakistan Civil Service, counterpart of the Indian I. A. S., who has served the goverments of Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Bhutto and Zia, and could save his skin. He is a prolific and most discussed Pakistan author. I, too, have been impressed and fascinated by his broad sweep and wide interests. He is also a poet and a creative writer.

Pieces of Green is a compilation of Ahmad's early research papers on Sindh (1966), Punjab (1966–69), Frontier (1968–70), East Pakistan (1970–71) and his early poems. All pieces are very informative, promising and interesting to read.

Religion & Society is a much mature work carried out in Waziristan; dealing with agnatic rivalries of its chiefs, their conflict with the government, the emergence of the messianic *Mullah*; tribal economic development, and finally an anthropologist bureaucrat's participation and interaction with his subjects. It is an important book for understanding the tribal psyche and their problems, difficult to be managed.

Pakistan Society is indeed the best and the most thoughtful or absorbing work of Ahmad. It presents a predictive model for diagnosing the dynamics of change in Muslim society in Pakistan. This perspective is also largely shared by the Indian and Bangladesh Muslims. Mainly, four socio–religious philosophies have influenced the Muslim society, as represented by the historical figures of Aurangzeb and Dara Shikoh in the past; of Zia-ul-Haq and Z.A. Bhutto in the present.

Ethnicity is another key variable. Punjabi, Pashto, Baluchi, Sindhi, and Urdu-speaking *Muhajirs* represent the main ethnic groups contending for power. The third major force is the type and quality of leadership.

Akbar Ahmad has ably and interestingly described the major currents of Pakistani life and social behaviour. A very edifying book for the citizens of this sub–continent and also for the serious scholars.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS & SOCIETY

5. **Manzooruddin Ahmad** (Ed.) *Contemporary Pakistan : Politics Economy and Society, 1982.*

Contemporary Pakistan is a collection of seminar papers presented at the Columbia University, Pakistan Centre of the Southern Asian Institute in 1978. Though dated, it contains very insight ful papers, useful even today, to appreciate the links with the past. We have papers on Pakistani politics, its constitutional problems and its changing party structures; Muslim League; People's Party; problems of the Pak economy; its growth of population and urbanization; and Educational policy.

The contributions of the American scholars are bold, frank and perceptive. The editor, *Manzooruddin Ahmad* has constributed a long introduction. He is rather diplomatic, apologetic and constrained in expressing his opinions for obvious reasons. He was then serving the Karachi University under a military ruler, Gen. Zia. The foreign scholars had no such inhibitions. Now he is free to speak out frankly, and without fear. I met him in Karachi recently.

Dr. Raghuraj Gupta is Hon. Secretary Alpha Publishing & Printing Coop. Society Ltd. A-Z, Balda Road Colony, Lucknow (226007). [We hope he would soon oblige the IBC readers with his detailed comments on some of these books from across the border. –Eds.]

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

*Associations * Conferences * Symposiums*

(*Compiled by* **O. P. Joshi**, HCM RIPA, Jaipur)

1. International Union of Anthropology and Ethnological Sciences (INAES)

The XIIth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held at Zagreb (Yugoslavia) 21–23 July, 1988, when the was following office-bearers were elected :

Prof. L. Arjzpe (Mexico) President
Prof. H. Mover (Yugoslavia) Past President
Prof. E. Sutherland (U.K.) Secretary General
Prof. P. Baker (USA), R. Cardoso de Oliveira (Brazil), H. Classen (Netherland) D. Clark (USA) J. Metge (Newzealand), P. Rudan (Yugoslavia) M. Zamora (USA)

Members at large : G. Bear (Switzerland), M. Day (U.K.) L. Dube (India) K. Hanihara (Japan), D.K. Mdagala (Tanzania), A. Paladi Kovaks (Hungry)

Honorary Member : C. Levi Strauss (France) The XIII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethdogical Sciences will be held in 1993.

2. International Political Science Association (IPSA)

Following elections held at XIVth Congress of the International Political Science Association, the new offices bearers of the IPSA are:

President: G. O' Donnell (Argentina)
Past President: K. Mushakoji (Japan)
General Secretary: F. Kjellberg (Norway)
Ist Vice President: C. Patemgn (Australaisa)
Vice President: C. A. Hu (China), H. Jacobson (USA), G. Lechmbrush (FRG), W. Smirnor (USSR)

Members : P. Aslen (Switzerland) D. Anohkar (Finland), A. Donneur (Canada), I. Galnoor (Israel), S. Man (South Korea), J. Leca (France) L. Morlino (Italy), K. Newton (U.K.), L. Pastusiak (Poland), F. M. P. Reis (Brazil), K. H. Roeder (GDR)

New address of IPSA Secretarjat:— Institute of Political Science, University of Oslo, Blindern, PO Box 1097, 0317, OSLO 3 Norway (*Also see page 165*)

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MAKERS OF MODERN INDIA

THE ENGINEERING HERO

LIFE & WORKS OF SIR M. VISVESVARAYA

Munishwar Chander

Sir Mokshagundam Visvesvaraya, popularly known as Sir MV in the 'engineering world' was an Engineering Hero, who appeared on the Indian scene in the 19th century and continued to serve his country for more than half of the present century. Sir MV's great contribution lay in his dream of economic progress of India through industrialisation, which was partly respon -sible for shaping the various five year plans of the country.

During his life-time, he successfully exercised his engineering skills and through his far-sightedness and vision, proposed the various directions and paths of development which we are following today. Always in favour of developing indigenous technology, he would also compare it to that of the developed nations. A great perfectionist, he would not compromise on quality. He was an engineering wizard, perhaps the greatest that India has produced.

Though he was the architect of many a housing scheme, he had no house of his own. A passion for public service was his main occupation. He used to keep abreast of the current world events and international developments.

EDUCATION & APPRENTICESHIP

Sir MV was born on September 15, 1861 in Muddenhalli village in Kolar district of Mysore state and started his primary education at Chikbalapur, a place about 8 kms from his village. The young lad had to walk this distance twice daily. From the beginning his teacher had noticed his spirit of enterprise and taste for hard work. After his primary education, he joined the Central College High School, Bangalore, where he developed his mental ability for scientific and mathematical studies. Continuing his studies, he took his B.A. degree in 1880, from the Madras University and joined the College of Science, Poona, in 1881, in pursuit of an engineering education. Topping the list of candidates in Engineering Degree of the Bombay University in 1883, he was appointed as Assistant Engineer in the Bombay PWD in early 1884.

He started with supervisory and administrative duties of a general nature involving irrigation channels, repairs to anicuts and distributaries. Soon he was entrusted with the execution of a pipe system across a channel which carried water from the Panjra River, 50 kms west of *Dhulia* in *Khandesh* District. Then came the design of a water supply scheme of *Dhulia,* and later, in *Poona,* he was switched from irrigation and water supply to buildings and roads, a new branch of civil engineerning which gave him many other opportunities.

Referring to the part that an engineer ought to play in the development of rural economy, by providing roads, water supply and drainage etc. Sir MV's ideas present a comprehensive programme of rural reconstruction. He observed as follows: "An engineer should consider it a discredit if serious defects on any road are brought to the notice of government or of any superior officer without himself being aware of them." He stressed the timely repair and maintenance of roads.

MANY NOTABLE ACHIEVEMENTS IN IRRIGATION & FLOOD CONTROL

In February 1894, he was called upon to undertake the execution of the water supply and drainage of *Sukkur* in *Sindh.* He proved himself a most able and trained engineer, and completed the work in a comparatively short time. In April 1899, he was placed in charge of Poona Irrigation District, the principal irrigation district in the Bombay Presidency, excluding Sindh.

In 1901–03, on the invitation of the Indian Irrigation Commission, he was appointed to tour the country and advise the Government of India on measures to implement and extend schemes of cultivation by irrigation. Sir MV introduced an extremely intricate but completely systematised and perfected system of irrigation in the '*Deccan Area*'. Its salient features were the concentration of irrigation within blocks of specified units, and in selected soils and situations in each village, the raising of perennial crops only in 1/3rd of the area, and rabi crops and vegetables in the remaining 2/3rd portion, the supply of water being permitted only in 1/3rd of the area with perennial crops between February and June. In due course, he did bring the scheme into satisfactory operation.

Sir MV designed and patented a system of automatic waste-weir flood gates. These were installed for be first time in 1903 on the *Khadakvasla* reservoir at Poona also known as *Lake Fife.* The object was to raise the flood supply level of storage in the reservoir to the highest level likely to be attained by its flood, without causing any danger to the dam. The success of these gates was so remarkable that the same pattern was subsequently adopted in the *Tigra Dam* surplus weir of *Gwalior* and the *Krishna Raja Sagar* Dam of Mysore.

He took several other schemes in his stride such as the water supply for *Dharwar* and *Bijapur.* He was also instrumental in saving the water-supply situation of *Kolhapur City* by proposing judicious and economic repairs of the defective dam.

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Sir MV was an active member of the Committee for Removal of Unhealthy Conditions in Bombay City, and was also on the Committee of Technical Education at the time when the Poona College of Science was converted to the Poona College of Engineering. His sustained hard work and services under the Bombay Government for 23 years were so meritorious and crowned with so many glorious achievements that it was not without regret that the Government accepted his voluntary, premature retirement in 1909.

SAVING HYDERABAD FROM FLOODS

The work which brought Visvesvaraya's name to all India prominence was in the wake of an appalling flood in the city of Hyderabad, which had occurred in the River *Musi*, which flows through the capital. At that time, Visvesvaraya had to cut short his well-earned rest on a tour in Europe. At the invitation on behalf of the *Nizam*, to protect the city from future ravages of menacing floods, MV gave his consent to act as a Special Consulting Engineer from April 15, 1909. After investigating the engineering aspects of the various problems, he set about his scheme for the reconstruction of the city and providing flood protecting works (to assure immunity to the city from floods) as well as a modern sewerage scheme for the city. However, it was only in March 1913, that the Government took steps to implement a part of his proposals.

BACK TO MYSORE & NEW HEIGHTS OF FAME

In 1909, Sir MV was appointed Chief Engineer in Mysore. He held this office until November 1912, when he was oppointed the *Dewan* of Mysore. The stupendous tasks which he successfully performed and the myriad reforms he sought and accomplished for the welfare of the State are as unprecedented in the annals of Indian engineering and administration as the strength and vigour which this old man possessed at the turn of the century.

In Mysore, MV had been responsible for the construction of the resevoir across the Cauvery-Krishnaraja Sagar, as the lake is called, which at that time was the biggest reservoir in India. The Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati also owe their existence to him. He was also responsible for starting the automobile and the aircraft industry in the country.

When Sir MV was offered a sum of Rs.1,5) 000/- by the Government of Mysore, towards consultation fees for the services rendered by him for a period of $6\frac{1}{2}$ years in the Iron Works at Bhadravati, he declined to accept it. He handed over the entire sum to the Government with a request that an occupational institute may be established for the State at Bangalore, treating this amount as a nucleus.

A NATIONAL FIGURE

MV was the founder of the All-India Manufacturers' Association and was its president from 1941 to 1958. His long association for 28 years as Director of Tata Iron and Steel Co.Ltd., one of the foremost industrial organisations in the country, is a significant record of his outstanding services to the industrial development of the country. As President of the reconstituted Board for 9 years in succession, he rendered yeoman's service in the reorientation of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

He was adviser to the Municipal Corporations of Bombay and Karachi, and the towns for which he prepared water supply and drainage schemes. He also prepared a flood control scheme for Orissa and was called upon to advise on the Tungabhadra proposal.

One of his later assignments was the selection of a suitable site for the road-cum-rail bridge across the Ganga in Bihar—The Mokamah Bridge, which was completed and opened for public in May 1959.

Sir MV's interest in engineering never flagged despite advancing age. He died at the age of 101 years.

BOOKS & HONOURS

His books on "*Reconstructing India*" published by P. S. King & Sons (London. 1920) and "*Planned Economy for India*" (1934) are classic examples of practising what he preached.

Honours came to him in rapid succession. He received the title of CIE at Delhi Durbar in 1911, KCIE (Knighted Commander of the Order of Indian Empire) in 1915 and *Bharat Ratna* in 1955. *Honoris Causa* degrees had been conferred on him by many Indian Universities. He was the recipient of the Durga Prasad Khaitan Memorial Gold Medal awarded by the Royal Asitatic Society, Council of Bengal, Calcutta.

He had the distinction of being an Honorary Life Member of the Institution of Engineers (India) and a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers (London). In addition, he was an Honorary Member of Indian Science Congress Association and Honorary Fellow of the Institute of Town Planning (India).

On the occasion of MV's 100th birthday, while paying tributes to this distinguished son of India, Jawaharlal Nehru described him "as a dreamer, thinker and a man of action, always young in mind, young in outlook and looking, as young people should, to the future."

Munishwar Chander is Professor (Training & Placement) in the Engineering College, Kota (Rajasthan).

[*This piece was written for our September 1988 issue. We are sorry for its delayed publication.* —*Eds.*]

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A PROFILE OF COURAGE

T. N. Jagadisan :
FULFILMENT THROUGH LEPROSY

Kasturba Kushta Nivaran Nilayam, Malavanthangal P.O. Kandachipuram S.O., South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu, (Pages 436; Price Rs. 256/-).

Reviewed by D. Anjaneyulu

'*Fulfilment Through Leproy*' is an unusual title for any autobiographical account, though it is arresting. Few people think of 'fulfilment' in spite of leprosy in a like situation. But then, Professer T. N. Jagadisan is an unusual man who led an unusual life. There is something extraordinary about his career, which reads like a story of adventure.

A MAN OF MANY PARTS

Teacher, writer, speaker, editor, intellectual, social worker, institution-builder, Jagadisan, now nearing 80, has, in his eventful life, successfully tackled more problems than any ordinary man in a position could have thought of solving, faced more challenges than a fair share that might have daunted lessser men and women. Every challenge was turned into an opportunity by a man who has come out of the whole ordeal, with a smile on his lips and a prayer in his heart.

Professor Jagadisan was born on 2nd October, 1909, which happens to be Gandhi Jayanti Day, exactly four decades after the birth of the Mahatma. As it happened, Mahatma Gandhi was one of the two or three great men who played a crucial role in shaping the career of Jagadisan. The other was the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, whose association came to him even earlier. Sastri was. in fact, his mentor and master. He was to Sastri what Boswell was to Johnson. He not only wrote his biography with the utmost care and competence, edited his letters, specches and essays, but also sought to emulate his lofty and difficult example to the best of his ability.

Born in a poor but orthodox and upright family, Jagadisan had his education at Chidambaram, taking his Honours Degree in English language and literature. After serving at many places, far and near like Karachi, Alwaye and Madurai, he returnend to Annamalai University at Chidambaram to become "admirer and disciple" of the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the Vice-Chancellor.

HIS AFFLICTION & CURE

By about 1941, it was found that Professor Jagadisan was afflicted with leprosy. He had to leave the teaching job, though it soon became known that his affliction was of the non-infectious variety, and was curable. Cured indeed he was, in due course, thanks to the untiring efforts of the specialist doctor, Cochrane and other friends.

Since then, Prof. Jagadisan has dedicated his entire life to the service of leprosy patients on one side and that of literature and liberal values on the other. First it was the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association later the *Hind Kusht Nivaran Sangh* of which he was the Sceretary. He soon came under the spell of Mahatma Gandhi, whose blessings and support were instrumental in the establishment of the *Kasturba Kushta Nivaran Nilayam* of Malavanthangal. From humble and unpromising beginnings, amidst bramble and brushwood, over the years, it has grown into a huge complex of a hospital hostel and other facilities for leprosy patients.

SELF-LESS & DEDICATED SERVICE

After an unbroken service of four decades and more to the cause of leprosy, projecting the message of faith and hope at home and abroad, Prof. Jagadisan has cause to look baek with satisfaction. But he prefers to look forward with enthusiasm. In the apt words of President R. Venkatraman (incidentally a college contemporary of the author) who contributes a foreword "The biggest and brightest medallion he wears is the medallion of service—service without expectation of reward"

Group-Captain Cheshire says the bare truth when he describes Professor Jagadisan's Autobiography as a "very moving book". It is, in fact. a very human document, vivid and gripping, without any overstatement, tender without being sentimental.

Dr. Paul W. Brand neatly sums up the life and work of Professor Jagadisan, when he observes : "The story is told by a master of language and expression, and by one who had learned to master himself in order to place himself at the service of those in greater need".

Inspired by the example of Father Damien. the centenary of whose death is observed this year, Jagadisan has been lucky in his contacts ranging from Dr. Cochrane and Group-Captain Cheshire to Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

A MOVING STORY

This autobiography is a record of the history of leprosy, from ostracisms to care, from care to cure, from cure to rehabilitation. It is a lot more than that. It is essentially a human document, rich in feeling, wide-ranging in interests, meticulous in detail. The portions dealing with care of his disabled daughter, Mina, are among the most moving. She indirectly made him move forward with greater determination. It is quite a comprehensive story, told with powerful emotion, controlled by intellcetual discipline, that should satisfy a variety of readers, general as well as literary, popular as well as professional.

The personality of the author stands out of the exciting and absorbing account as a man of commonsense, courage and compassion. A rare example of the man of words as a man of action. A poignant story of patient suffering, tireless service and steady fulfilment.

D. Anjaneyulu is an author and journalist based at Madras, currently President of the local Press Club of India.

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ON *"INDIAN"* ENGLISH : A REJOINDER TO SPENDER

by R. K. Kaul

Sir Stephen Spender (born 1909) came to India with the two-fold aim of promoting his play and participating in the World Poetry Meet at Bhopal. He had some flattering things to say about the Indian theatre audience which responded to his play more enthusiastically than the audience in Britain.

IN THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

Spender rose to fame in the first place because of his advocacy of the leftist cause in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). English poets of the thirties, including W. H. Auden, Louis MacNeice, C.Day Lewis and Christopher Isherwood marked a break in the history of English poetry. Since the French Revolution, no political event had stimulated the imagination of the poets as the Spanish Civil War. Almost all of them, however, disowned the Communist ideology later on. Spender was one of the contributors to *The God That Failed* (1949).

Spender claims that he is still leftist in his politics, but that did not prevent him from being editor of *Encounter* in the fifties. He resigned,however, when he got to know that it was being funded dy the *C.I.A.*

POET & CRITIC

His early poetry intoduced the railway train, the aeroplane and the pylon into verse. In the later period, he composed his famous elegies for his sister-in-law —(*"Elegies for Margaret"*).

But his poetry belongs to the past. At present he is better known as a critic and a writer of autobiography —(*World Within World*, 1951)

COMMENTS ON INDIAN WRITING

During his stay in India, he was asked to comment on Indian writing in English. Excerpts from the interview were published in *The Times of India* and perhaps some other papers.

He is reported to have said that he had read very little of it; but from what he had seen,he found its idiom and its grammar obsolete. It reminded him of the language of Dickens and the Victorians. Perhaps it was an off-the-cuff remark, but our English-reading public took it as an *ex Cathedra* pronouncement.

CHARGE EXAMINED

It is worthwhile to examine this view, since it is a charge frequently made against Indian English.

My considered opinion is that :

(1) This charge refers to fiction (even more to drama which he could n't have seen) not poetry. So far as it pertains to the dialogue of Indian characters who speak English in real life, it is inaccurate. Indian speech is stilted, pompous and possibly archaic. The novelist who depicts English-speaking Indians must make them use the language they actually speak, not a variety or dialect of British or American English which they don't even know of.

(2) It doesn't refer to the works of expatriate writers like Kamla Markandaya whose idiom is definitely not Victorian. In fact, very few of the strictly contemporary writers in India write obsolete English. Nayatara Sahgal is repersentative of the best.

(3) There are numerous samples of "Indian" English or transliteration of Indian expressions in writers ranging from Mulk Raj Anand to Raja Rao. "Indian" English is a well-recognised brand of English like "West Indian" English. Some of it borders on the ridiculous as Nissim Ezekiel shows in his poems. But expressions like cousin brother, the holy dip, shirting and suiting, pin-drop silence, cinema house, the dreaded terrorist and so on, may some day be recognised as standard Indian English just as peon, bungalow, chit, chik, cushie and numerous other words have been adopted from Anglo-Indian speech.

IN DEFENCE OF NARAYAN'S AUTHENTICITY

(4) The llving writer who best examplifies the view of Spender is R.K.Narayan. He still talks of tiffin (as Khushwant Singh points out), of performing morning ablutions and so on. That may well be the reason why his stories and novels are so successful on the T.V. I have a suspicion that the Hindi version is more lively than the English original. (It may sound heretical, but the statement will bear examination).

But that is not the last word on the matter. As a whole. Narayan's use of English is not distinc ly Victorian. His style is not rhetorical. The characteristics of his language are the very limited range of his vocabulary, the absence of imagery and an overall effect of flatness or clipped speech in his writing. This is not to question his narrative genius.

Nor is it being suggested that Mr. Narayan's writing is inferior on account of the clipped manner described above. Indeed, that is the secret of his authenticity. If his characters were to use a richer, more metaphorical speech, they would sound false (as characters in Rajan's novels do). The situations he presents do not call for a deep psychological analysis. He avoids subtlety and sophistication. Perhaps that is why *Malgudi* has become immortal.

Dr. R K. Kaul, retired Professor and Head of Deptt. is now Fellow Emeritus in the English Department of the University of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

[Perhaps other scholars of Stephen Spender and Indian English would like to offer their comments on this episode. —*Eds.*]

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ON INDIAN ARCHITECTURE

Tarapada Bhattacharyya

THE CANONS OF INDIAN ART : (A Study of Vastuvidya)

Firma K.L.M. (Pvt.) Ltd. Calcutta (1986) Pp. 514 Rs. 300

Comments by Ram Dhamija

This is the third revised and enlarged edition of the book, incorporating many new findings. When first published in 1947, it commanded the respect and admiration of researchers, architects and Indologists as an authentic scholarly work.

VASTU-SASTRA

The *Vastusastra* or the Canons of Indian Architecture is a field of study in which very few scholars have worked in India or outside. The publication of the '*Manasara*' and the dictionary of Hindu architecture threw some light on the subject following the earlier work by Ram Raz and Dr. P. K. Acharya. Others who widened the bounds of our knowledge include scholars of the calibre of Dr. Coomaraswamy, O. C. Ganguly, Dr. Stella Kramrisch and Prof. K. R. Pisharoti.

The main theme of the book is the origin of Indian *Vastusastra*, the different phases of its development, the relation of North Indian *Vastuvidya* to that of the South; the relation of the Southern texts to one another and the probable age of compilation of the various texts.

Many scholars have attempted to apply these canons to the interpretation of actual specimens of Indian architecture. The author's view is that as they have so long depended on *Manasara* and other allied South Indian texts, and as the technical terms used in these texts have not yet been properly interpreted, they generally fail in their attempts. Similarly, many have attempted to classify Indian architecture; but even Dr. Coomaraswamy could not definitively make out the *real thing* from the "confused and vague statements" of the available works.

A SEARCH FOR THEORY : TWO SCHOOLS

The method the author has followed is, first to make an analytical study of the references to Indian architectural matters available in various Indian works, and then to build up a theory. He has also tried to 'properly' interpret the three terms '*Nagara*', '*Dravida*' and '*Vesara*'.

In chapter XXI, the author has dwelt on the points of similarity and difference between the two principal schools of architecture *viz* the Northern and the Southern. His conclusion is that the points of similarity are due to the fact that all the Indian schools of architecture followed common fundamental principles which are the essence of Indian *Vastuvidya*. The principles have been summarised in this chapter.

In the next few chapters, Dr. Bhattacharyya has tried to indicate how far these architectural principles were actually followed by the Indian builders. Interestingly, a chapter on the '*Mithuna*' has been included along with an explanation of the door forms and decorations. This chapter further underlines his conclusion that common architectural traditions were followed not only by the Hindus, but also by the Buddhists and the Jains in India.

OTHER ALLIED & MINOR ARTS

As the *Vastusastra* includes texts on sculpture, painting, iconography and even a few minor arts and crafts, the author has dealt with them in a separate chapter. He has explained the canons applicable to painting and has tried to show that the same canons were equally applicable to sculpture.

In the end, the author modestly pleads that what he has said in the book are "mere suggestions based upon the study of various works dealing with Indian art traditions". His conclusions should not be taken to be dogmatic; but the theories propounded here should show the way to future workers in the field.

However, this scholarly book has not been well served by the publishers in terms of elegance of production values and skill in layout design. Our publishers are generally not so careful in this aspect. When the theme of the book is canons of art aesthetics, surely some indication of their embiance should have been visible in the book when you take it into your hands and look into it.

Dr. Dhamija, a creative photographer–journalist, author and art critic had a long association with the Ministry of I & B as Director, P.I.B , and Photo Division Research & Reference and Publication Division etc. He was Chief Editor, Indian & Foreign Review (Min. of External Affairs) besides editing All-India Fine Asts & Crafts Society's prestigious journal Roopa Lekha. Address : C - 14, Press Enclave, Saket, New Delhi-17.

International News

Second World Congress on Archaelogy

The II World Congress on Archaeology will be held during the last fortnight of September 1990, in the city of Merida, State of Merida, Venezuela. Situated on a plateau in the northern part of the Andean Range, Merida possesses a rich archaeological heritage and is one of the main tourist regions of the country. The seat of the Congress will be at the Universidad de Los Andes which was founded more than 200 years ago.

Courtesy—Dr. O. P. Joshi, HCM RIPA, Jaipur.

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Tilak Shrinivas: THE MYTH OF SARVODAYA

A Study of Vinoba's Concept

Breakthrough Publication, New Delhi (1984), 102 p. Rs. 45/-.

Comment by S. P. Agrawal

Written by an Indian expatriate, the publication is a welcome and worthy addition to works on the philosophy or concepts behind the work of Gandhiji's heir in the realm of spiritual and sociological thought.

The book is a revised version of Tilak's master's thesis at Concordia University. The author travelled to India on a research fellowship awarded by the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute during 1981–83.

Shrinivas Tilak is a linguist and has a variety of interests. He teaches at Mc Gill University, where he has also been busy penning his Ph. D. thesis on Ageing in Indian Tradition.

Myths are metaphorical stories, anecdotal interpretations of ancient texts used to expound some aspect of the cosmic order, providing a community with ways of drawing on the past to deal with the present, to overcome the hiatus between the ideal and the prevailing circumstances.

SARVODAYA : BY THF PEOPLE FOR THE PEOPLE

Vinoba, with his profound erudition, could derive his ideas from the *Upanishads*, *Brahamasutras* and the *Geeta*, and had at the same time, the uncanny knack of putting them across to the masses so as to appeal to their reason and touch a sympathetic chord. (In contrast, Gandhiji's use of '*Ram-Rajya*' remained a nebulous concept and appeared to some—though without foundation—to have connotations of Hindu domination).

The idea of *Sarvodaya* was mooted in 1948. This was to be an experiment in social engineering to be worked for the people, by the people. It was to be an exercise in self-reliance and cooperation in village communities leading to *Gram-Swaraja*. The indigenous basis of 'socialism' was in sharp contrast to the Marxist-Leninist-Naxalite modes or the latter-day schemes of Community Development or *Antyodaya*, where people depended on government crutches.

In this investigation, Tilak focusses on *Bhoodan*, *Gram-Swarajya* or village republic, and *Shakti* or woman power, which have a vital bearing on the society's prevailing conceptions relating to property, polity, and family.

THE EXPANDING HORIZONS OF BHOODAN

Vinobaji hit upon the idea of *Bhoodan* at Pocham palli in 1951, and during his peregrinations-*padayatra*-ever expanding like Vamana's steps, it engulfed in its ambit *Gramadan*, *Sampattidan*, and even *Jeevandan*.

The movement almost came to a grinding halt in 1964 with his illness at Pavanar, but not before attracting to it such varied talents like Tennyson and Jayprakash Narayan.

Perhaps it may be worthwhile to do a study to take a retrospective measure of it. Was it just another Utopian dream, a futile effort doomed to failure to secure 50 million acres for ten million landless labour?

Economic inequalities with resultant burning dissatisfaction in enraged hearts in the present-day world hold dangerous portents. Tilak thinks that *Sarvodaya* is not merely about redistribution, but it is also about human relationships.

It is interesting in this connection to note the situation in the Philippines where we find Father Rolex Nueva remarking, "Land reform is a good idea but putting it into effect is bound to bring violence. Violence may become the only alternative, though we favour none", and the phenomenon of Bishop Antonio Fortich and the nuns fasting for the cause of the land hungry.

The publication contains a useful bibliography, but no index; and lastly, the attention of the proof-reader seems to have flagged a bit towards the end.

Dr. S. P. Agrawal has been long associated with the ICSSR and for some time recently with the Indian Association of Social Sciences Institutes (IASSI).

More International News

3. International Law Association (ILA)

President: Prof. J. Makarezyk, Director, Institute of State and Low, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw Poland.

For further information please write to the ILA Secretariat: 3 Papers Buildings, The Temple, London EO 4 Y 7 CU, (U. K)

4: World Association for Public Opinion Research (WAPOR)

The world conference took place in Toronto (Canada) 18-22 May, 1988, Election results were as follows:

President: Elizabeth Nelson (U. K.)

Chair :Member Committee: Renate Kocher (PRG)

Council Member at large: Kenneth Adler (USA)

For further information contact WAPOR Secretariat C/O The Roper Center, P. O. Box 440 Storrs, CT 06268-0440 USA

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CHILD OF SANSKRIT OR DARDIC ?

Roop Krishen Bhat

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF KASHMIRI

Amar Prakashan, Delhi, (1987) Rs. 105.

Reviewed by A. N. Dhar

In this concise volume, the author presents a neat analytical description of the *Kashmiri* language based on his research findings in the area, which are informed with the principles and procedures of structural linguist -ics. With Ishwar Kaul and Grierson in the background, some modern scholars, including Kachru, Koul and Handoo notably, have done pioneering work in the field of linguistic studies in Kashmiri. Dr.Bhat's study marks a significant extension of the endeavour in that direction.

Readable and free from unnecessary jargon—drawing upon the most widely used terminology in modern grammars and phonetic studies—it should serve as a book of interest to scholars of language in general and as a useful text to advanced students of Kashmiri.

ORIGIN, SCRIPT & EARLY STUDIES

Before coming to grips with the main subject—investigation into the nature and structure of Kashmiri — Bhat touches upon some ancillary but important issues concerning the language. He raises the question of gene -alogy of Kashmiri; without coming out with a definit -ive answer. He just mentions the two contending schools of thought in this regard, which trace the language to Sanskrit and Dardic respectively.

The author also broaches the controversial issue of a suitable script for Kashmiri. He barely refers to the controversy without pronouncing on the quality of the script approved for use in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, though he suggests some improvement aimed at its standardization. A fuller treatment of the issue, preferably towards the conclusion of the study, would have been useful and justified the author's concern for the promotion of Kashmiri.

DIALECTS & SOUNDS

References to the earlier studies of Kashmiri, given in the Introduction, are both appropriate and useful. The account of 'Dialects of Kashmiri' is rather very sketchy and perhaps out of place. A detailed description of the dialects in a separate chapter would have constituted a valuable part of the main text.

The two chapters that follow the Introduction, deal with the sound system of Kashmiri. The principles governing the organization of sounds into words in Kashmiri are systematically discussed and amply illustrated. The author has largely analysed the speech of standard Kashmiri, the corpus examined being fairly representative. The chapter devoted particularly to morphophonemics is quite interesting, revealing the author's sound grasp of the principles involved and his own insights.

WORD FORMATION & GRAMMAR

The last chapter, which deals with morphology, is exhaustive. The processes of word-formation in Kashmiri discussed herein constitute an interesting part of the study. The author has gone at length into the structural peculiarities of Kashmiri, involving the use of suffixes in word-formation. The various grammatical categories including Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs, etc., are discussed in detail with due regard to the changes of form brought about by gender, case, number, person, etc.

The expectation raised by the title of the book is, however, not wholly fulfilled—syntax of Kashmiri has not been touched upon at all. At places, the language used in the book is not very satisfactory, particularly where English equivalents of Kashmiri items are provided. It is hoped that the inaccuracies in translation will be avoided in a future revised edition of the work, and a chapter on syntax added.

A welcome book and a valuable addition to the previous studies in the area—readable, informative and useful.

Dr. A. N. Dhar is a Language Scholar based at Srinagar (J & K).

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SENSITIVE STORIES FROM ORISSA

Bijoy Das: DESTINATION GOOD HOPE AND OTHER STORIES

Writers, Workshop, Calcutta 91 pp.; Rs. 80

Reviewed by Pankaj Singh

Destination Good Hope is a collection of short stories written originally in Oriya and now translated into English by the author himself.

HUMAN SITUATIONS, VALUES & FOLLIES

The stories cover a wide range of subjects. We find in them a sensitive observation of human nature in day-to-day situations ("*A Matter of Pride*" and "*Better Half*"). The title story "*Destination Good Hope*" focuses on the contrastive values of two families and how these send ripples of tension in the husband-wife relation-ship. "*The Candle Flame*" depicts the mixed reactions of joy and guilt in a young man at the first touch of warmth from the female body.

While there is detachment enough in the narrator to observe things dispassionately and to take people to task for their follies, there is also a loving eye which chides with only a good-humoured satire, never castigating the object. Satire often works through wit and understatement. In fact, wit and humour are the chief characteristics of the narrative in the stories.

Some stories like "*Destination Good Hope*" have a solemn quality. They record the flow of life in different relationships: in different sets of values: hunger of material gains *vs.* the spirit of renunciation and preference for higher gains, *i.e.* a happy home blessed with an understanding wife and talented, brilliant and responsible children.

FROM THE WOMAN'S POINT OF VIEW

There is a variety in characters and social contexts of the stories. The narrational voice and stance are not uniform. There are two stories narrated from a woman's point of view—"*The Epigraph*" and "*The Chase.*" Both the stories very poignantly reveal the feelings of woman protagonists, particularly their desires and sufferings, and their anger whenever they are cheated. "*How Beautiful the Rainbow*" stands apart in that it has an epiphanic quality emerging from a sudden vision of divine love and bliss.

The note of comedy is dominant in the collection. Is it by chance, though, that stories that are sad and tragic all centre on women characters ? "*Flower of Free India*" recounts the exploitation and suffering of a woman and her tragic suicide. "*The Chase*" depicts a desperate wish of a sensitive, talented married woman for just a few minutes' company, *i.e.* talking and listening to another young-man who is a creative writer. But the expected writer fails to turn up, and later the she comes to know from her husband that he has left for his home-town to get married. In desperation and anger, she turns to her infidel husband and starts kissing him savagely. In "*The Epigraph*" the protagonist feels that all the three man she loved have failed her one way or another; she leaves the scene in anguish and anger, hurling defiance at them. "*A Matter of Pride*" is another sensitive study of a maid-servant's sense of pride and self-respect.

Bijoy Das's stories are indeed excellent—brief, engaging, ending on a striking climax. Some stories are almost cryptic. "*Better Half*" is merely two and a half pages long; but it brilliantly exposes the hypocrisy and double-facedness of Indian men.

A "non-authorly irony" is that this story is not even mentiond in the Contents. The collection has eleven stories, the Contents mention only eight. Also, the volume contains too many printing errors. All these one tends to overlook because, even in translation, the stories make a delightful reading.

Mrs. Pankaj K. Singh is in the Deptt. of English, H. P. University, Shimla-171005.

A SHORT COMMENT

JAIN HYMNS

translated by **M. B. Juvekar** from **Veeral Chovishi**

Sambhav Surabhi, Bombay, 1989, pp. xxx+50, Rs. 200.

V. P. Shah composed 24 hymns in Gujarati to the 24 *Tirthankaras* of the Jainas. in 1988. English translation of these hymns has no been published in this well produced book.

The Jainas believe that 24 great men, called *Tirtha-Takaras*, attained salvation after great penance through many lives in exemplary manner; and it was possible for anybody to attai n salvation by following in their footsteps. A Jaina hymn is not addressed to God or any other supernatural Being, but to these 24 men who have attained salvation through there own efforts.

A Jaina, when he prays to them, does not ask the *Tirthankaras* for any material benefit. Nor does he ask them to free him from sin. All that he asks from them is to be his light in the dark and ardous path to salvation. Thus a hymn in Jainism means admiraiion for the life of a *Tirthankara* and dedication to following his example.

The hymns composed by the author have been weli rendered into Englsih. The book should be useful to all religious Jainas.

—Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy (Jaipur)

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TRIBAL ENVIRONMENT, TRADITIONS & CHANGE

Maheshwari Prasad (Editor)

TRIBES-Their Environments and Culture

Amar Prakashan, Delhi (1987) pp XV+344 Rs. 250.00.

Reviewed by P. C. Bansal

The book under review is a collection of 15 articles out of which nine were published during the 1970 to 1979 period. Three studies pertain to (i) :—Housing Changes among the Navajo of the North America South-West, (ii) Social Factors Influencing Gene Flow in New Guinea, and (iii) Aboriginal Urban Migration in Australia. The remaining studies deal with the geographical and anthropological aspects of the tribes of Chhota Nagpur region of Bihar. These essays deal with contrasting situations of environment, tradition and change in aboriginal societies. There is a need for understanding the complex problems of the tribes, and the way they have reacted and responded to the processes of modern development.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS : Ranchi Urban Complex

E. Ahmad and B. Srivastava write about the gowth, morphology and ethnic character of Ranchi-Dhurwa Urban Complex. Ranchi came into existence as a small tribal town in 1834, and attained its present size in about 150 years. The authors point out that the degree or intensity of urbanisation has been inverssely proportional to the percentage of tribal population. The tribals have not been able to establish themselves with the same success in urban society as the non-tribals. The tribal component is about one-fifth in Ranchi city, as against about two-third in the district. The Christian missionaries have been instrumental in enhancing the employment opportunities, social status and functional capabilities for tribals by educating them.

Orissa

Tribals constitute 23.11 per cent of the total population of the State of Orissa. They are concentrated in areas having high relief and hill slope values, where they find a congenial environment. Most of them practice shifting cultivation on the hill slopes. There is a high rate of growth pattern among the tribes. However, B.N. Sinha and B. K. Misra warn that the social economic problems arising out of this trend are liable to create disruption if planned development is delayed.

Bihar–Ranchi

In Bihar, the tribals constitute nine per cent of the State population. Most of them live in remote areas of Chhota Nagpur division and Singhbhum, Ranchi and Palamu districts of South Bihar. Among them, the Munda community is more educated. Many are settli in plains, but still they pursue their old traditions.

In Ranchi district, tribals constitute 58. 08 per ce of total population of the district. The growth of trib population has been at a slow rate, which is attribute to socio-economic conditions, late marriages, their foo habits, drinking habits and social traditions. How ever, in some *anchals*, the tribal population has recor ded a faster growth rate. The Chaibasa sub-division the close preserve of the *adivasi* culture S. N. Pras suggests that any development of the tribal econom can be ensured mainly through the development agriculture and the diffusion of education based on lif

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS : Industrial Employmen

In a study of industrial tribal labourers, A. K Haldar reports that economic insecurity in their nati place has forced the tribals to come out of their villag boundary and accept new occupations Their shift fro a "simple" society to a more complex situation has le to disintegration in their ways of life. These people ar suitable for non-mechanised jobs, and are fitted in th lower rungs of labour hierarchy in mechanised jobs They are in the process of developing a new style of lif which is neither rural nor industrial-urban, but it ha got a mining orientation.

In his study of livelihood pattern of tribals, Mahe hwari Prasad writes that industrialisation, the way t modernisation in Chhota Nagpur region, has not mad any significant impact on the area, beyond the city Ranchi. For these people, there are better chances o employment in the rural sector of economy than i urban sector. They are mainly engaged in cultivatio agriculture, labour, forestry and fishing. It appea that their socio-cultural background and econom constraints appear to be the principal impediments i the way of tribal participation in such functions a trade, commerce, transport, storage or communicatio where their participation is poor, and is perhaps th root-cause of their present-day social miseries and ec nomic deprivation.

PERIODIC AND RURAL MARKETS:

The system of periodic markets has emerged as result of urban demand for rural products.

These are located at the contact zones of the wan ering Birhors and Khariars and the other sections relatively settled tribal and non-tribal populatio Transport routes crossing these contact zones ha helped in the emergence of these markets. Sudhir Wan ali suggests that the past effort in the provision of rur services should also have taken into consideration t role of periodic markets.

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These markets also provide amusement and recreation to the people. A market place is the principal source of news as well as a clearing-house for rumours. The market also serves as the centre for matrimonial negotiations. The "barter" system, that is exchange of one good for another, still prevails at these markets.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Among the Oraon tribe, Dhun Kuria served as an educational and cultural institution. This was a useful seminary for the training of young persons in their social and other duties. This also served as an institution for magico-religious observances and to augment the procreative powers of the young men. The children learned by the process of instruction and immitation, the norms and values of their culture.

In the Tribal-Caste continuum, Sachchidanand describes the impact of Hinduism on Gonds in Bihar and on their culture. The Gonds have been influenced by the Hindus as well as the tribal groups like Mundas and Oraon. A two-way process of the '*Hinduisation*' of tribals, and '*tribalisation*' of some Hindu communities has been in evidence. About seventy per cent of the tribal people have been characterised as 'Hinduised' without being Hindus.

In a study of the folklores relating to farming and weather, G. P. Chapman has found that their "tradition -al knowledge" helps the farmers to counteract factos of risk and uncertainty. The local calender provides an understanding of the weather pattern of the area and theway in which the cultivators look at it. It is suggested that any effective and non-disruptive extension activity must work on a thorough understanding of the trrditional knowledge and its organising frame-work.

FOREIGN SCENE : **The Navajo Dwellings**

Stephen C. Jett describes the process in the living pattern of Navajo from hogan to house. The ancestors of Navajo made two kinds of dwellings, both made ofor brush covered poles, a conical tripod foundation dwelling and double lantors. The typical settlement today is the extended family homestead (camp) consisting of a couple of permanent dwellings. In this, the Navajo were influenced by Pubeloans-farmers. As a result, conical forked pole and lanto-hogan were built. Another structure was the leaning log-hogan. The author poses a question--Are "houses" intrinsically superior to "hogans" in terms of ease of construction or in terms of efficiency in protecting their residents from the elements? Many scholars have found the answer to be no. A suggestion is made that cultural factors must still be powerful to have offset the physical advantage of traditional hogans.

Alice Spring Aboriginals

The aboriginals living in Alice Spring, Australia are under-privileged. They hold low-status, unskilled jobs. One reason for *it is* that they were dispossessed of the land and water resources by the Crown. Along with economic factors, *the class* conflict is also prevalent in that area. Recently, *issues like* the restoring of land rights, conflicting ores mining procedures and royalties and a general resurgence of pride in aboriginal identity have emerged. The aborginals do not favour western education for their children. But the extension programme involving aboriginal teachers and aboriginal curricula in poorly serving communities are slowly developing. D. W. Drakakis Smith suggests that economic independence of aboriginals can come through challenging white domination of production in remote Australia. Though there has been some improvement in their living conditions, it has not been backed by change in employment or race relations.

New Guinea : Gene Flow

G. T. Nurse examines the social factors influencing the gene flow in New Guinea. The Highland region has not been influenced by other cultures and has remained isolated, may be due to diversity of languages. The peaceful movement of women between groups has been the most considerable form of gene flow operating traditionally in New Guinea. In many places, there was ideology of reciprocity in these migrations, such that a "wife exchanging" complex of groups which would appear to form an enclosed system with little or no general contact from outside. At times, warfare between tribes would appear to lead to gene flow between these tribes. There has been some expatriate gene flow even into some of the remote communities of Papua New Gninea.

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With its variety of material and wide coverage, the book should arouse considerable interest in the life and culture of tribes not only in Bihar, but in other lands as well. In a book of this nature, however, there is bound to be some repetition. The editor and other contributors deserve compliments for their efforts. It is hoped that many more similar studies of inter-disciplinary nature touching on various aspects of tribal life and culture would continue to be undertaken and published.

Our sold contributor friend Dr. P C. Bansal had sent us this review quite some time ago, from his temperory abode in the united States. We are sorry for the delay in publishing it. We are, however, happy :o note that P.C. Bansal has now come back to India, to New Delhi.

A short appreciation (of this book) by Dr. Jai B. P. Sinha (Professor of Social Psychology at the ANS Institute of Social Sciences, Patna), had appeared earlier in our issue No. 8, Vol, XIII (August, 1988).

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INDIAN SOCIOLOGY

Need for an Indigenous Approach

by Udayan Majumdar

Sociology is one of the trendiest things that could have perhaps hit Indian academics. Almost every university/institute in the country today has established a department of sociology or is about to do so. One also frequently comes across the unrestrained use of the adjective *sociological* as a solemn rhetorical substitute for *social*. However, notwithstanding the concerted efforts of the government and several other private as well as quasi-government agencies in popularising this relatively late entry into the mainstream of 'scientific' epistemololgy in our country, the individual sociologist may still encounter a blank and unbelieving scepticism about his/her persuasion, its legitimacy, its use, its intellectual worth. This is because the discipline is essentially seen to exist not in its own right, but only as problem -oriented. An under-developed economy, an unresolved Punjab problem, Gorkhaland, Assam, Jharkhand or even Sri Lanka issues are justified premises to denounce our sociologists for not having conducted adequate research into these social issues that all believe demand instant investigation and solution. Fairly considerable sums in hard cash have already been spent on a great deal of sociological research in the country, unfortunately without much output. Definite panaceas to problems are yet awaited.

COMTE'S POISTIVISM & INDIAN SOCIOLOGISTS

Is then sociology capable of inaugurating the reign of love, of cooperation, and of social order in India ? Will sociology be able to fulfil its promises of an earthly paradise, a pious heaven on earth ? In India the possibilties seem remote. Particularly so, due to the formidable influence of Comte and his Positivism on the minds of Indian sociologists. Of course, I do not imply that all sociologists are possessed by the Comtean doctrine. Such minds like Radhakamal Mukerjee who questioned the proposition that modern progress in India can be achieved by Westernization, by 'substitution' of Eastern by Western institutions and also questioned the Euro-centric model of development as well as posed an alternative model, are not totally extinct. Nevertheless, their numbers are limited and their voices subdued.

Comte, in his attempt to bestow upon sociology a colouring of emotion, of aspiration, and of attitude, identified the discipline with Positivism. Positivism involves contempt for metaphysics, a cult of the fact, of experience and proof, unreserved confidence in science and an exaltation of its benefits, an effort to give to the study of moral and social facts that form of science. For Comte, science was thus the only acceptable form of knowle dge in modern industrial societies. And this has unfortunately gained acceptance amongst the majority of Indian sociologists.

Industrial societies are possessed by zeal to achieve mastery over the material world. Since modern science has enabled man to explore uncharted frontiers in advanced industrial societies, the objectives of science became synoymous with those of the state. Gradually, modern science came to be regarded more than a method of empirical enquiry by which men seek to gain knowledge and control of the material world. So much so that today, any attack on science is regarded as an attack on the state/society itself. It is in the interests of modern industrial states that the status of scientific knowledge (specifically Western) must be preserved as well as protected against competing epistemologies.

WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT ABOUT?

The Indian dream currently consists of an aspiration for a model of development along the lines of those in the Western industrially advanced states. But development is not something that can be imported in packaged after-shave sophistication; and neither is it necessarily synyonmous with technological advancement. Development should be consistent with human dignity, which is hard to presserve in conditions of hunger, disease, deprivation, dependence on others, and disrespect for indigenous culture and human values and rights. Development, thus, must have something to do with people being better off, in some way, on their own terms. Considering that the entelechy of Indian society rests on its mystical, tribal and metaphysical qualities, perhaps it would not be exaggeration to suggest that the metaphysical nature of our tradition is trans-science,and therefore, such national dreams will be hard to come by in reality, if not impossible to achieve.

ABOUT MIND & MATTER

Sociologists, in their persistent attempts to build up the social sciences in the image of the natural and physical sciences, and thereby to claim the same universalism in time and space for the laws of sciology as inheres in those of the natural sciences, have disregarded the fact that societies are independent variables. They have discarded historicism in favour of making cross-cultural generalization. All through the history of mainstream intellectualism and social theorising, this trait prevails. They fail to realize that "facts" not backed by the authority of science may actually be epistemologically as rich as modern science supposedly is.

The Newtonian paradigm—the essence of which is mathematical quantification and empirical observation of a material world estranged from the observer's consciousness and value—has been the basis for the generation of knowledge in the natural sciences. The Cartesian split between *res cogitans* (mind) and *res extensa* (matter) has allowed the natural and physical scientists to treat matter as dead and completely separate from themselves, as well as to view the material world as a multitude of other- wise segregated objects assembled into a huge

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machine. The whole Western scientific attitude has developed within this framework of subject – object dichotomy. And Comte prescribed this approach as the only road to sociological knowledge.

JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS & MARXIAN APPROACH

But can Indian social reality be ever comprehended by a seventeenth century, ethno-centric methodology having firm roots in the Judaeo-Christian tradition? Are the later intellectual developments like utilitarianism, evolutionary theory, and even Marx's celebrated *Homo Faber*, capable of addressing themselves to the problems of Indian society? For, quite contrary to whatever the exponents of the Marxist approach to society and development may say, the Marxist approach is not entirely unaffected by the evolutionary idea of progress prevalent in the nineteenth century.

For Marx, development was necessarily the development of *capitalism*. New higher relations of production (*e. g.* socialism) could, in his view, not appear "before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society". The notion of underdevelopment did not, therefore, exist in the classic Marxist system where "the industrially more developed country showed to the less developed the image of its own future". If back-ward countries suffered from anything it was this *incompleteness* of capitalist development. Marx's analysis of India in terms of an Asiatic mode of production thus suggested that India will be unable to develop without the aid of colonialism. Now, with the legitimacy these Eurocentric theories give to colonialism, and the inherent views that mind and body are independent separate entities, and nature is a resource to be exploited for the use of humans, one doubts the efficacy of these theories in comprehending Indian social reality. Especially so, because Indian traditions strongly emphasize the inter-connectedness of things and their mutual dependencies, from which they actually derive their being and nature.

SOCIOLOGY AT DEAD END OR FRAGMENTED

Thus in India, loaded with the metaphysical bleakness of the natural sciences, sociology is caught in a dead end. This problem is further aggravated by the fact that sociological theories and data on Indian society are still mostly produced by Westerners and mediated through alien languages. And this problem of "academic imperialism" prevails on the level of sociological researches conducted by Indian scholars at various universities and institutes. India researched is actually India stripped naked of its data to add to the prestige of Western professor-researchers, a handfu of our own academicians, and their institutions.

Again, sociology with its fragmentary approach is unable to concede the quintessence of Indian social life. Because of its fragmentary approach, it has always been answered with a correspondingly fragmentary response. Sociology has sought to explain the wholeness of our society through the construction of theories specific to its own perspective. This approach has thus given "detailed"(?) knowledge of only that part of reality on which it has been focused at the expense of an understanding of the rest of the whole which remain in utter darkness. Of course, such disciplinary reductionism in which the specific explanatory frame-work remains isolated and unconnected to the whole to which it is related, is inevitable in the context of an epistemology (such as modern science and correspondingly sociology) which is fragmentary in its orientation. Mysticism cannot be comprehended by such a sociological method. Sociology is unable to achieve integral images of our reality. Indian mystics intuit reality and their experiences are unique. With its modern, scientific, analytical approach, sociology is overruling the same tradition. The *social* is not merely *sociological*.

The offshoots of the modern scientific approach like the experimental method, disciplinary reductionism, the principle of analysis, etc. have failed to serve as a sound basis for the acquisition of knowledge in the field of social sciences. It is a pity that sociology in India still continues to identify itself with such processes of understanding reality. Processes that distance the 'thinking subject' from the 'objective reality'. Processes that inevitably isolate the Indian sociologist from the very phenomenas he seeks to comprehend and explain.

SOCIOLOGY : A FORM OF KNOWLEDGE NOT A METHOD OF ENQUIRY

Should then sociology be pursued for knowledge of the Indian social reality? Considering that the discipline is still so inchoate and lacking in cognition of the Indian traditions, one wonders what the pay-off would be. But what is clear is that sociology, like it or not, has become a major element in our culture; the sociological is not merely fashionable, but, a part of contemporary consciousness. To fulfil this role and escape the intellectual dangers of its heritage, sociology must really be a *science*, which means any form of knowledge and not just a method of empirical enquiry by which we seek to gain knowledge and control of the material world only. Perhaps it would be worth-while in this context to remind ourselves that scientific knowledge is not always necessarily a 'Western creation'. In fact it is this very view of scientific knowledge as a peculiarly western creation which has so far led to the neglect of indigenous sociological research which could have ushered in development and an era of social harmony in countries like India.

The Indus Valley Civilization and its offshoot in the Ganges did influence European science. As early as the 6th century B.C., there was, in the Indus Valley, "an emphasis on and an intense interest in matters that in parlance could only be called science" (S. Goonatilake, 1982, *Crippled Minds : An exploration into colonial culture*, and 1982, *Colonies:Scientific expansion and contraction*). Coinage, mathematics (including large numbers and concepts of infinity, pi, and zero), flood irriga-

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tion, psychology, architecture (influenced by the Iranians and possibly by the Greeks) and surgery and herbal medicine are parts of the legacy of early Indian civilization.

In order to comprehend the pulse of Indian society and bring about solutions to its problems of development and social regelation, sociology must cease to identify itself with the modern scientific attitude as well as cease to seek an image at par with the natural and physical sciences. To be really able to sovle the multitude of social, political and economic problems currently faced by the nation and restore peace and harmony, sociology has to cease to exclude the possibility that there may be other ways of "knowing", which are equally as valid as modern science.

TOWARDS INDEPINDENT RESEARCH BASED ON LOCAL INSPERATIONS/EXPERIENCES

The sociologist must not give precedence to knowledge of material reality at the expense of ignoring other possible existences. Our own experience with our people and reality have shown beyond doubt that the ideas of the modern Euro-centric scientific paradigm have been unable to grasp the full singificance of India's rich and diverse life, far from resolving its social problems.

Science, which is seen in India today as having almost divine qualites, has failed miserably. Though by its institutionalization, it is equated with the only true knowledge in the popular imagination, it has delimited the area within which aternative routes to truth are possible. Indeed, M. S. Gore has rightly emphasized the urgent necessity of generating an indigenous and relevant social science for India. "There is urgent need Asian scholars, and even for scholars within each of countries to take each other's work seriously and develop a tradition of critical scholarship.

"I will probably not be mistaken if I state that reference groups and the 'significant others' to whom address our work are mostly located in Europe and United States. This is not unnatural and can be ex ned by the longer history of social sciences d opment in the Western countries But this West orientation tends to give rise to an unreal situation which we fail to recognise the merit and the contri ion of our scholars until they have been honoured abr and, what is worse, accept them uncritically once t have been noted in some Western reviews.

"This situation is not conducive to the develop of research which is independent in its inspiration addresses itself to problems as we experience them r er than to problems as they are interpreted in terms models developed to analyse other situations". (Atal 1974 *Social Sciences in Asia*). Even S. C. Dube stressed that "tradition is a vast reservoir" (Atal, Y Pieris, R. 1976, *Asian Rethinking on Development*). I time, therefore, to realize that the elements of tradi alone can offer sustenance to a radical reconstr of Indian society. Sociology in India has yet to o come the shackles of its pre-history, its Comtean visi and the strong Positivistic overtones. Only then will sociologists in India be able to salvage the nation fr the wrecks of a disoriented and lost mission rende by modern science.

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

THE HUMAN CONDITION TODAY—
Some New Perspectives—Prologue by Jagdish Kumar
Clarion Books, 1988, P. 255, Price Rs. 150/-

Reviewed by Ram K. Vepa

AN UNUSUAL MEET

In December 1986, **the Kapur Surya Foundation,** with Jagdish Kapur as its moving spirit, hosted a meeting for three days to discuss the '*Human Condition Today.*' The meeting was unusual in more ways than one. It was an inter-disciplinary gathering which included a spiritual leader, **Swami Rangathananda** of the Ramakrishna Mission, veteran diplomats **Haksar** and **Kaul**, a scholar-politician like **Dr. Karan Singh**, a thinker like the late **Romesh Thapar**, **Dr. Pushpa Bhargava**, the micro-biologist, and **Charles Correa,** the architect. Also present were a few from abroad : **Leo Lionni** from Italy, known as designer and writer of children's books, **Ian Baker** and **Ms. Ethel Vogelsang** from the Karl Jung Institute, Zurich and **Prof. Kostovski**, a historian from Moscow.

The venue of the meeting was also unusual ; it was held in the open-air Surya Kund, designed by Charles Correa, as a part of the picturesque environment of the Kapur Solar Farm on the outskirts of Delhi, which is largely powered by natural sources of energy such as the sun, the wind, and bio-mass. Inspired by *Surya*, the Lord of all intelligence, the 'think tank' provided an ideal setting for the meeting and was characterised by some participants as the 21st Century version of Socrates' Garden of Ancient Athens.

Naturally, the host of the meeting, Jagdish Kapur, has to be an unusual person himself ! Trained as an engineer, Jagdish Kapur has emerged over the years as a leading thinker on Energy Conservation and Futurology and is the author of many books and articles on these subjects. At the Kapur Solar Farm, he has been demonstrating some of the things he has been talking about—man's symbiosis with Nature and the wise use of Nature's resources

The conduct of the meeting also broke new ground. Instead of the formal agenda and the conventional 'ceremonials' for VIPs to pontificate, the meeting was simply an exchange of ideas, between men and women of diverse backgrounds—both professionally and culturally—seeking to find answers to the many problems facing the world today. Gathered in the open air, informally, the meeting must have been, indeed, an intellectual feast; and the book which has caught some of the flavour of that occasion is both stimulating and exciting to read.

A WIDE CANVAS OF PROBLEMS & ISSUES

The topics covered during the unstructured discussions ranged over a wide canvas : Peace, Disarmament, Environment and Pollution, Role of Science and Technology, Women, Youth, Education - - one topic flowing into the other and all vividly illuminated by Knowledge as well as Understanding. An overall impression one gets from the book is how the various streams of thought, of several fields of knowledge, of several societies and cultures seem to converge, producing what one might call a 'universal wisdom', where both the scientist and spiritualist can come together on a common wave length. It was said in the beginning by one participant that it was time that the Yogi and the Commissar met; but as another participant remarked, their roles are changing since Koestler's classic work, so that the Commissar is becoming less so, and the Yogi more worldly.

It is rather difficult to describe in detail the many ideas that were thrown up at the meeting and the thrust and flash of the ideas. Bhargava spoke at length on Science, its methodology, its temper and the role which it can play in improving the human condition. Swami Rangathananda, while conceding the importance of Science, seemed to place greater emphasis on the Human Spirit—wisdom rather than knowledge—as the saviour of man. Karan Singh talked of the 'Global Village'—a favourite theme of his these days—and spoke of a uniformity in dress, speech, tastes of the younger generation—the 'Jeans Culture' as he called it, with approval. But this seemed to horrify the veteran diplomat, Haksar. He sought, instead, to find relief in the Universal Human Spirit which goes beyond the mythology of Nationalism. An interesting remark he made was that,we are reaching a point in the course of our journey on this Earth where the moral imperatives of yesterday are becoming practical necessities.

(Continued overleaf)

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE ?

THREE STREAMS – *A TRIVENI OF IDEAS*

As the discussions proceeded, there seemed to emerge three distinct streams of thought—the Physical and Bilogical Sciences, the Politico-Socio-Economic Factors and the Humanist, esoteric Spiritual Values—and some time was spent in trying to find a convergence between these three streams As one participant put it (professionally, he studies the behaviour of the chimpanzees) : "The best guarantee for human condition is to rouse ourselves to the level of humans and become spiritually mature". Correa spoke of 'mapping' human problems and identifying areas of knowledge which we know as well as those we do not. Another participant wondered whether it would be possible to draw up a 'hierarchy' of problems, but many others felt that such an exercise may be impossible, even if desirable.

ON CONSUMERISM *Vs.* GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE

There was some discussion on Consumerism and the need to restrict desires. Swamiji quoted from *Srimad Bhavagatham* to say that "Desires only flame forth when they are satisfied"; and the more they are satisfied, the more they increase. He also quoted the noted scientist, Julian Huxley, to say that ' quantity of material production must be a means to quality." Jagdish Kapur racalled Gandhiji's famous statement that "the World has enough resources for everybody's need, but not for everybody's greed." Incidentally, barring Kapur, there was little mention of Gandhi whose diagnosis of the "human condition", though made many years back, seems increasingly relevant even today; his 'Philosphy of Life' seems the only feasible and plausible one to meet the challenges of our time.

Gandhi saw Humanity, not collectively but in terms of the Individual; to him, the Human Condition was ultimately the condition of Man . ...everyman, everywhere and particularly in the oppressed regions of the Earth. He saw Life as a whole and not in a fragmented manner, as we are apt to do. To him the spiritual and temporal needs were both important, food for the body was as essential as that for the mind. ..... in India. even more so. God. he used to say, appears to the hungry in the form of bread. He once chided Poet Tagore for seeming to forget that in the harsh Indian environment, his appeal for Beauty may be somewhat unreal.

RIGHTS *Vs.* DUTIES

And yet Gandhi had a larger vision of Man! He saw Man as the meaning and measure of all things; it was, for him, the supreme consideration He had little use for theoretical abstractions such as the Righs of Man. When H. G. Wells sent him, in the thirties, a draft Declaration of the Rights of Man, Gandhi commented, "I do not believe Man has any rights; he has only duties to perform and if they are done well, rights will follow automatically."

Some-how, in the profound intellectual discussions recorded in the book, one misses the simple truths that Gandhiji spoke of so eloquently. Is not true spritualism ultimately doing one's duty as the *Gita* enjoins or as Lord Buddha preached ? One wonders whether the sad state of the human conditon today is because there is too little emphasis on what Man should do, and too much on his 'problems'. Are not these problems, in the ultimate analysis, created largely by ourselves, because we are not doing what we ought to be doing ?

ABOUT YOUTH, FEMINISM & WOMEN'S RIGHTS

There was some welcome plain-speaking about the Youth. Swamiji spoke of the reluctance of American parents to tell the children when they do wrong. "They" he said"are willing to serve, but nobody tells them to serve." He wondered whether the "pampered Peter-Pans of today" can become the heroes of tomorrow; and he found it illogical that they think they are right, merely because they are young.

Feminism and Women's Rights were discussed, briefly. Prof Lionni cited a study by the University of Pennsylvania which found the Quality of Life much higher in Italy (ranked second) compared to the USA (ranked 27 th) and he felt it was because of the strong feminist movement in his country. Some saw in the "gender war" a new approach to morality and a breakdown of old moral and ethical systems. On the other hand, others saw the gender war yielding a better understanding of the role of family as the joint responsibility of two genders, not one. It was mentioned that Betty Freidan whose book the '*Feminine Mystique*' sparked the movement for Women's Liberation, now seems to question whether real liberation can be achieved only when both men and women work together for development of healthy families.

EDUCATION FOR NEW IDEAS & HARMONY

There was some discussion on Education, which should be much more than securing a degree; and the need to delink jobs from degrees. Education should be few assimilation of ideas. The present gulf between the University and Society needs to be bridged. Education should cease to be a badge for elitism and should reach the right values.....on all of which there was a near unanimity.

The most hopeful feature of the discussions was how much the participants found they had in common. Even though, apparently, there were vast diversities between them, they seemed to understand a common language. Whether from communist or 'free' state, whether from plenty or poverty, whether a scientist or spiritual leader, there was a large measure of agreement that Man and Nature must learn to live in harmony. For this, there is need to cultivate the right spirit.....what the Chinese call "Kingly Without and Sagely Within" or as symbolised in the Indian tradition of "*Rajarishi.*" As Swamiji put it well;" Man knows

(*Continued on next page*)

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Two Books On NEHRU—I Have Liked

by A. B. Mathur

Surprisingly, the best books on and about Jawaharlal Nehru are by himself; and they would have sufficed for a comprehensive study of his life and work, but for two reasons. Firstly, his works are heavily dated. *An Autobiography*, his best written work was published ih 1936, when nearly three decades of eventful life and work lay ahead of him. His *Discovery of India*, an impressionistic account of the evolution and development of India's multi-faceted culture and civilization, was published in 1945; and within two years of the publication, Nehru's real work was to commence and last till his death in 1964.

Secondly, his works, as all works, even by the most celebrated thinkers and writers, are an attempt to articulate his own experiences of life and the world around him. Even the most rigorous efforts to maintain objectivity often fail; and author's prejudices and values extensively influence his work. Nehru was no exception. His writings are his own, based on the perspectives and perceptions he developed in the course of his bustling life. Such influences as sneaked into his works, particularly of Mahatma Gandhi and his father, Moti Lal Nehru's, were those he accepted after a close and prolonged scrutiny as integral part of his philosophy or as expedient measures to be abandoned at some future stages of his cultural and intellectual development.

On the other hand, most of the books written on Nehru suffer from a chronic infirmity. They are either full of unabashed eulogy or make uninformed and undeserved attack on him. It is really quite some task to pick two books which are free from the stock-in-trade prejudices, for and against, and which attempt to study his life and contribution in a sympathetic but candid and critical manner.

THE GENTLE COLOSSUS

Hiren Mukerjee's *The Gentle Colossus* (Oxford, 1986, first published in 1964) and Escott Reid's *Envoy to Nehru* (Oxford, 1981) are two such works. They are not biographies, but studies of Nehru's personality and policies. The only biography written with the full consent and cooperation of Nehru was by Michael Brecher, which is still worth reading, despite the author's pronounced pro-West views and an uneven description and analysis of Nehru's domestic and foreign policies. Hiren Mukerjee's credentials for writing a book on Nehru are unexceptionable. He read history at Oxford and taught in Calcutta and made it in his quiet and unobtusive way as a CPI member of Parliament from West Bengal for twenty-five years from 1952 to 1977. As a pillar of the Communist Party of India and a dyed-in-the-wool Marxist, he had little in common with Nehru. The framework of his ideas and ideological orientation were drawn from Marxist social philosophy which, among other things, emphasises the role of the impersonal social forces rather than individuals as factors of social change. He tangled with Nehru on numerous occasions on matters of domestic and foreign policies. They did not see eye to eye on most matters. They operated on different wave-lengths, and the divergence in their outlook was so large as to be unbridg-able. In spite of all this, Nehru had considerable affection for Mukerjee; and Mukerjee a genuine regard and admiration for him.

Mukerjee writes with great verve and vibrance. His style is late-Victorian, pleasant but high-flown. He crafts his sentences with the care and precision of a lapidary An effort to keep a low profile of Nehru has been made by the author throughout the work; and praise, wherever due, has been given generously but restrainedly, except at places where Mukerjee inadvertently allows himself to be swept off his feet, and uses such adjectives as 'peerless' and 'paladin or even a 'colossus'.

Mukerjee, in spite of the differences in outlook and intellectual orientation, is a great admirer of Nehru. He watched Nehru in and outside the Parliament for long, and analysed his work and his leadership of the party and the nation; and established a fine and decent rapport with Nehru. Deep down in him, there was great admiration for Nehru for his sensitivity and intellectual passion.

Nehru was not a doctrinaire socialist, and yet his concern for the poor and the under-privileged was

(Continued)

(*Contd. from page 172*) **The Human Condition Today**

everything, but many don't know how to live at peace within themselves and with others."

If only to discover the common strand of "human values" that we all cherish, the meeting as recorded in the book, was well worth it. To many who were not fortunate to be present at the meeting, the book provides many new insights; but there are no 'solutions'; no 'plans of action' for the problems raised. One has the feeling at the end, that each country has to solve these problems in its own way. Perhaps, every individual needs to do it *within* himself, in his own mind. Radhakrishnan was quoted as saying that "The last stage in man's journey in Life has to be in a single file". We are alone with ourselves, and it is there that the answers must be found. Science, Religion, Knowledge, Art are all a help, but do not provide answers. These have to be discovered by ourselves, *within* ourselves...

Delhi based Dr. Ram K. Vepa (a former civil servant and technocrat) continues to write for the IBC on varied current topics.

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deep and abiding. It is true, Nehru could not realise the Gandhian ideal of 'wiping every tear from every eye', but he made great efforts, in spite of hassles and bottlenecks, to reduce poverty and destitution to the extent possible under Indian conditions. He tried to change society not drastically by upsetting the apple-cart and by sundering ties with the past, as most violent revolutions had done elsewhere, but gently, democratically, and without snapping the links with the past and by throwing everything topsy-turvy.

AN ADMIRABLE PORTRAIT

Mukerjee praises Nehru with great warmth for his commitment to democracy, to the parliamentary form of government and to secularism. In spite of innuendoes and barbed criticism, Nehru, more than anybody else, remained the most sincere and genuine secularist in thought, word and deed. Born an aristocrat and inured to a life of ease and comfort, even luxury, he went through the rough and tumble of political life without a squeal. Endowed with courage and endurance, he faced great odds with equanimity, beginning with the holocaust in the wake of Partition to the Chinese invasion in 1962. He 'lost his temper but never his nerve.'

Nehru had his foibles and weaknesses. Being a great visionary, he dreamt of India as a great industrial nation, prosperous, strong and democratic, but lacked determination, sustained effort and ruthlessness to convert dreams into social realities. He knew that the administrative machinery he had inherited was not the proper instrument to bring about socio-economic changes, but did precious little to change it. He knew that the abolition of *zamindari* and land reforms were largely an eyewash. He knew that the massive, amorphous organization he headed so long, was not attuned to change. It was communal, class-ridden; and both its rank and file and the leaders were interested in grabbing things to get rich quick.

PLANNING ALONG A MIDDLE PATH

Mukerjee devotes a whole chapter to "Planning and Purpose" to bring out in full relief Nehru's contribution to modernising Indian society. Nehru was greatly fascinated by the socialist theories, but never studied them thoroughly. For him, socialism meant social justice, equality of opportunity and end of poverty and exploitation. He was clearly and emphatically against the violent methods adopted elsewhere to establish a socialist order. Mukerjee rightly points out that Nehru did not have the strength, the crudity and ruthlessness to pursue a clearly defined goal as most makers of history had. He was not perpared to sacrifice democracy, and all it meant to usher in a socialist order. He thought the two could develop simultaneously. His efforts at planning, in spite of every thing, did achieve a breakthrough; and gave a new orientation to Indian thinking on economic and social matters. But he knew, as he pointed out at Avadi in 1955 and at Bhubneshwar in 1964, that efforts at planning were grossly inadequate, considering the magnitude of problems India faced. Mukerjee believes that Nehru made a great and good beginning, and it was for his successors to continue the process of planning scientifically, within the framework of democratic ideas and institutions, laced with humanism.

Another chapter "India's Middle Way" is written with remarkable insight in Indian history and culture. Indian thinking has always avoided the extremes, and preferred the middle way. Nehru found it more fascinating, because he admired Buddha and his teachings a great deal. Buddha's Eight-fold Path and the Middle Way clearly influenced Nehru's thinking. It is evident as much in domestic policies as in foreign policy. To some, though, it may appear an elaborate cover for vacillation and indecisiveness; but to Nehru, it was the only right course available to India in view of her cultural heritage and present-day problems.

A SUMMING UP

An aesthete, an admirer of beauty, a lover of nature, a scientist endowed with modern outlook, and an intellectual who delighted in the world of Ideas, a writer of no mean order, a redeemer of India's teeming millions, a great statesman, Jawaharlal Nehru bestrode the Indian scene not like a behemoth or a titan, but as Mukerjee says, like a "gentle colossus."

Mukerjee's book is an excellent study, showering praise, not fulsome and unrestrained, but in a genteel, elegant and civilised way, and criticising Nehru with restraint and forbearance, without making any effort to shove his weaknesses under the rug. It is a pleasure to read such a well-written book with so much of sensitivity and understanding of an infinitely complex personality such as Nehru.

WHAT AN ENVOY SAW

Escott Reid's book *Envoy to Nehru* is remarkable in its own way. The title itself is suggestive of his devotion to and admiration for Nehru. It is not 'Envoy to India' but *Envoy to Nehru*, because for him, Nehru symbolised India (not quite the way his daughter symbolised subsequently). Nehru was the quintessence of all that India stood for and represented. Mukerjee took several decades to arrive at certain conclusions about Nehru and his policies and to admire and praise him, but Escott Reid fell in love almost at first sight.

THE CHOICE BEFORE P. M NEHRU

Nehru's first visit to Washington (D.C.) in 1949 soured; and Dean Acheson, the then Secretary of State, had found him "the most difficult man with whom I have ever to deal." From Washington, Nehru

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—I HAVE LIKED

went to Ottawa, and found the Canadian ambience more congenial. At the official dinner, he spoke sharing his agony with the audience by saying that when he became Prime Minister, the choice before him was not between good and evil, but between the greater evil and the lesser evil. The audience was greatly moved, and so was Escott Reid.

Reid had a chance to hear Nehru again at the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Meet at Colombo in 1950. His admiration for Nehru grew apace. He sought to get posted in 1952 as Canadian High Commissioner in New Delhi; and served till 1957. This period of five years also saw Nehru at the peak of his power and popularity. His reputation as an idealist and principled pragmatist was firmly established, though some of the Western Powers, led by the U. S. A., never ceased to cavil at him. Reid's five years in New Delhi were spent very fruitfully, though he found some people unbearably abrasive and nettling, most notably Krishna Menon. But Nehru made no secret of his liking for Canada and the Canadian Government. Reid paid another visit after a long interval on retirement from the Canadian Foreign Service, in the late seventies, to see for himself how things had changed and what, if any, was left of Nehru's influence and legacy.

A SENSE OF HISTORY

Reid is a bureaucrat; a career diplomat; and his approach to Nehru's personality and policies is not the same as that of the distinguished academic and veteran politician-parliamentarian, Hiren Mukerjee. Two chapters that stand out most prominently are "Nehru" and "Reconsiderations", apart from the one on "Krishna Menon". Reid found to his utter delight that Nehru had a very lively sense of history Even to a simple question, he would almost invariably say, 'In order to answer that question you have to go a long way back'; or to a generalisation on international relations, he would say, 'that is, I think, too simple an approach to a highly complicated situation.'

COURTEOUS

He was unfailingly courteous, but sometimes in conversation, he would very brusquely intervene with a rude 'what do you mean?' and almost immediately make amends for lack of civility. His way of appraising men was very interesting. If he said X was a good man, that was the highest praise. Obviously, in his reckoning, there were very few good men, and those who were good possessed moral qualities that set them apart from the common run of men. Reid records that even in the bitterest anti-Western mood, he never described any of the Russian leaders as a good man.

LONELY & SHY

Nehru was also a very lonely man, and a very shy person. After Gandhiji's death, there was nobody he could open his heart to. There were old Congress stalwarts who were colleagues and comrades-in-arms, but not friends. Perhaps Mountbattens filled the void. Being thoroughly westernised, he found his soul-mates in the illustrious and aristocratic family of Mountbattens.

DOUBLE STANDARDS

Reid accuses Nehru roundly of adopting double standards in judging the West and Russia. He naively believed that public denunciation of the failings of the West may help to change their policies, whereas denunciation of Russia and China would only aggravate situations and embitter relations India's relations with the West and Indian diplomacy generally under Nehru were more often than not exasperating for the West; but it was not without solid achievements.

AN OUTSTANDING STATESMAN & WORLD LEADER

Reid records his impressions and his assessment of Nehru the man, and Nehru the statesman, and comes to the expected conclusion that Nehru scored heavily over his contemporaries. To Reid, as to many others, Nehru was the most outstanding statesman of his time, Western denigration and criticism notwithstanding. In fact, Reid describes the late forties and fifties as "Nehru era". What strikes Reid most extraordinary and, therefore, lovable was the transparent moral quality and the high principled stand Nehru took on many a crucial problem that faced India and the world. "For the people of India," says Reid, "he is George Washington, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Eisenhower rolled in one" At another place he says that Nehru "ranks with Mutsushito, Lincoln, Bismarck, Sun-Yat-Sen. Lenin, Gandhi, Roosevelt, Churchill and Mao-Tse-Tung."

Reid is not unaware of Nehru's weaknesses and foibles, but believes that he was too big a man to lose his superiority over others on account of them. He was a redeemer of a sub-continent, an ardent, believer in democracy and decency in public life. But for him, democracy would not have flourished, nor freedom cherished and enjoyed in India. He united hundreds of millions of people of mind-boggling diversity and gave them a sense of pride, besides a place under the sun.

Reid's book is a frank and genuine record of a Western diplomat's brief but keen association with Nehru, whom he admired and idolised, but not blindfoldedly and without reason.

Dr. A. B Mathur is a former Director of College Education, Govt. of Rajasthan and former Visiting Professor in Pol. Science and Public Administration at the Universities of Jodhpur and Rajasthan. He is now the Chief Editor, **Administrative Change.**

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A HERO DENIED HIS HONOUR

P.G. Sundararajana : THE LIFE OF S. SATYAMURTI

Reviewed by D. Anjaneyulu

S. Satyamurti was a valiant freedom-fighter from the South who had dreamt of a new India, but did not live to see the dawn of independence. Caught up in the upsurge of nationalism in the first decade of the century, he devoted all his life to the freedom struggle, and was one of the prime architects of the Congress Party in his home state of Tamil Nadu (then forming part of the composite Province of Madras)

A MANY-SIDED PERSONALITY

A many-sided personality, with wide-ranging interests, Satyamurti had an infectious zest for living and a compelling vigour of expression. He was a parliamentarian to the manner born, an organisor *par excellence* ; but had to be content with positions that could only be described as the second best, while he deserved of the best. He was not exactly an "heir to unfulfilled renown", but an inheritor of incompletely fulfilled renown, in the author's well-chosen words.

In a concise account of less than 200 pages, arranged into eleven chapters and an epilogue, Sundararajan presents a beautiful and balanced portrait of the personality of Satyamurti, alongwith the main events of his life and those of the public life of South India in the first half of this century.

A BONNY FIGHTER : CUT OFF AT HIS PRIME

The main point that emerges from this account, which is both reliable and readable, is that Satyamurti was a born fighter, a bonny fighter as the Scots would have it, for whom a good fight was even more important than a good prize. Here was an Olympian, who could and did fight harder than most others ; but the palm was denied at the end of it all. One cannot help agreeing with the author, when he says that one is left here with a sense of tragic waste of an exceptional talent that was not allowed to play its full part in the nation's life, of a man cut off at the peak of his powers. It may be remembered that Satyamurti died in 1943, when he was about 55 or so, which might be considered as the prime of a politician's life now-a-days.

CONGRESS, JUSTICE PARTY & SWARAJYA PARTY

But during this brief span, he took the most out of the best years of his adult life, of nearly a quarter century. This coincided with the years of the propagation of the message of the Indian National Congress among the masses of Tamil Nadu and the series of electoral successes. Curiously enough, it also coincides with the origin and growth, as also the decline and fall of the Justice Party. Incidentally, it covers the meteoric rise of the Swarajaya Party, under the dynamic leadership of Desabandhu C.R Das, and its sudden disappearance Satyamurti was closely drawn to it, adding his own brilliance to it.

It was in 1918, at the Provincial Political Conference, held at Kanchi, that Satyamurti made his debut, sending unmistakable warning signals to "Home Rulers" like Annie Bosant and Moderate Liberals like Srinivasa Sastri. Thereafter, there was no looking back for him.

PARLIAMENTARIAN

The "Twenties" during which Satyamurti, along with C. R. Reddy and other brilliant debators, kept the "Dyarchy" Government at bay, (the Transferred as well as the Reserved half of it,) are discussed by the author under the title "Year of Performance". It was hard to find a match for his debating skills and powers of repartee among the Treasury Benches.

By way of random sampling, one might recall the manner in which he needled the Government on declaration of a public holiday on the day of Lord Willingdon's departure, after laying down his office as Governor. Satyamurti ended it all with the tongue-in-cheek question : 'Sir, Is it declared a public holiday, as a day of mourning, or rejoicing ?'

This was only a prelude to his sustained performance in the Central Assembly during the "Thirties". Here he not only crossed swords with the giants of the time, but achieved positive results in legislation-making.

VICTORY IN 1937 ELECTIONS

It is well known that in the 1937 elections, Satyamurti was the chief architect of the Congress victory in Tamil Nadu. But why was he denied the fruits of his labour at the last moment ? Sundararajan is at his best in subtlety and sarcasm, in the chapter, entitled "Brother and Stranger", when he remarks :

".....even in the charmed circles of Congress leadership some are more equal thus others."

It was as a member of the Central Legislative Assembly that Satyamurti made a mark on the national scene. Ever a master of repartee, who could give others a lot more than he got from them. He also demonstrated extraordinary powers of sustained eloquence and seasoned statemanship. On the historic debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, he spoke for eight hours, spread over three non-official days, admonishing the Home-Member (Sir Henry Craik) in the end with the remark : "Remember

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Makers of Modern India

ACHARYA NARENDRA DEVA (1889-1959)—A Tribute

by **Prakash C. Shastri**

[*Some time ago, we had announced that in the Nehru Centenary Year, which also happens to be the centenary of many other freedom fighters and makers of India, we would like to have comments and review articles on some other contemporary patriots, poets and philosophers etc. of the age. The following contribution, as some others in this issue is a part of that effort.* —*Editors*]

Acharya Narendra Deva can easily be described as the most revered and honoured Indian "socialist" (now-a-days this term has become rather an epithet or a word of abuse) who commanded the utmost respect among his contemporaries. Both "Mahatma" Mohandas K. Gandhi and "Pandit" Jawaharlal Nehru used to shower praise on the *Acharya* for his erudition, enquiring spirit and unwavering comitment (so rare in these days of psychophancy) to socialism, the cause dearest to his heart. Narendra Deva indeed belonged to the *liberal-humanist-socialist* tradition of his times.

According to Prof. Edward L Berneys, the nature of the phenomena of "renaissance" was secular, and it pleaded the cause of social justice; while the nature of religious "social reforms" was absolutely "theistic", and it worked for the recognition of the individual freedoms. Both these phenomena got converged into the ideology of humanism. That is why all kinds of Indian socialists, including Narendra Deva can be broadly categorised under the heading of "liberal humanists". Even Hannah Arendt says that the highest contribution of Karl Marx has been that he raised the "social question" on the broad horizon of the western political thinking, though both Robbespiere and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin represent the seamy side of this movement in their own kinds of "failures".

When some literature concerning "the early" Marx was unearthed by European scholars, they found to their utter surprise that during that phase, Karl Marx was a humanist to the core of his heart. It is perhaps one example of the foresight of Acharya Narendra Deva that he used to describe Karl Marx as a "humanist" philosopher of his age, *who hated poverty and passionately and doggedly worked for its removal*. For the sake of comparison, we may take the example of the thinking of the "Father of our Nation" who used to racite paen songs for poverty and always asked people to limit their needs, but never raised basic questions, say against the rationale of the Brahmanical order based on "*chatur varna*" system, which gave birth to many kinds of inequities and exploitations in our social system (that also includes political aspects).

When Rosa Luxemburg had questioned the very basics of the authoritarian model of the Communist Party (in the Soviet Russian context) raised by Comrade Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Acharya Narendra Deva unhesitatingly sided with Comrade Luxemburg *vis-a-vis* Comrade Lenin. It will be impudent to argue, however, that Narendra Deva foresaw the forthcoming events to take shape in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev as represented in his clarion call for both "*glasnost*" (freedom or basic liberties) and "*perestroika*" (restructuring).

All in all, two contributions of the Indian social-ists are most outstanding, though their movement began rather with a bang, but ended up with a whimper. Their achievements are two—fold as stated below:

1) *First*, they (including Acharya Narendra Deva) did try to highlight not only the humanist phase of Marxism in India, but they also made herculean efforts to suit it to the ethos of this land.

2) *Second*, they were able to compell the nationalist leadership to spell out the socialist programme of action, if and when they would attain freedom and would come to hold reigns of power.

According to Professor George H. Sabine, "Machiavelli was the child of his times". This is equally applicable to our Acharya Narendra Deva. So, let us first have quick look at the biographical aspects of his life, so that we are in a position to better assess his role in the context of his age. He was born on *Kartika Shukla Ashtami* in a lower middle class *Kayastha* family at Faizabad (Uttar Pradesh). He was groomed as a lawyer to succeed his family's occupation. He did become a pleader, and used to do legal practice at Faizabad, where he came into contact with the Indian peasantry, and soon began to take up cudgles on their behalf. It is also notable that he came into politics through the extremist nationalist movements led by both "Lokmanya" Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh. Later on, when "Mahatma" Gandhi launched his first civil disobedience movement, he also joined it, of course, alongwith his rural folks. It was due to his influence that "Pandit" Jawaharlal Nehru got involved in the farmers' movement of Pratapgarh and Naini; and did try to raise it on "class" lines, while 'Baba" Raghavdass organized them on "caste" lines, much before the phenomenon of Charan Singh came into being.

It was rather tragic, on grounds of morality, that when Narendra Deva resigned his Uttar Pradesh

(Continued overleaf)

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ACHARYA NARENDRA DEVA—A Tribute

Legislative Assembly seat, the master strategist, Govind Vallabh Pant, not only put up "Baba" Raghavdass against him, but also saw to it that the Acharya got defeated. "Pandit" Jawaharlal Nehru was shocked by this defeat, and he got Acharya appointed as Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University. Due to the pious wishes of Madan Mohan Malviya, he also adorned the chair of the Vice-Chancellor at the Benaras Hindu University. Acharya Narendra Deva was no ordinary routinized kind of politician. He was quite a scholar, well versed in Pali, Prakrat and Sanskrit, and he drank deep the nectar of the Buddhist literature. He also visited the People's Republic of China in this connection.

During the last phase of his life, he was busy building bridges between the "humanist dimensions" of both Buddhism and Marxism. His book on "*Socialism and National Revolution*" (Bombay, Padma Prakashan, 1946) has been highly talked about and acclaimed as a book that inspired a whole generation of dedicated band of socialist workers. He also used to edit the Lucknow-based weekly paper "*Samgharsh*", of course, with the help of Om Prakash "Deepak". Many of his articles and editorials are remembered for their clarity, comprehension and lucidity of expression, particularly one piece on "socialism" can still be recalled. His other work no *Buddhism* is also highly respected. Alas ! He could not find another generation of scholars among his followers, who could have created an Antonio Gramsci out of his scattered writings spread all over the country.

It is a matter of gratification, however, that recently Dr. Asha Gupta of Delhi University, Delhi has not only completed her doctoral thesis on the political contribution of Acharya Narendra Deva, but also got it published from Geetanjali Publishers, Delhi, (in 1988). Dr. Gupta deserves our heartfelt thanks for her valuable contribution. *(We hope to receive this book soon and would like to get it reviewed in our columns. —Ed.)*

Long ago, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engeles had come to the conclusion that since the ideas of the ruling class become the "ruling ideas", hence the "material" force also becomes the "intellectual force" of a country. Since the working class has neither got the time nor money, neither opportunity nor patience, hence they have to live under the hegemony of the "ruling ideas" of the day. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia once said that G. D. Birla represented the Indian capital and Nehru represented the Indian intellectual, and it is a matter of distress that nobody comes forward to challenge the alliance.

Now-a-days there is a maddening euphoria being generated by the blitzkrieg being launched by Jawahar lal Nehru Centenary Celebrations Committee, but nobody makes any effort to celebrate the centenaries of other leaders and thinkers like Acharya Narendra Deva, Abulkalam Azad, and many others whose centenaries also fall in this year. When the "ruling ideas" of the ruling class rule the roost, then who would like to work on the political thought of other Indian socialists like Acharya Narendra Deva ? However, we would like to refer to the famous inaugural and presidential address (1934-delivered at Patna) of the Congress Socialist Party and to the *Gaya Thesis*. (It is being said that during its preparation in the year 1955, when he fell ill, it was given to then Congress Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, Dr. Sampurnanand, who completed the work assigned to him by Narendra Deva to the satisfaction of his master. Such a rare gesture of goodwill is not possible in these days of petty politics)

Prakash Shastri is Asstt. Prof. (Pol. Sc.) in the University of Rajastnan.

(*Continued from page 176*)

A HERO DENIED HIS HONOUR

that the greatest force against torrorism is Mahatma Gandht."

BUT DENIED HIS PRIZE

Commenting on his performance, a Calcutta paper wrote : "Mr Satyamurti reminds us of a great Parliamentary tactician of the Irish Home Rule Party, Charles Stewart Parnell "

Like Parnell too, Satyamurti got the applause of the people and the sympathy of friend and foe alike, but was denied the prize. That he received a solatium or two, like the Mayoralty of Madras, Presidentship of TNCC etc. was a different matter.

He had his regrets, but did not give way to bitterness or frustration. With more than his share of disappointments, he did not succumb to depression

Sensitive appreciations of all aspects of Satyamurti's life, as an amateur actor on the stage, as a '*rasika*', a lover of literature and the arts, and all good things of life, find place in a biography that is simple and subtle in one, brilliant and balanced, mature and in the correct perspective.

Author-journalist, D. Anjaneyulu is also the President of the Madras Press Club. (We are specially obliged to him for this contribution, since the publishers did not send a review copy of the book —Eds.)

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POEMS OF LOVE & PATRIOTISM

C. L. Proudfoot : A SOLDIER'S SONG

Writers' Workshop, Calcutta(1988) Pp.68; Rs. 60/-&30/-

Reviwed by P. C. K. Prem

A Soldier's Song is a charming collection of poems by C. L. Proudfoot. It is unusal for a military man who spent his life on the borders to bring out such an innocent but downright truth about life in poetic words. Sensitive moments are caught in words which give delight; at times these are philosophic and at other times as simple as the smile of a village belle.

The poems move in rhythmic movements. Often the reader begins to identify himself impercept -ibly with the poet. If at times, the poet is making "classic" statements about man and life, these may not be new to many readers, but the grace, beauty and dignity of style transport them to new dimensions of experiences.

Essentially, a "soldier's point of view" flows in all the forty-two poems and Proudfoot's words mingle freely with dance and music to offer a compo-site meaning to life. Proudfoot touches many areas of life and brings out hard facts along with sensitive emotions to the surface. The perennial themes of love, beauty, life and death, patriotism, Nature and God are important to the poet; and tackling these themes with intense emotions and philosophic under-tones is his achievement. In order to reach some destination, struggle and suffering are unavoidable and so a man must continue to fight. Yet all through his poems, a strain of optinism pervades.

In the intense activities of battle-field, the poet has an eye to appreciate nature when he moves out of his dimly-lighted tent and looks up at the tropic sky and the sandy plain down below :

> My wonder I could scarce contain
> So beauteous was the sight
> —*Desert Moonlight p. 12*

And 'a strong fantastic theme' emerges, amidst all the beauty of life :

> That toils and woes and bitter strife
> which men themselves beget
> Are scorched sands of daily life
> And Peace—Moonlight of Death
> —*Desert Moonlight p. 12*

LOVE IS INSPIRATION

To the poet, 'beauty and struggle' constitute a two-fold principle of life and its vibrations find a mention in '*Sandstorm Blowing*'. After struggles and sufferings, man enjoys beauty and peace, says the poet. To engage oneself in the battle of life, one ought to have a source of inspiration and for the poet, it is love – *(as in Twilight Reverie)*. Delicate thoughts and feelings have overcome the poet :

> A lamp in my soul has deen lit
> A name in my heart has been writ
> .. ..
> From an Angel, who stopped in his thought
> And said, It is Birth of your love."
> —*Twilight Reverie p. 18*

& PATRIOTISM

In '*Fishman's Dirge*', the poet makes an ardent appeal to continue the struggle in sad despair in spite of failure.

When 'Iraqi winter winds blow/Cold with stern intensity', he remembers his native land, and here his immense love for his country is chiselled into a poetic expression :

> And then on paltry green
> Hind stretches verdant forestry
> From Comorin's point to Everest's peak
> And Oh, I long to roam again
> On Indian valley, hill and plain !
> —*Song of Ind. p. 13*

Similar intensity of patriotic sentiments is revea-led in *Soldier's Hymn to India.* After personal love, it is love of the country that acts as a storehouse of his inspiration. It is excited emotional outpouring of love for India that makes him sing :

> On India, my Mother, I love thy sacred land
> Thy valleys and mountains ..
> .. the green and leafy glades
> —*Soldier's Hymn to India p. 27*

TO FIGHT & YET TO DREAM

To undergo the brutalities of war is a terrifying experience The only sublime thought that keeps the lonely spirit of a soldier strong and alive is the hope to be back with relatives and the loved ones. It is a bliss to be back and be 'Unto Subtle charms/of fair women's arms'. Those who die,

> 'they reach the Book of Fame
> In pages there
> With modest air
> Each inscribes his name'.

In '*Warriors Welcome*', the poet sings the glory of those who return happily after victory. Those who embrace death and go to unknown graves are equally

(*Overleaf*)

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POEMS OF LOVE & PATRIOTISM

honoured. It is a sacred tribute to their love of land and duty To fight is a pious duty soldiers have to perform; but the ultimate truth which dawns upon the mind is about the futility of war, that makes soldiers rise above other ordinary men. In the deep recesses of his mind and heart, a soldier too hates war that brings destruction and dehumanisation :

Nothing at all
Except a fierce faith in ourselves
And the Peace we had won; and a terrible
Lasting hatred of war
—*Soldier's Reverie p. 38*

This ennobling feeling keeps one alive with hope and confidence, courage and fortitude and then comes a humanitarian cry to end all wars :

But Save it, we crave
For the blood of brave
Who died in the War to
End all Wars, has sanctified it
By their sacrifice'.
—*Soldier's Reverie p. 39*

Thoughts about love with all its sensitivity, sublimity, holiness and glory come like small drops of rain to soothe the injured soul and spirit. A feeling of love percolates and makes one aware of life, even life after death. "*Lines on a Lonely Picquet*", "*Rose Bowl*", "*Over the Waves*", "*Thy Kiss*", "*Rhapsody Without You*", "*To a Rustic Goddess*" and "*Tribute to Love*" are poems of love that purifies and fills the heart with a touch of divine bliss. The poet's sentiment of love is both earthly and ethereal :

The flame that's bright in coming years
Can never brighter be than now
when life is Love
And Love is life
And the Grey Ghost of Sadness
Has not yet reached the door
—*Tribute to Love p. 48*

An acute observer of nature, its grandeur and beauty, most of the strength and optimism he derives, come from little acts of nature. Nature to him is a source "of strength in despair". '*Rhapsody*' is a pure delight with his words dancing in rhythms. '*Morning*' is another beautiful poem. Again, in an entirely different context the poet dwells on the theme of pity and '*Thanks-giving*' :

Above all
The chance to do one small act of thankness,
Without gain, each day along the way
'For on this Road we travel once
And shall not pass again.
Thanks-giving p. 47

(Continued) TRIBUTES

The poet makes a departure from his usual frame of mind, when he offers tributes *To 'Gandhiji'*, *Jawaharlal* and *Obit* to remember historical figures who shaped India's destiny. It is his nostalgic love and adoration of great men that impels him to pay humble tributes. Gandhi 'lives in our hearts' and in *'Obit'* he recalls that Zakir Husain was 'God's good man'. The painful heart weeps when he remembers Jawaharlal :

But now the light is out, The voice is still
It will be heard no more, nowhere except
within our hearts, where he lives on
for evermore. But who will speak for us
—*Jawaharlal p. 54*

His tremendous love for the country is expressed profusely in poems like "*Birth of a Nation*", "*Rededication*", "*For India with Love*", and "*The Soldier's Prayer for India.*" The present hollowness and utter callouseness is evident in the following lines :

In clamouring tongues of discord
We squabbled over transcendental trifles
This town is mine, that language not
This policy is right, that border wrong
—*Birth of a Nation p. 52*

Over trivial issues, man fights man and, a nation is born. The poet's idea of a nation is a nation of mankind, where all live in peace and harmony. No sacrifice is great for a nation. Even lives are immaterial, that is the message of "*Rededication*". "*For India with Love*" is a song about India where small minds are engaged in pursuits of self-interest and are thus causing damage to the unity and integrity of India. But the redeeming feature is the humble and deep devotion that a common man nurses for his country, that makes the country strong and united.

In '*The Soldier*', the poet is all praise for the soldiers who defend the freedom of the mother-land. He makes a fervent appeal :

So stretch forth Your hand to protect
Our land from power-hungry patriots and
Self-appointed Saviours
—*A Soldier's Prayer For India p. 61*

"*Symphony*" and "*Discovery*" are two other delightful poems. It is a prayer to Him that makes the poet strong and peaceful :

For Light
I do not seek, for I have found
Place in the simplicity of a prayer
Strength in the might of faith
—*Discovery p. 35*

Ultimately, the poet surrenders to the Almighty Plan, for this alone shall grant peace, light, faith and love. The ultimate truth about Death does not

(Continued oa next page)

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BOOK NOTES :

BOOKS *by* ACHARYA NARENDRA DEVA & JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN

The Apala Publishing Co-operative Society Ltd., Lucknow, has recently brought out the second edition of *Towards Socialist Society* by **Acharya Narendra Deva** (Pp. 476; price cloth - bound Rs 300/-) A collection of important writings and speeches of the late Acharya, including 72 articles he wrote in his forty years of active public life, this is a handsome tribute to the renowned Indian socialist scholar and thinker, educationist and politician, whose centenary year is now on. The volume incorporates Acharya Narendra Deva's critical analysis of and views on the constitutional reforms of 1935; freedom struggle against the British rule; Second World War and India's position in the post-war world; British colonial policy; the setting up of the Constituent Assembly under the Cabinet Mission Plan; Communist China and Commonwealth; the changing complexion of Congress; social objectives of the Indian National Congress; important social problems and issues of peace and progress.

Towards Socialist Society is also a useful guide to comprehend and remove the causes of India's economic, social, political and cultural *malaise*. It advocates the devolution of power to the masses, and freedom for the common man; a vigorous philosophy of life, communal unity and harmony. It carefully examines the problems of peasantry, national revolution and socialism, democracy and freedom. It touches upon subjects as diverse as rigid caste system, mass party organisations, human rights and strikes and modern society; the place of religion in human affairs; role of intellectuals in social transformation; Panchayati Raj; monopoly houses and the Congress Government; land reforms and economic planning. It also offers a penetrating analysis of the contemporary status and issues of higher education, an appropriate script for Indian languages and the function of literature in society.

Finally, it offers an original and interesting evaluation of the personality of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and also his own autobiographical memorabilia.

Nation Building in India by **Jayaprakash Narayan** *(2nd Edition 1989, P. 430, Price Rs. 300/-)* is another companion volume—a comprehensive compilation of 66 articles and speeches of Jayaprakash Narayan written from 1935 to 1977.

J. P. was a great Indian revolutionary thinker, freedom fighter, founder of the Indian Socialist Party (1934) and the Janata Party (1976). His valuable support to the democratic struggles in Nepal and Bangladesh is also well-known.

This volume contains a searching analysis and criticism of the Communal Award of 1935; Two-Nation theory of Mr. Jinnah; Partition of India; Hindu-Muslim confrontation; Congress-League tussle; socialism, freedom and democracy. It reveals his poignant, introspective examination and objective sociological analysis of the endemic communal riots in Noakhali, Bihar, Punjab, Jabalpur, Nagpur and Ranchi; the status and anxiety of ethnic and religious minorities; agitations for linguistic states; the Sikh problem and the Punjabi Suba, issues of national language and Hindi.

It also contains his controversial stand on Kashmir, Nagaland, autonomy and Indo-Pak relations; nation state and right of self-determination in a federal set-up. J. P. opposed aggressive nationalism, but at the same time supported national integration based on secularism and respect for ethnic minorities

Nation Building in India gives J.P.'s diagnosis and treatment of the crucial cultural, political and socio-economic problems that confront the South Asian sub-continent—India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

(*Contributed*)

(Contd.) POEMS OF LOVE & PATRIOTISM

escape his attention. The poet is deeply but courageously aware of an imminent end :

> Since the Going is inevitable
> Fear not the time, but rather
> The manner of departure —*Going p. 65*

When one enters silently into the grave, 'without fuss' or 'fan-fare', it is an ultimate act of charity. The same brave current flows on uninterruptedly in poems like '*Exit*' and '*Last Post*'. It is unmatched spiritual resignation.

For its simplicity of style and expression, this collection is wonderful. There is rhythm and music that captures the mind, and words captivate us with their different shades of meaning. The handling of matter and rhyme is remarkable. Effortlessly the poet moves on to sharpen our finer sensibilities and create an aura of intense faith and deep sense of love for Man, and then, one comes very close to something Invisible but strong. A feeling of love and faith for man and this world seeps down and fills our beings.

Poet, story-teller and novelist (both in Hindi and English) and author of 7 book, P. C. K. Prem is Secretary, H. P. Board of School Education, Dharamshala (Distt. Kangra, H. P).

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A TRIBUTE

Remembering A Revolutionary

In his thirties, (late) Har Dayal (1884-1939) was an ardent revolutionary, who believed in the cult of the bomb; but he grew to be a moral idealist.

A learned scholar, he sacrificed his all for the *Ghadar* movement launched during the First World War to uproot the British Empire from India

He had a phenomenal memory and was a student prodigy. Having won the state scholarship in 1905, he proceeded to England for higher studies, where he joined the St. John's College, Oxford I. C. S. was to be the next step; but having come in contact with **Shyamaji Krishna Verma** and **Vir Savarkar**, he began to think differently.

YEARS OF UNREST

This was also the period when the *Swadeshi* movement in Bengal had stirred up the whole country. Also, the victory of Japan over Russia had raised the self-esteem of Asians. And then followed the *kisan* agitation in the Punjab, culminating in the deportment of **S Ajit Singh** and **Lala Lajpat Rai**, in 1907. That year was also the 50th anniversary of the first battle of India's Independence (1857).

Shyamaji Krishna Verma announced the formation of an organization of Political Missionaries in India. Har Dayal wrote its constitution. "What sort of men do we want for the Society ?" he asked. "They should love nothing more than the Cause", he proceeded to answer. "It should be to them in the place of father, mother, brother and friend . They should undertake the task in a religious spirit; earnestness and self-denial should be their guiding principles."

Imbued with these motives, Har Dayal gave up his scholarship, much against the advice of his Principal and the Under-Secretary, Sir James Lyall. He sailed for India in January, 1908, along with his wife, Sundar Rani.

BANDE MATARAM & GHADAR

Back in India, he preached his ideas through his personal contacts and private talks. The corner-stone of his ideas was nationalism. Soon, however, things hotted up for the revolutionaries in India, and Har Dayal was persuaded to go abroad for the sake of the Cause.

In 1909, he was found editing the *Bande Mataram*, the official organ of the Indian Independence League, from Geneva. In the columns of *Bande Mataram*, Har Dayal outlined his techniques for fighting for freedom thus :

(a) First stage : Moral and intellectual preparation;

(b) The second stage is that of war . . "And the only agent that can accomplish this work is the sword. No subject nation can bring freedom without war";

(c) After the war, reconstruction and consolidation.

Later, Har Dayal moved to U.S.A. and led the famous *Ghadar* movement, which threw up countless heroes and martyrs. As the curtain fell on this episode, Har Dayal moved back into the once familiar channels of scholarship, facing heavy odds and self-chosen penury. The end came in 1939, in Philadelphia.

THE TRIPLE CURSE OF NATIONALISM. VIOLENCE, WAR

Before the end, he had reasons to modify his views on Nationalism, Violence, War, Political Democracy, and set them forth elaborately in the *Hints for Self-Culture* (1934), with characteristic enthusiasm and erudition. Study of history had made him a convinced cosmopolitan. He approvingly quoted Goethe, who had said : "Above all nations is Humanity!" and went on to add that "The Unity of Mankind will shine forth like sunshine and destroy the malevolent microbes that breed such destructive plagues as Nationalism and Race-pride." He considered the study of World History as a cure for the "intellectual myopia" from which some "squinting patriots and race-philosophers" suffer. "They see only a part of Humanity and not the whole of it; and tend to forget that all men and women belong to the species *Homo Sapiens*."

[By a strange coincidence, at about the same time, young Jawaharlal Nehru was also re-discovering these basic truths from his own study of World History.
—Eds.]

BROTHERS ALL . . . !

"As the Earth nourishes all, and the sun shines on all, so let your fraternal sympathy extend to all men and women, excluding none," he wrote; and proceeded to quote from the ancient epic, *Mahabharta* which teaches this idea in a Sanskrit verse :

Small souls enquire, 'Belongs this man
To our own race or sect or clan ?'
But larger-hearted men embrace
As brothers all the human race.'

CONCENTRIC CIRCLES

He went on to elaborate that within the great Circle of Humanity, Nature had drawn four other concentric circles for us.

(Continued)

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Who Became A Moral Idealist

—*by* G. B. K. Hooja

The Individual could stand at the Centre of these circles, surrounded by (1) the Family, (2) the Relatives, (3) the Municipality, (4) the Nation, and (5) the World-State, [not unlike the socio-political concept of **Dayananda** (1824-1883) and **Gandhi** (1869-1948).]

After the development of self, **Family** forms the first sphere of activity *in the service of Humanity.* Thus care should be taken that love of family does not deteriorate in "familyism", and "family-egotism" does not prompt people to "rob their neighbours and ruin the State", warns Har Dayal. While the family may be served to the best of one's capacity, "familyism" should not be allowed to make a harmonious social life impossible. Similarly, an individual owes a duty to relatives too.

Next comes the **Municipality.** It is territorial and political in its nature and scope. It is our "political" home. We are united to the other inhabitants of the village or town by the civic bond of a common political organization. This sacred tie of citizenship elevates an individual to the status of a "civilized" person. True public spirit can be developed within the limit of the Municipality. This is the cradle of citizenship. One should discharge all duties of citizenship as an honest and trustworthy citizen, and take deep pride in one's Municipality and its history.

A town is not mere agglomeration of streets and houses; it is community with a past. So its healthy growth should command the allegiance of every citizen.

Nation is the next concentric circle, surrounding an individual. But just as the family stands in danger of degenerating into "familyism" so does the nation stand in the danger of deteriorating into "narrow, chauvinistic nationalism" at the cost of **humanity** at large. Such "nationalism" gives rise to Imperialism, or Fascism. It has led to the slaughter of millions of human beings. It has led to the enslavement of tribes and smaller and weaker nations. It holds humanity to ransom.

WORLD - STATE

This too must lapse into history as a passing phase like feudalism, and yield place to the **World-State** and world-citizenship, which is the logical consummation of the city-state and the nation-state. Then humanity will breathe a sigh of relief and be free from the fear of war and mass homicide.

To bring this about, the world needs an international group of convinced and consistent anti-militarists, who understand clearly that violence breeds further violence, and is thus an evil to be shunned at all costs. A study of the economics of militarism would make the position further clear. Billions of dollars are being spent to keep the war-machines of nation states in a state of readiness, while millions of human beings go without clean drinking water, food, shelter, medical aid, education, and minimal decencies of life. The communication revolution has reduced the world into a global village and the day is not far when with the advance of Democracy, the evil forces of Tyranny shall surrender to the force of Peace and Human Solidarity.

BEYOND THE PARLIAMENT

On political democracy and the representative form of government, too, which obtains in certain countries, the views of Har Dayal are equally carping and critical. It is self-evident that there can be no political democracy without economic democracy. Says Har Dayal, "Parliaments are now moribund institutions of decadent Capitalism. They are the sanctuaries of middle-class adventurers. They have created a new tin-god, *viz.*, the M.P., for the worship of the simple-minded citizens.... These are hot-beds of intrigues and corruption, of snobbery and sycho phancy." (*It may be noted that Har Dayal was writing before this tribe descended on Iudia. His observations arose from his experience in the West*). He goes on to say : "*Demos* may now rise in wrath and say, 'Away with these hucksters and tricksters, who draw big salaries for deceiving and duping me. Why should 615 mercenary talkers make laws for 48 million ? (*Evidently, the reference is to the British Parliament*). Who ordained these political priests and mediators, that have turned my Temple of Wisdom into a den of thieves ? This circus must now be closed for ever. I will legislate directly in future, and thus be mistress in my own house.' "

DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Har Dayal said that Democracy in a World-State would be direct, not representative. "Does a citizen eat by proxy, drink by proxy, marry or die by proxy? Why should he then make laws or choose policy by proxy ?" Thus he advocated participatory democracy and what is, in modern parlance, called democratic decentralization. "If you do not wish to go back to dictatorship you must march forward to the Poll of the People. Government by Parliament is only camouflaged slavery. Only the permanent and universal referendum can make each citizen a free voter and a free man, " he said.

Har Dayal was certainly ahead of his times. But in his ideas and human values he was the harbinger of *new* times. His writings enlighten a new path, with the glow of freedom and moral faith. He speaks of the highest Citizenship, which is also the highest Ethics

G. B. Kumar Hooja is a retired civil servant and former V. C. Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Hardwar.

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NATIONAL POLITICS

B. P. Singh : THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND CULTURAL RENAISSANCE

Allied Publishers, New Delhi (1987) pp. 111, P. Rs. 70/-

Reviewed by Mohita Kapur

The relationship between the Indian National Congress and "cultural renaissance" is usually not explored independently—it is generally considered to have been the cultural fall-out of an inherently and basically political process. Indeed, the Indian National Congress has not been effectively considered beyond its "political" dimension of action—all other dimensions are treated as incidental and ancillary. In this book, the author has dealt with the "cultural" factor, which he considers inherently inter-twined at parity with other objectives of the Congress.

THE CONCEPTS

Of course, the Indian National Congress needs no introduction; but the "cultural renaissance" that the author has taken up is not simply the role of traditional socio-religious reform movements. The concept of "culture" has been indentified as a positive force: a "power", "latent energy", "enormously potent", "influential" etc. It is defined to mean *a way of life* that possesses the strength to change *the* ways of life, to "accelerate the cause of freedom and pace of social change". As expressed through language and art, social habits, customs and attitudes, poetry and newspapers, "culture could be articulated and made use of as an enormously potent force"; and the quest for freedom was characterized by such articulation. Congressmen contributed to the enrichment of this cultural tradition; and cultural leaders contributed to educating the people politically by means of their cultural pens. This was the thrust of 'culture' that was used as an instrument by the Congress.

CULTURAL RENAISSANCE : REFORM MOVEMENTS

This was the "imperative" that caused the birth of the Indian National Congress. This happened with the "spread of modern ideas of rationalism, democracy, equality and humanism" which brought in "revolutionary changes in outlook"..... The milieu in which the religious reform movements sprang up was one in which Hinduism "had become a compound of magic, animism and superstition". It was the "disain displayed by the Brown Sahebs for Hinduism" that shook many people "from lethargy to set their own house in order."

Among these reform movements was the **Brahmo Samaj** which attacked *sati*, idol worship, polygamy, caste system, etc. Another was the **Prarthana Samaj** of Atmaram Panduranga formed in 1867. It emphasized "liberation of society". The **Arya Samaj** (1875) of Dayanand Saraswati "appealed to the masses in their own language". Its distinctive work features were "social service" and spread of education. To similar ends, "substantial contribution was made by Ramakrishna Paramhasa and his disciple, Swami Vivekananda". For the Muslim community, the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan have beed euologised.

The impact of these reform movements "enabled the people to look within". Thus it was that "rationalism and religious universalism were emphasized to inform all human activities, particularly in the fields of status of women, education, literature and press." And this is what, in author's opinion, moulded the Congress and its ideology. This, apart from being reflected in its resolutions, was manifest in the writings of Congress-men and others.

Writers of various Indian languages find a mention in the book with reference to their "cultural" (meaning politico-literary) contribution. The contribution of these men to the press, and thereby to the "awakening" has also been elaborated upon.

CONGRESS : The Beginning and the Struggle

This "process" was initiated by the educated middle-class intellectual "elite". At the time of the establishment of the Congress in 1885, the objectives were no more noble than "to mould India into a nation", and to "create a common political platform", to enable the politically conscious and articulate sections to express themselves. The event was to "inaugurate the process of politicization of the Indian people, with the Congress engaging itself in the task of training organization and consolidation of public opinion" The idea of nationalism, the author feels, strengthened the concept of an *Indian* culture on a distinct and independent line, guided by the Congress. The body became the manifestation of the Indian urge to reshape national life. It helped foster a consensus in India by "forging a close relationship between the strivings for independent national power, for decision making—and cultural traditions".

Wider Mass Base

The "civilizational process" beginning with renaissance and introduction of English education spread "consciousness". From an elitist organization, the Congress was gradually transformed into one with a wider, stronger base. It began to find an indentification among the masses with the rise of the "Extremist" cult at the turn of the century. With the appearance of Gandhi on the political scene, this indentification

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& CULTURAL POLICY

was complete, and this was the climax of culture-thrust.

For Equal Opportunities For All

The Congress "contributed" by passing resolutions desiring a better status for women, removal of untouchability, promotion of education, prohibition of liquor, and development of languages and literature It "stood for" equality of rights and opportunities to all, increasing women participation in freedom struggle, and opening of temple doors to Harijans etc.

Three Contributions

During this period, three contributions of the Congress to the political culture of the nation have been indentified as significant. *Firstly*, the establishment of the efficacy and potency of non-violent and peaceful means, which raised the struggle "to a higher moral and ethical plane". *Secondly*, the introduction of *ann-shan* (fast) as "a new instrument to generate usual force for socio-political action, and its association with the traditional idea of self-purification and penance for spiritual uplift." And *lastly*, the boycott of British textile industry, complemented by spinning cotton yarn on the famous *Charkha* to produce *Khadi* cloth. This was apparently "symbolic of the redundance of foreign institutions for India". The use of *Khadi* was the "expression of the desire not only for economic self-dependence, but also of political independence."

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER : New Challenges

With independence, the woes of partition find their due narration, and with that the "snatching" of the "radiating presence" of the Mahatma by a "Hindu fanatic"—the "second crucifixion".

But with independence also came the challenge of "re-defining fundamental concepts of religion, tolerance, courage, purpose and meaning of life." Gandhi's cultural programmes received due propagation. Nehru initiated planning as the chief instrument of national policy and *Panchayati Raj* as that of democratic decentralization. His science-oriented idealism added a new dimension of India's cultural progress. "The thrust was carried forward by Indira Gandhi and is now, in the hands of Rajiv Gandhi".

There is a qualitative difference between following a particular programme of action as part of freedom struggle against an imperial government and the adoption of the ideas behind the same programme as the ideology by an independent government itself. The author displays this subtle comprehension, "Henceforth the Congress was in charge of the management of State power and controller of bureaucracy".

SOME ACHIEVEMENTS

Nevertheless the Congress tried to live to up the greater challenge : the Hindu Marriage Act (1955); the Hindu Succession Act (1956); The Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act (1956) etc. Apart from a few other similar legislations, the Congress diverted to creating forums and instituting committees primarily with the objective of making "women socially more progressive, politically more conscious and economically more independent".

Similarly, for the Harijans, apart from other assorted "programmes", the year 1972 was declared as "Removal of Social Disabilities Year."

Prohibition, and free and compulsory education for all up to the age of 14 years were incorporated as Directive Principles in the Constitution.

In the sphere of language, it adopted promotion of Hindi as its policy by making it the national language and reorganized States on linguistic basis.

For literature and cultural development, academie and institutions were created; the AIR, NFDC and the Doordarshan were employed and are considered to have done a "commendable work in improving the taste and knowledge of the people".

Other "advancements" have been bracketed under "Panchayats", "Planning", "Bhoodan" and "Science and Technology".

CHALLENGES : Answered and Unanswered

Considering what India, as a nation primarily under the political leadership of the Congress, has achieved, the balance-sheet is not as impressive as the author has tried to depict. He has attributed all post-1947 progress to the Congress; but the failures have been left as questions unanswered – rather, euphimistically put, as "the Challenges before the Congress" in the coming years. "All political and social workers, including members of the Congress are to work for eglitariansim"..... implying that the task which was initiated and monopolised by the Congress alone, earlier, is not solely its responsibility any more. This is right; but the very fact of the monopoly of responsibility in pre-independence and post-independence years carrying in it an inherent 'qualitative difference" which stinks of vested interest, is conveniently overlooked by the author.

BEYOND RESOLUTIONS & POLICY STATEMENTS : HARSH FACTS OF LIFE

Indeed, the book lacks an analytical reasoning behind some stale and routine conclusions. The backward classes and anti-untouchability campaign received "great impetus with the installation into power of the Congress Ministries in 1937" – is one

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(*Continued*) NATIONAL POLITICS & CULTURAL POLICY

such generalized conclusion. But what was actually done beyond passing resolutions? And why do we have to go to the courts and/or create hell of a noise when Harijans are taken to a temple today?

In one strain, the author makes the authoritative statement, "Religious equality and secularism are the principles which are now finally employed as guiding principles of State policies; several of the evil practices, customs and traditions relating to women, untouchables and other socially backward and weaker sections of society have been eliminated". Another conclusion is "the cultural challenges before the Congress in the second century of its existence lie in India's major problem of reduction in inequality and removal of exploitation, class divisions and social backwardness". Apparently, the author is confused about his priorities whether to eulogise the so-called achievements or to take cognizance of the reality, shutting one's eyes to which is not easy.

Naturally, on paper, the founding of academies, institutions, forums and committees is a significant achievement, but is that *the* answer to all problems and challenges?

Allocations of NREP and RLEGP are meaningless for a woman daily beaten by a drunken husband, and for a Harijan not allowed to drink water from a common village well. And these are facts which are not simply buried in Premchand's stories—today they are very much a part of the life of a substatial section of the Indian populace. And the Congress perceives the answer to all challenges in the likes of Anti-Defection Bill and Defamation Bill etc.....The author has conveniently ignored the existence of these facts.

There is an obvious justification for the Congress: "With a few exceptions, it has been enjoying status of a ruling party ever since India achieved independence ... At times, the governmental system became more important .. How can the Congress remain an instrument of the cultural progress of the country?...."

DEFINING THE CONGRESS ROLE

Identifying the task before the Congress, the author says, Congress party and its workers can play a vital role in social reform and promotion of cultural values." And pray, what does this role constitute?

"Countrywide propaganda can be undertaken to create public awareness of maladies and a new understanding of the problems."... One may well ask, are problems only to be understood, and people to be made aware of? Of course, this is not to run down the role of bureaucracy or the Congress contributions; but the lack of intellectual honesty in facing facts connot be justified. If the Congress can be eulogised for its achievements, it can also be condemned for irresponsible lapses and blunders.

The last 'taste' is that of insipidity of matter. The book lacks variety of thought content; and the reader is once again made to go through the routine reiteration of the Indian National Congress and the freedom struggle. One feels the inadequacy of answers to some extent, and (in this study) many ignored questions.

To sum up, there is little originality in the text, either of researched material, or of conclusions and opinions. One thing done well is the compliation of some patriotic writings of poets and authors of most Indian languages. But very obviously lacking in objectivity, it is of little academic importance. For the lay-man, too, it is somewhat stale. Of course, one must not let the benefit of hindsight distort one's perception – but neither should one lose perspective.

Ms. Mohita Kapur has been teaching History in the Kanodia College for Women at Jaipur.

(We regret the delay in publishing this piece.–Eds.)

A Time Like This Demands ...

by **Josiah Gilbert Holland**

"A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honour, men who will not lie;
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking....."

Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819–1881) American Poet Author and Ower–Editor of Republican Scribner's Monthtly (1870). Author of A Life of Abraham Lincoln (1865). Lines selected by G. B. Kumar Hooja.

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Songs of Lalon & Some Other Books from Bangladesh

by Raghuraj Gupta

I had the pleasure of visiting Bangladesh recently and brought back some current publications. Bangladeshis are avid book-lovers. There are virtually no outstanding publishers of English language in Dhaka. The University Press Ltd., is the lone exception. This house, previously a branch of the Oxford University Press, is now owned by Mr. Moinuddin, an enlightened and versatile publisher, who has a list of about hundred titles.

I have picked seven books that attracted me and I hope these will equally interest many Indian readers. I introduce them briefly.

Books Introduced by Raghuraj Gupta

1. *Songs of Lalon* translated by **Brother James**, Rs. 36.
2. *Islamic Calligraphy in Medieval India* by **Pares ISM Rahman**, (1979) Rs. 65.
3. *Bangladesh Tradition and Transformation* by **A. F. Salahuddin Ahman**, Rs. 73.
4. *Behaviour and Poverty in Bangladesh* by **Clarence Malonly**, Rs. 75.
5. *Political Elites in Bangladesh* by **Rangalal Sen**, Rs. 113.
6. *Bangladesh Politics* by **Rounaq Jahan**, Rs. 50.
7. *Rural Development and Change* by **Barkat-e-Khuda**, Rs 50, (1988).

(All published by the University Press Ltd. Motijheel Commercial Area, Dhaka).

1. *Islamic Calligraphy in Medieval India :* Its author **Pares Rahman**, a specialist in Muslim art and architecture, is a professor at the Dhaka University. He presents a chronological and comprehensive account of the Arabic and Persian script calligraphy of the Indian sub continent. Profusely illustrated, the book makes an excellent survey of individual calligraphers, schools, styles and techniques from pre-Mughal days up to recent times. It is worth treasuring and very reasonably priced.

2. *Songs of Lalon* by **Brother James** is an elevating and inspiring translation of spiritual folk songs of the most eminent *Baul* saint-poet of Bangladesh. James is a devoted lover of East Bengal culture. He has spent a great part of his life there, and is thoroughly soaked in the rich spiritual lore of the *Bauls*, who had also much influenced Rabindranath Tagore's thought. Preceding the translations is a useful introduction to the *Baul* world-view, and also a glossary of their terms with their meanings. It is an outstanding book of spiritual poems

3. *Bangladesh Tradition and Transformation* by the eminent Bengali historian, **Prof. Salahuddin Ahmad**, gives an edifying overview of Bengali society, its social thought and culture in the 19th & 20th centuries; its conservative, reformist and radical currents born out of the impact of the West. It focusses on the contribution of eminent Bengali Muslims like Abdur Rahim and Delwar Hosaen Ahmed, culminating in the emergence of independent Bangladesh.

4. *Behaviour and Poverty in Bangladesh* by **Clarence Maloney**, an American anthropologist, who has spent nine years in Bangladesh as a researcher and teacher, is a unique, original and thoughtful contribution to the understanding of the persistent poverty of the people. Departing from and disagreeing with the current theories of poverty and economic growth, he offers an alternative framework, focussing on the specific qualities of behaviour characteristics of the East-Bengal Muslims. He holds that the prevalent patterns of interpersonal behaviour in Bangladesh country-side inhibit the building of institutions favouring all round development. An interesting point of view, and a provocative book for the social scientists, rural planners and administrators.

5. *Political Elites in Bangladesh* by **Rangalal Sen**, a professor of political science at the Dhaka University, examines the development, role and nature of contemporary elites in Bangladesh. He makes a special reference to the political scenario of the 1950's, when the Muslim League (responsible for the partition of India and making East-Bengal a part of Pakistan) was deccimated, leading to the confrontation and conflict between the Muslim elites of the Western and the Eastern wings. that led to the emergence of a new effective *nationalist* Bengladeshi Muslim elite from among its University students, who ultimately prepared themselves to "divorce" their former partners acting as masters. However, independence brought its own problems of dividing this Bangladeshi elite itself, and released the processes of conflict and cohesion among the non-governing democratic, political elites *vis-a-vis* the Awami League and the Bangladesh Nationalist Party of General Zia. The book is an interesting backgrounder for understanding the current political situation in Bangladesh.

6. *Bangladesh Politics : Problems and Issues* by **Ms Rounaq Jahan**, an ex-Professor and political scientist of the Dhaka University, is a collection of eleven useful papers mainly on the political personalities, their political experimentation; conflict and change; electoral participation and the Zia regime. Dr. Jahan is one of the most perceptive students of Bangladesh politics and a well-known scholar interested in following the developments in Bangladesh and the trend and tenor of its politics.

7. *Rural Development and Change : Study of Bangladesh Village* by **Barkat-e-Khuda**, evaluates the demographic impact of rural development programmes at micro-level in a village located in the internation-

(*Continued overleaf*)

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The Agrarian Question in Bangladesh

Atiur Rehman : PEASANTS AND CLASSES—
A Study in Differentiation in Bangladesh
Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1986, pp. 295.

Comments by Ashrafuddin Ahmed

The book under review is the published version of the author's Ph.D dissertation. An extended Foreword by T.J. Byers of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, has added to its significance.

As is usual in such cases of Ph.D research in social sciences, especially if the problem for inquiry is related to development, the scholar has not ventured to develop any new theory or to generate any new knowledge. Instead, he endeavoured to test the applicability of existing knowledge, and the existing knowledge he decided to work with consisted of two diametrically opposed set of theories.

POPULISM Vs. *MARXIAN IDEAS*

The theorise put to test in explicating the condition of social differentiation in Bangladesh, which is both the cause and consequence of acute poverty and inequality, are the Populistic brand of scholarship and the Marxian ideas of social change. The essence of the theoretical debate is whether natural/demographic factors or socio-economic processes inherent in the mode of production play dominant role in the accentuation of poverty and inequality in the rural societies. The historical context of this theoretical controversy is found in the famous debate on the process of differentiation of the peasantry that took place in Russia in the late 19th and early 20th century between the Populists and the Marxists.

This debate has since then persisted unabated as is evident in the development of the schools of New Populism and Neo-Marxists. In Bangladesh, the line of thought and analysis advanced by the author are found in the works of Rehman Sobhan, Kamal Siddiquee, Anupam Sen and many others, besides Rahman's other published works.

Keeping the overriding theme of social differentiation in a class society among the peasantry in a rural-agrarian social set-up in the forefront, Rahman has analytically explored the theoretical debate of Populistic and Marxist viewpoints, and made use of the arguments in analysing the causes and consequences of inequality and poverty. The study is based on content analysis, empirical investigation (the author has collected data from two representative villages in Bangladesh) as well as a macro-analysis of the political economy of Bangladesh. In explicating the theoretical controversy, Rahman has examined the differing viewpoints on the issue of differentiation of peasant economy in a masterly manner. He has outlined how the Russian New-Populist school associated with Chayanov and its morden representatives (Theodore Shanin and others) have argued that natural and demographic factors are primarily responsible for the differentiation of the peatantry. To this school, the solution of elimination of poverty lies in reversing the trend.

To the Marxists as represented by Lenin and the Neo-Marxists, the causes of inequality and poverty are inherent in the working of rural capitalism. It follows that, without a socialist revolution, the trend cannot be reversed.

SOME MAJOR FINDINGS

The major findings of the study are : (1) The hypothesis that it is family size which determined the relative wealth of any household does not always hold good. (2) The 'social mobility' scheme or lack of class differential hypothesis does not always appear to be true. ( ) Clearly a pattern of differentiation between owners and non-owners of material elements of production, including land, has emerged in rural Bangladesh. (4) The speed of this differentiation is higher in a village which has acquired some 'Green Revolution' technology. (5) The old relations of production and exchange are changing along with the differentiation, and a process of dispossession of the poor and enlargement of the rich holdings is gaining momentum; and a process of proletarization is slowly but surely in the emergence; and (6) The

(Continued)

BOOKS FROM BANGLADESH *(Continued)*

ally famous Comilla Project. He ably portrays the attitudinal and behavioural changes in the aspirations and achievements of Bangladesh people and culture. It is a good field-study based on systematic survey and observations.

* * *

Before I close, I must also mention another useful and interesting book about the political changes in Bangladesh.

8. *The Unfinished Revolution* by **Lawrence Lifschultz**, (1980). This book is banned in Bangladesh since long, and is difficult to procure. However, its contents are known to knowledgeable people. It is the only authentic and well-researched book on the conspiracies and *coups* that led to the murder of Mujib, followed by two other coups, the hanging of the patriot Tahir and the betrayal of Gen Zia. It is the only dependable and frank analysis of the causes and consequences of the Bangladeshi political upheavals that have rocked this beautiful country and have caused immense sufferings to the people. The "freedom" of Bangladesh is a misnomer. Its leadership since 1974 followed the footsteps of Mir Jafars. A great book of lasting significance.

Dr. Raghuraj Gupta is the Honorary Secretary of the Lucknow-based Apala Publishing and Printing Cooperative Society.

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THE AGARIAN QUESTION IN BANGLADESH

State has been actively negotiating on behalf of capital to subsume labour. (*Preface p. iii*).

THE SOLUTION ...

To overcome this seemingly difficult situation, Atiur-Rahman has suggested in clear terms, that short of a radical social change in the form of socialistic transformation, no amount of populistic measures will do. In his own words, "Whatever the difficulties and problems that follow this attempt, the socialist transition through collectivization has taken place, even though historical experience varied from country to country. The lesson for the Third World countries like ours is that if the society at large decides to solve its agrarian question in the socialist way, there is no alternative but to aim at collective ownership through successive stages. This alone can reverse the present trend of exploitation and pauperization and build a basis for future progress" (*p. 258*).

...& A QUESTION MARK

The analysis offered by Rahman is clear and the solution straight forward. What, however, may come to the mind of the readers who are familiar with the structural realities of Bangladesh society and polity is the question of the prospect of success of Rahman's prescription. Bangladesh society is traditional and class-ridden. The economy is based on land ownership and owner-tenant relations. Law of inheritance are based primarily on Islamic *Sharia*. Can such a rural agraian society which has not experienced any drastic land reform and political stability for a prolonged period be expected to opt for socilistic transformation ?

Collectivization or a higher form of cooperative in the line of Russian and Chinese models of cooperatives and rural development, which the author advocates as a path for socialist transformation, have not been able to show any miracle in any Third World country. Can it be otherwise in Bangladesh ? We are not sure.

The historical facts in Bangladesh are that during the 25 years of Pakistani rule and 18 years of independent Bangladesh, no drastic land reform with the intention of redistribution of land, wealth and income could be undertaken. Efforts for land reforms during both the periods were limited to putting ceilings on land possession, which again were honoured more in breach by the land-based elites than in observance.

Rahman's book, neat in get-up, is well-thought out, rich in analysis and has the potentials to provoke thinking among scholars and students. A really scholarly work, is bound to find not only a large number of readers, but many adherents to his views as well.

Dr. Ashrafuddin Ahmed is Associate Professor in the Department of Public Administration, University of Chittagong, Bangladesh.

About A Controversial Story-Teller

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF
SAADAT HASSAN MANTO

Vanguard Books Ltd., Lahore, (Pakistan)
Price Rs. 200 (cloth) Rs. 100 (paper pack)

A Short Comment by Madan Gupta

The Life and Works of Saadat Hassan Manto (in two parts) is a full-lengh study of Manto's works. Part I gives an account of Manto's life, an assessment of his contribution to short-story writing and a critical appreciation of his literary efforts. Part II contains translations by **Tahira Naqvi** of seventeen of Manto's stories, which include *Kaali Salwar* and *Toba Tek Singh*, his two well-known stories.

The only other effort before this to bring together studies on Manto was by the *Journal of South East Asian Literature* which brought out a *Special Manto Number*. Therefore, the publication of the present full-length study is an important landmark as far as literature of the Indo-Pak Sub-Continent is concerned.

Manto was one of the most controversial writers of his times, a many facetted personality. Purists considered him a writer of pornography. Many of his writings had to face 'prosecution'. Confronted with the pornography charge, Manto reacted by raising some fundamental issues. Is a poor woman from Bengal obscene, he asked, because her tatters are unable to cover her and, therefore, her body remains exposed ? Or only the scantily dressed club bu terfly who intentionally exposes her midriff and her bosoms to titilate men ? Maintained Manto that, in literature, usage of words makes them pious or obscene. A woman's breasts have to be called breasts. They cannot be called pea-nuts, a table or a razor.

In addition to an indepth study of Manto's works, *The Life and Works of Saadat Hassan Manto* has a detailed bibliography about Manto's works, works on Manto in English translation. It is well-referenced and well-documented. The stories included in the book have been competently translated, though they are by no means representative of the wide range of subjects that Manto covered. His pen portraits of the personalities of his times which he included in '*Ganje Farishte*', do not find a place in the book in English translation. Some of these pen-portraits are delightful studies, particularly of the film personalities of the time like Naseem Bano, Ashok Kumar, Nargis, Babu Rao Patel and others, about whom he wrote with his usual ruthless candour.

Manto fans and those engaged in the study of South-East Asian literature will find this book a valuable addition to their library.

Madan Gupta, a retired civil servant, is a frequent contributor who shares his wide range of interests in reading with the IBC readers.

This short note was contributed some time ago, but we held on to it in expectation of a more detailed critical evaluation of the book.

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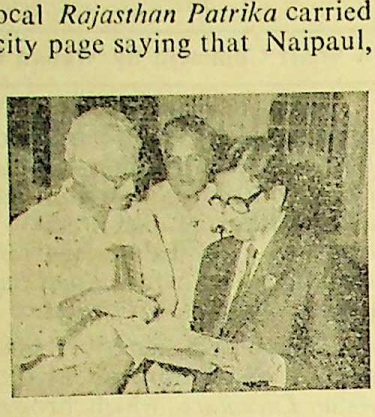
An Encounter with A Celebrity

Mr. Naipaul in Jaipur

—I. K. Sharma

On 19th April, the local *Rajasthan Patrika* carried a small news-item on its city page saying that Naipaul, the writer of *A House for Mr. Biswas* and *A Flag on the Island* felt charmed by the scenic beauty of the Ramgarh lake. The news item struck me to be untrue. I read it two or three times to be sure whether the reporter had given the correct name of the writer. How come, no one in the University knew about his visit to the city ! I felt intrigued. The latter part of the news-item stated that the Lions' Club, Vaishali, Jaipur, would host a dinner in his honour at a local "Palace" hotel the same evening. I felt more intrigued !



The news heightened my desire to see the celebrity in person. I rang up one of the organizers. "Sorry,he is not at home. Contact him after an hour," came the reply. I tried another. "I don't know anything," he said. "But, friend, the newspaper mentions your name as one of the organizers," I reminded him.

"Let me check up," he said, "Where is the news-item ?" he asked. "On page three," I informed him.

After a minute or two he came back on the phone and asked me to contact another member. I did that. My good luck ! He turned out to be an old student of mine. I asked him whether he would let me come to the meeting of the Club and see the noted writer.

"You are most welcome, sir." He readily agreed. However, he informed me that the meeting was not open to everybody. "It is a small private affair."

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In the evening, we set out for the hotel to be there well before 8 O'clock. Passing through the glittering corridors of the "Palace", we finally reached the room (reserved) for the meeting. Inside, I noticed a familiar face : Dr Bhanwar Surana, and went to sit by him. In a minute or two, came Shri Harideo Joshi, the former Chief Minister of Rajasthan, followed by several members of the Club. The pleasant surprise was the coming of one of my colleagues, Ms. R. Saxena.

At 8.20, there was a sudden hush in the room. I sensed Mr. Naipaul had arrived. In a few moments, I saw a radiant face advancing towards the dais. Mr. Naipaul was in. He was immaculately dressed—black coat, a bright red tie, and white trousers. His face retained the tint of 'Indianness.' A century of separation had not succeeded in wiping out the traces of roots !

Shri P.L. Kudal, the retired High Court Judge and the Chief of the Club, called the meeting to order. He invited all the heavyweights, mostly Judges, one by one, to the dais. We moved ahead to occupy the front chairs. After customary formalities, Shri Kudal asked the persons on the dais, one by one, to garland the noted writer. They did that faithfully; and Mr. Naipaul would place each garland neatly on the dais after wearing it for a while. Shri Kudal requested him to keep the garlands on. Seven thick garlands on him and his face would be half-covered. Excess of hospitality, I thought ! But all with love, affection, and in admiration.

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Soon after, Shri Kudal reminded the audience about his long association with Mr. Naipaul, spanning eighteen years. Later, he asked Dr. Bhanwar Surana to formally introduce the writer to the audience. Dr. Surana gave a long sumptuous introduction of the writer interspersed with humour.

After that, what ? A speech, a lecture ?

A QUESTION & ANSWER SESSION

"No speech, no lecture." Mr. Naipaul firmly said. "If you have any questions to ask, you may do so. I'll reply."

Silence descended on the hall. Who was prepared for this dramatic reversal ? We began to look at eachother. Then a Judge broke the silence and put a brief question. Mr Naipaul too replied in brief.

Later came the pet question : "What message do you wish to convey through your writings ?"

"No message," was the crisp reply. "Each reader according to his competence discovers the meaning in a literary work."

Another question was flung from the floor. "Don't you think that there will be very few readers of literature in the coming twenty or thirty years, although reading of literature has its own charm ?"

"Well, you have raised the question and answered it yourself. Literature will always be read for its special charm".

It was followed by a question on the controversial **Salman Rushdie**. Mr. Naipaul tactfully declined to comment on it.

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AN ENCOUNTER WITH A CELEBRITY (*Continued*)

At this point, I asked him, how he would rate another controversial writer, **Nirad Chaudhuri**, as a literary artist and as a social critic. Mr. Naipaul wanted me to elaborate a little. I pointed out that to me, Chaudhuri looked all right in the beginning, but afterwards he seemed to have gone "derailed".

"True", he said. "In the beginning, he did impress people with his scholarship and unusual remarks; but that is not so now. He lacks a *sense of humour.*"

"Is it because of his deep interest in zoology ?" I asked.

"May be."

I asked him if he had read any of the literary works being written in the regional languages of this country. Mr. Naipaul showed a thin familiarity with *Samskara* of UR Anant Murthi, translated into English and serialized in a magazine. At this stage, I asked him whether he would like to read a book of Rajasthani poetry in English.

"Certainly," he said. I took out a copy of *Contemporary Rajasthani Poetry* from my bag. While I was busy writing his name on the book, my colleague Ms. Saxena announced : "Mr. Sharma himself is a poet." I went to the dais and presented him the book. He was delighted.

Back to my seat, I asked him whether he was happy with the term *Commonwealth Literature*, in which bits of different literatures—Canadian, Australian, West Indian, Nigerian etc.—are strung together.

"It's not good to do so," he said. "This way we can do justice to none."

Then Dr. Surana picked up the thread and queried whether his books had been translated into Hindi or into other Indian languages.

"Not yet," he repled. "It involves several other questions like copyright, royalty etc. Moreover, no one has so far approached my publisher. In case, they get a letter from a private publisher, they will take it up."

Finally came the question regarding the difference between the India of early seventies and now. Quick came the reply that, "India today looks much different. Now, the newspapers are more *lively*. People have more *self-respect*. Also, they talk about *poverty*, which earlier was considered a *spiritual possession*." Elaborating his point further, he said that, "Before 1962, no one in India talked about poverty. Now they discuss several aspects of it, and seem eager to remove it."

This question-answer session, initially appeared to be a tame affair, but once it got going, there seemed no end to it. All this was like an on-the-spot painting, spontaneous. The questioners were modest, and the writer was informal all along. In spite of his openness, he betrayed dignity of behaviour, depth of spirit, and agility of mind. We were lucky to have interacted so easily with a writer of international reputation, who missed the Nobel Prize in literature by an inch or two.

Then, the incoming chairman of the Lions Club presented him the insignia of the Club and an embroidered picture of Lord Krishna and Arjuna on a velvet cloth. It was followed by the national anthem *Jana Gana Mana*. And we were invited to dinner.

Here was an opportunity, for us all to talk more intimately. He moved around, with a plate in hand, and talked to everyone who was willing. In a corner, I found him talking to a Judge and his wife about over-population. I just passed by when Mr. Naipual asked me to join them. He wanted me to confirm whether people in India still have eleven or twelve children and more than one wife. "It's true," I said. "It is indeed a big social problem. Sometimes these very unwanted children turn criminals," I added. Bertrand Russel flashed across my mind but I kept quiet !

Later, in a lighter vein, I said, "Mr. Naipaul, I thought you had come to Rajasthan this time to collect some material for your new book on. . ."

"On . . . what ?"

"On *the Decline of Chivalry* in Rajasthan."

"Oh, no, no !" And he smiled.

After dinner, we went along the corridor of the hotel. "What will you do after retirement ?" he asked me very affectionately.

"Writing," I replied without thinking. "Would you reply to me letters ?" I asked him.

"If they are brief."

At the porch he asked me to call Joginder, the driver of his car. And away went the famous writer, waving from the rear seat of the car.

Time will speed by, but this encounter with the celebrity will stay with me. ●

Dr. I. K. Sharma is with the English Department, University of Rajasthan. He also tries to help this journal in his spare time.

We are very keen to cover such visits or encounters and pen-portraits of other celebrities in different walks of life.

—Editors

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RAJASTHAN NEED NOT BE POOR

Prof. Ponna Wignaraja

(Former Secretary General, Society for International Development, Rome)

I have selected as a theme for this brief address** the title **"Rajasthan does not need to be poor"**. I have deliberately chosen this subject. It is based, in a sense, on 30 years of study of the Indian Development Experience, and also on having interacted at the grassroots level in S. Asia (India included). I have also made three visits this year to the State, where I have had many opportunities for discussions with government officials, with the academic community and with non-government organisations who are trusted by the poor.

STATISTICS, OF POVERTY & SOCIAL CHANGE

I have no statistics to give. As someone from the floor yesterday said, "numbers" for this kind of quantitative analysis and statistics can be very misleading, and do not give us a kind of assessment we need as to whether a state, a village, a country is making progress or not. Whether it is on the way to social change or not. Growth is not development, and does not always result in poverty alleviation. Development in purely economic terms is not social change. Much of the reality in poor States cannot be understood, let alone analysed by the intellectual framework of the past, by the single discipline analysis, by the narrow quantification. There is a pretence here in the implied imperious rationality; and I think the time has come for us to say, enough is enough to this kind of social science.

Before coming to Rajasthan, I have listened for a few days to economists at the International Economists Conference, sitting and discussing in very narrow disciplinary terms, the problems of the world, the problems of the country, the problems of the poor, as if, in the last 15 years, we have not learnt differently. The Cartesian concepts which fragment reality and the single discipline analysis are not good any more. Economics or any other single discipline will not help us to understand our total reality, and the sooner we are able (however challenging it is) to try to go into inter-discipline analysis to look at the reality in its totality, the sooner we will be realistic and practical. We need to be practical because the challenges before us today are staggering. The challenges that any government would face are staggering, the challenges of any intellectual community are staggering and the challenges to people, particularly to the poor, are taking away their capacity even for survival.

The challenges to the poor are staggering for even another reason. Today we are not in a global environment which is talking of a New International Order. We are in a global system which is saying to the poor countries and the poor within poor countries that they are the rich, they want to hold on to their richness, they want to hold on to these 75 to 80 per cent of the world resources (and they will even do it at the point of the gun) and they are saying to us, to poor countries: you *Adjust*. When we have taken care of our problems, they say, and resolved these contradictions in our economies, then somewhere, sometime, we will come and pull you out of the permanent poverty trap into which you are locked. In the meantime, while we stabilize ourselves—you must *Adjust*.

This is the central message that is coming to all the poor countries from the richer and more powerful ones. This is unacceptable, because it is throwing again after 40 years after de-colonization, the burden of adjustment on poor countries and the poor within poor countries. I do not have to explain (to this audience) the political or intellectual underpinnings of this message—they can analyse this. Ultimately, it is the poor, whether countries or poor within countries, that will have to carry this burden of adjustment, and this I consider to be unacceptable.

IN RAJASTHAN—A RISK AND AN OPPORTUNITY

I shall share my thoughts and make my comments on Rajasthan in this framework, because I think there is both a **risk** and an **opportunity** here for a State like Rajasthan. Now why do I assert that Rajasthan does not need to be poor ? And here let me speak in positive terms rather than list all the negative aspects of the difficulties faced by the State. These we know. We know difficulties. But I am not so sure that we have really looked at a State like Rajasthan in the most positive manner. In a manner that would permit the Government, the intellectual community and the the people to set a vision, for the next 15 year, a very achievable and feasible vision, a vision that has to be translated into a coherent conceptual framework and then operationalised. A vision that can be built on the following elements which are already on the ground.

When I look at Rajasthan, I see the following elements which need to be related in a somewhat different way than conventional economists, planners, the bureaucracy, the intellectuals and even the people have tired to relate to a perspective. I will not try to pull the whole thing together as another panacea, as another model, but let me just list the elements. I am also doing this deliberately because I see in this room more than 50 percent of the people under 25 years, on whose shoulders the new challenges are going to rest; and it is up to them also to try to analyse their State. In this way, they would need to look at these elements and get some coherence into these various elements which are not coming as I said from a single discipline, but are coming from an inter-disciplinary perspective.

AN OPEN ADMINISTRATION & ITS CRISIS MANAGEMENT

The *first Positive element* that I saw as I came in here was a State which has had 9 years of droughts,

**Keynote Address delivered at Jaipur on Dec. 10, 1986, during the International Conference on International Independence Global Under-Development.

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RAJASTHAN NEED NOT BE POOR

continuous droughts with one exceptional year; and yet through a particular kind of Crisis Management, it has survived; it has survived at many different levels. For this kind of management when one looks at the key elements, one sees an administration which seems to be open to new ideas, which is dedicated and which is experimenting. I have talked to a number of Secretaries of Government who, apart from their openness to new ideas in their own particular responsibilities and concerns, have shown a willingness for a dialogue with the academic community (which is visible even in this conference) in a search for new ideas and new thinking and action. It is not a normal phenomenon for a bureaucracy and should not be dismissed or taken for granted. There is a moment in time when you would get a large open administration, capable of crisis management and looking to the next phase in development, and I sense this in Rajasthan. It should not be dismissed. This is one of the most positive elements that I have seen.

ACADEMICS & ACTION RESEARCH

Secondly, I see in the intellectual and academic community again the some phenomenon of willingness to experiment A number of these academics have deprofessionalised themselves, moved out of their single discipline and their little research and their life of books, teaching formally and consultancies, and moving into action research. They are now deeply involved in what is called *Participatory Action Research.*

PEOPLE'S CREATIVITY

A *third element* that I see, which again makes me feel very positive, is that in the last 10 years in Rajasthan, there is a new flowering of people's creativity, some of which is spontaneous and some of which is catalysed through new kinds of interventions by new social actors and change agents. There are intermediaries who have been sensitised; they may be academics and intellectuals from intellectual community; they may be government officials; they may be coming from the unemployed, from the medical profession. The entry point may be the women's movement or women groups and so on. But there are now a new group of social actors who are able to identify themselves and commit themselves to the cause of poverty alleviation. They help to release people's creativity, form the poor into groups and encourage them to assert their rights. Now I put it in this type of sequence because this is certainly a new phenomenon.

It is also a phenomenon which permits us to look at the poor, not as dehumanised individuals waiting for a handout, but also as people with their own creativity, dignity and strength, who can be mobilized differently, can be partners in the poverty alleviation process. This kind of sensitive interrelationship that needs to be built up between deprofessionalised academics, between deprofessionalised bureaucracy and the poor is now given a catch-word called *Paticipatory Action Research.*

THEIR KNOWLEDGE AND SYSTEM

I am very happy to find that this methodology is being developed by a group of committed persons, (some of whom are in the hall at this minute). They are from the Institute of Development Studies and the University of Rajasthan. Thus, this methodology is not somothing new; and I consider this also to be a very positive element. But apart from the methodology, for involving the poor in their own development, the methodology is deeply rooted in the *knowledge system of the poor.* This deep-rooted knowledge system is not merely a romantic reversion to tradition or traditional knowledge.

Yes, some of this knowledge is traditional knowledge; but there is something much more fundamental about this. This knowledge is there as a part of our culture and our civilization. It is very scientific and can be subjected to modern scientific validation. Let me just give you an example. The Vishnoi culture here which said, "Do not cut trees" was not just a religious belief. It was scientific; it was a part of the knowledge system; it was a part of a knowledge system that said that forests are part of people's lives. It is part of the system that provided food, fodder, fuel and medicinal herbs, It is more than that. If you have a forest system, which you do not destroy for commercial purposes and for short-term profits, than you also get rain-fall. If you destory your forest system, willingly, for short-term profits, for a few, then the whole community will suffer. Desertification will set upon you, and so on.

I just mentioned this example as one kind of element in this knowledge system. I can mention many others. I can go to the knowledge system of my grandmother. I have said it in this room before that she knew *what* to eat, *when* to eat certain kinds of food, *what* time of day in which to eat these foods to get maximum benefit—the whole relationship between that kind of food, body chemistry and energy capacity She was never called a scientist and the kind of research that is now going on Nutrition even in institutions like MIT is not half as sophisticated and scientific as what she knew. Now the point of this is that this may apply to all of your grand-mothers,

IRRELEVANT & EXPERIMENTAL KNOWLEDGE

The real point is that we have been taking irrelevant and experimental knowledge from the West, because even on the Nutrition issue, what we were told hardly 10 years ago, we were given the calorie protein gap cancept of nutrition, which was a wrong concept. Ten year later, these some Nutritionists have discovered that there is another concept—the concept of nutrition. That means, according to the work they do, people will have to eat certain kinds of nutritional diets. Yet my grand-mother knew this; she never wrote it down; she did not theorise on it. She was never given

(*Continued*)

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(*Continued*)

the Nobel Prize. Foolishly we imitated all of this knowledge and trained our nutritionists and our intellectuals from other cultures...This transferred knowledge and technology made us disregard our culture, our heritage, our knowledge system, and delegitimise it.

EDUCATION SYSTEM & PEOPLE'S EDUCATION

To come back to Rajasthan, it is possible to revert to the people's knowledge system, because this system is inexpensive; it is available; it is relevant. It will come with the values in our culture—the sharing and caring values in our culture—this is the knowledge that must run through our education system. Now let me elaborate this point. The retrieval of this knowledge system is important. Let me talk about it in relation to Rajasthan because you have this knowledge system that is being half-forgotten, whether in the Vishnoi culture or whether in the minds of all the older people.

That knowledge has to be retrieved, analysed, given a little bit of scientific validation and upgrading and fed back to the people to whom it belongs, all in one process.

It cannot be done with questionnaries, which is the common research methodology. It can only be done by the participatory action research methodology.

Secondly, it cannot be done by somebody from far away and coming with their questionnaires and their so-called objective research, because they are well funded to do this.

It has to be done in this particular location; and there cannot be a big gap between retrieval and analysing and feeding it back to the people. Feeding it back cannot be done by publishing expensive books and so on, which is again a very conventional method. The printed word in the English language will not reach the majority of the people.

It has to be done in the idiom of the people, not only in their spoken language but in their idiom; people understand it by street plays, by new forms of communication etc.

CHALLENGE FOR THE INTELLECTUALS

Now in this retrieval of knowledge systems and its application to an alternate development pathway for Rajasthan,there is a major challenge for the intellectual community. That challenge comes because as one tries to retrieve this knowledge, it is also necessary to ensure that poverty alleviation will take place. There will be some point at which we can also use modern scientific knowledge which has been acquired by many of us But that knowledge too has to be adapted to this knowledge system that I am talking about in a very subtle way. As mentioned earlier, the intellectual community will have to deprofessionalise themselves and assume a new kind of commitment to this task at hand.

They could stay in the base of their discipline but they would have to go inter-disciplinary. They cannot be elitist. They would also have to identify with the masses and through this progress of mutual interaction, find responses to this new challenge and this new vision which I mentioned at the beginning. I have spent some time on the issue of the knowledge system because it is a very important element in any strategy of poverty alleviation. Today, it is not capital that is going to find an answer to our problems, because that is the factor in short supply. It is our people and their creativity. This must be related to the knowledge system; otherwise you will find again a disparity and alienation,

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

Let me continue with few more positive elements that I see in Rajasthan. I have also seen a whole new growth of non-governmental organisations For instance, you can take either the Amul Experiment or the Women's Movement and so on. In the Amul movement, you see the Operation Flood; you find the livestock, which is a basic resource in Rajasthan, upgraded; milk being produced, milk being produced in small units, of two buffaloes, two cows to each family; women taking the milk to a collecting centre, receiving the money for the morning's milk in the evening, the evening milk is paid on the following morning. There is not a gap between production and receipt of the income. To that extent there is no need for indebtedness. The women receive the income and as a consequence, the family eats, bacause the woman's first concern would be for the child and the husband and she will eat last.

ROLE OF WOMEN

We have to look back at the male-dominated society. My daughter who is doing some research on Hindu Ideology and the Role of Women tells me that this distortion that has resulted in "dehumanising" women, is only one aspect of the culture. There was a much deeper element in our culture which deified women. If one were being anecdotal, one could say that the dominant factors in the *Hindu Cabinet* are women *e.g.* Minister of Finance was *Laxmi* and Minister of Education was *Saraswati* and *Durga* was the Minister of War.

In the research on Hindu Ideology and the Role of Women, this is called the Little Tradition. But it never died down, and has always been in dialectical relationship with the more dominant factor of male domination. Women are again asserting themselves and this assertion is now emerging again in the women's movement. The research also goes to show that there was another tradition that is *Ardha-Nariswara* tradition which depicts the complementarity between men and women. Now this is the kind of element I see in the still fragile kind of participatory action research on women in Rajasthan.

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—NEED NOT BE POOR

PEOPLE-ORIENTED APPROACH

The lesson I draw is that the academic community is capable not only of doing soil-chemistry and other technical research, but it can also reinforce this kind of new process of social change through action research. By releasing people's creativity they can make poor people the *subjects* of development not the *object* of development. This new energy which one sees in Rajasthan can also be a major input into development. This kind of people-oriented approach requires less capital and is cost effective.

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Let me now turn to science and technology. I also saw that the Ministry of Science and Technology from New Delhi has set up a modern electronic milk testing equipment plant right here in Rajasthan. That means they have used the modern technology. Earlier we were talking about knowledge systems; but it also shows that it is possible, when required, to use the most modern sophisticated knowledge and adapt it to suit the local conditions. An electronic process to produce a simple milk-testing device, which poor women can use in testing the fat content of milk before they take it to the milk collecting centre, prevents them from being paid too little. This means that we have even a technological choice here that can be used.

MARKET PULLS

The fact that a lot of this milk, however, because of the market process, goes to Jaipur or goes to Delhi to feed the nutritional requirements of the rich and the urban folk, that is correctible. It is possible to keep some of this milk for consumption by the poor, by the new kind of assertions and awareness created among women and among the poor. The awareness will ensure that they will keep some of the milk for their own children's nutrition. Nutritional improvement for the people of Rajasthan can be ensured.

MODERNISATION & MORALITY

And now let me come to the most dramatic part of my statement. When Pandit Nehru, 30 years ago, said projects like Bhakra Nangal are the New Temples of New India, some of us were sceptical. But for a large country like India, there cannot be a simple model of modernization or of Gandhianism. It is a big country, it is a super power practically, in our region. Its problems are very complex and India may have to walk on two legs. Such a strategy requires some coherence and has to be bound with a new kind of morality. But that is the larger issue.

WATER—A LIFE-GIVING SOURCE

What I am trying to say now is that the largest irrigation system in India has now begun to get water to the Rajasthan desert. This is a dream come true. What does it mean for the State ? It can have very dramatic results if the water is properly harnessed and the downstream activities are properly organised. The Indira Gandhi Canal is not just another irrigation system. The donors and engineers may have just looked at the water as irrigation, but water is life giving. You can make the desert bloom.

It can give new forms of work to all of you sitting here. Some of you students are wondering at the end of your graduation what is going to be your job. Will you have employment ? Have you thought that the water coming into the desert can give you new kinds of work where, through settlement and settlement of the right kind, you will have new forms of work. You will have very satisfying work because you will be working with people, working with nature and working with a knowledge system that is part of your own culture. That work can give food; that it can give, if supported by new forms of education, adult education and so on.

THE JOYS & COLOURS OF DEVELOPMENT

It can also give cultural diversity. I hope this kind of new work will be done with the singing and dancing that we saw last night, and that we will not relegate that just to an occasional evening's entertainment, because singing and dancing is also very much part of our culture.

We, in this part of the world, never fragmented our lives, saying this is singing, that is work, this is food, health is something else. If you do not eat, you do not work. If you do not work, you cannot have income, if you cannot have income, you cannot sing and afford to sing and dance. What I am also trying to say is that development can be very colourful.

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER

We should not talk about bridging the gap between rich and poor. The rich will have to take care of their "consumer societies". We will keep our own resources, use item effectively and in simple life-style. We need to make sure then that we do not deliver 80 per cent of the world resources to those who are wasting them in the North through consumerism, through the arms race and so on, while we do not have basic needs and starve.

A NEW KIND OF WAR

There is a new kind of a war being waged against the poor, and we have to respond to this challenge. I come back to my opening point about the NIEO and adjustment. We are asked to adjust, by the rich saying: you adjust and we will try to keep our standards of living.

Today, the reverse flow of resources from poor countries to rich, as was mentioned here earlier, is now staggering and we are continuing, I repeat we are continuing, to fund development in the North as in colonial times. The sad part is that we are not funding development in the North, we are funding waste. We

(*Continued in Col. I on page 198*)

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INDO-NEPALESE RELATIONS : THE CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

M. D. Dharamdasani

Being a "dominant" power in South Asia, India has to cope with some issues of conflict and cooperation, while maintaining her diplomatic relations with the "small" neighbours. Such issues become more pronounced when they are concerned with a contiguous country like Nepal, with which India has had an intensive, age-old, socio-economic and cultural relationship. It may be interesting to analyse some of the issues—political as well as economic—which have adversely affected the relationship between the two countries in recent year.

SECURITY ISSUES

National security is the paramount interest which a nation has to consider while formulating its policy *vis a-vis* other countries. Since Nepal occupies an important strategic position along the Himalayas, India has consistently tried to keep Nepal within her northern "security system" and to maintain per primacy in the Kingdom. As early as 1950, Nehru had made a pointed reference to the fact in Parliament on December 6, when he observed :

> "... much as we appreciate the independence of Nepal, we cannot risk our own security by anything going wrong in Nepal which permits either that barrier to be crossed or otherwise weakens our frontier".

In the Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Nepal in July, 1950, it was clearly mentioned that "neither Government shall tolerate any threat to the security of the other by a foreign power". To deal with any such threat, the two "Governments shall consult each other and devise effective counter-measures".

It was also agreed by Nepal that her arms and warlike materials would be secured from a country other than India, with prior permission and consultation with India.

The 1950 Treaty was, therefore, an attempt on India's part to assert her special position in Nepal and to bring the latter into the close folds of her security framework.

India's security interests were safeguarded by Nepal more or less till 1971. But after the emergence of Bangladesh and India's decisive role in the crisis plus the assimilation of Sikkim, Nepal was compelled to revise her security relationship with India. Nepal began to assert her "independent position" in world affairs, and tried to drift away from India's security parameter.

Nepal took the first step in this direction by putting the proposal of Zone of Peace, which has now become one of the main planks of Nepal's foreign policy to keep India away from Nepalese affairs. Nepal's objectives to move out of India's security orbit was further reinforced by the statement of Randhir Subba, the then Foreign Minister of Nepal. In a press interview with the *Hindustan Times*, he observed : "Our perception and India's perception on security are different." Explaining it further, he quoted King Birendra as telling an American News Agency in 1973 that Nepal is not really a part of the Sub-Continent, but really belongs to that part of Asia which touches both China and India. Recently, Foreign Minister S. K. Upadhaya has again asserted Nepal's independent role by saying that Nepal has no objection to safeguard India's security interests *vis-a-vis* any other country.

POLITICAL ISSUES

The real cause of the present Indo-Nepal crisis is political, which is primarily linked with the security issue. Nepal in recent years, has taken some deliberate steps to reduce her *total* dependence on India, both in the political and economic fields. Some issues which have created conflict between the two countries are (i) the Nepalese propasal of a Zone of Peace, (ii) securing arms from China (by Nepal) without consulting India and (iii) Kathmandu's deliberate attempts to nullify some provisions of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship.

The question, which agitates the minds of both Indian and Nepalese scholars is : Why is Nepal compelled to take such course of action and why has India reacted sharply to the stand taken by Nepal ? Knowing fully well that Nepal cannot survive without India's economic aid (which is more than forty per cent) and also, on security matters, China cannot be a reliable ally to Kathmandu (which is proved by China's attitude towards her neighbours).

QUESTIONS OF IDENTITY & FEAR

The primary factor which has created a drift between the two neighbours is Nepal's own "quest for identity" which, she believes, can only be achieved by keeping away from India, both in the security system and in economic affairs. Nepal's fear could have been born out of the recent action by India in Sri Lanka. The Nepalese ruling elites have now begun to think on the lines that they might have to face the possibility of military intervention from the south, which is not an uncalled for fear.

It is, of course, a historical fact that earlier military interventions by imperialist China (1791–92) and by British India (1814–16) resulted in Nepal's loss of her territory to British India (but nothing to China). Further, most of the recent "non-military" or political and economic interventions in Nepal came from India. New Delhi played an active role in the Revolution of 1950; from 1951–55 regimes were imposed on her, with overt or covert support to the Nepali Congress during 1960–62.

Such could be the perceptions of the ruling elites in Nepal. Hence, in order to avoid the future possibilities of playing a subservient role under the two powers—India or China—or aligning with any power, Nepal may wish to follow a "tight-rope policy"

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INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS

between two giant neighbours to assert her independence and identity in the community of nations.

INDIAN BIAS FOR DEMOCRACY

Another fundamental issue which has led to the present impasse (although this is not the immediate cause) is the Indian attitude towards the polltical system of Nepal. Being the largest parliamentary democracy in the world and, in view of Nehru's deep and firm faith in liberal democracy, it was natural that till 1962, India more or less tried to maintain her political influence in the Kingdom by advising the King to "liberalise" his political system on democratic lines.

India's covert or overt support to Nepali Congress workers during 1960–62 and a liberal attitude towards the democratic forces in general has created some lingering fears among the Nepalese ruling elites that India can use these forces to create an uneasy situation for the Kingdom's political system. Hence, in order to avoid the possibilities, the King incorporated the point number five in his proposal of Zone of Peace, which clearly mentions that the countries which approve the proposal will not allow anti-national activities against Nepal from their soil. The point apparently has no ulterior motives; but in actual practice, this will checkmate the activities of the Nepali Congress workers who often reside and/or take asylum in India.

Since India has not recognised Nepal's Peace Zone proposal (which has been endorsed by an overwhelming majority of other States including China, Bangladesh and Pakistan) this has further prejudiced King Birendra in holding that India is the biggest impediment to his objectives.

THE CHINESE FACTOR

China,as an "extra-regional" power, has been Nepal playing a significant role in the Himalayan region. After the Royal take-over, the King has been using the Chinese card to control the domestic politics of the country as well as to denigrade India's dominant position in the Kingdom. Internally, the Chinese factor has been used by the King to isolate the Nepali Congress, which is the major oppositional force in Nepal, so that it could not increase its political influence; and externally, it has been successfully used to extract more and more concessions from India in the domain of trade and aid.

THE LHASA–KATHMANDU HIGHWAY

This policy was first tried by the late king Mahendra to have an agreement with China regarding the highway linking Lhasa with Kathmandu, which has proved a strategic gain for Nepal in underlining her opening of an access route to the north as well. Its psychological value has far transcended its immediate utility in the sense that Nepal need not feel claustrophobic about being "India-locked". Till recently, the Chinese-built highway had played a marginal role in Nepal's attempt for trade diversification. However, the pouring of Chinese arms throgh the highway in the summer of 1988, and an assurance of supply of petrol and other essential commodities (from China) to alleviate the shortage caused by India's interrupted exports since March 1989, have confirmed India's fears about the new strategic access open to China through the highway.

NEPAL'S MOVES

Nepal's attempt to project China as an *alternative* to India in the Himalayan region is an irritating factor for New Delhi which has led it to take a strong stand in dealing with Nepal in order to safeguard Indian security interests in the region.

ISSUES OF TRADE & TRANSIT

The most important issue which has eroded the relations between the two countries in recent years is the controvery regarding the renewal of the Treaty for Trade and Transit Facilities. The Treaty between India and Nepal has lapsed on 23 March 1989. But due to some steps taken by Nepal which, from the Indian point of view, were deterimental to her strategic and economic interests, a serious deadlock has been created between the two countries.

Nepal has lately introduced a "work permit system" for Indians working in different factories and projects in Nepal. India has rasied her objection on the plea that under the Indo-Nepal Treaty of 1950, the two Governments had agreed to grant, on recipcocal basis to the nationals of each other, the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, and movement etc. Since India so far is giving the same treatment to the Nepalese working in India, by introducing such work permit system,Nepal has violated the Treaty provisions. It has also imposed discriminatory levies against Indian goods so as to reduce India's dominant position in the realm of trade.

In view of the above facts and also some other political and security moves, such as purchases of Chinese arms and the attempt to internationalise the proposal of Zone of Peace, which India believes were deliberate efforts to discredit India, New Delhi has taken a strong stand and refused to renew the Treaties of Trade and Transit. While Nepal has claimed "transit" as a right, according to the norms of international law, and has even tried to internationalise the issue by approaching UN and other powers, India, on her part, has defended her action by asserting that she is supplying the essential commodities and she is ready to discuss with Nepal the entire gamut of mutual relationship.

New Delhi has also plainly told Nepal that "diplomacy of opportunism" as practised so far in playing China against India, and her efforts to internationalise bilateral issues and to elicit support

(*Continued overleaf col. 2*)

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RAJASTHAN NEED NOT BE POOR

(Continued from page 195)

are funding a kind of consumerism which even Northern Alternative Movements like the Green Movement are beginning to question, saying we do not need this.

The arms race in the North is also having reverberations on us Every little conflict in the Third World is magnified through arms salesmen.

So I just want to put this forth in a very frank fashion, because I think that in next coming months, there is some hard work that needs to be undertaken in Rajasthan, if the State is to get out of its permanent poverty crisis. But it cannot be done only by the Government This is not just the job of Government or the State Planning Commission. The rest of the community cannot have an alibi They cannot say the government failed, the bureaucracy failed. They will have to change and say how have we, as social actors, fulfilled our responsibility to our State ? There has to be a new kind of co-alition between committed and concerned government officials and planners, between deprofessionalised intellectuals and academicians and the new kind of social actors and the people. They have to use the people's knowledge system and nature's economy primarily, and all the factors I mentioned I am not saying here, and I am not simplistic in my analysis, that we do not need capital;but there is a new kind of capital. There is a new kind of perspective on how the development process can be looked at.

There is a challenge; and I would like to assert that if the challenge is met *head on* and with these new elements I am confident it is possible for Rajasthan to achieve basic needs for all within the next 15 years. You can build on what you have. There may still be pockets of problems, but these are manageable.

Let me make one more statement before I sit down. I really think you may have no choice but to move fast. Let me explain further. You are locked into a geopolitical situation where social discontent in the State resulting from poverty, can be capitalised on by those external forces which want to destabilise the State.

Secondly, you have a border with Punjab. Punjab, in one kind of analysis. was a "success" story, the centre of the green revolution. In another kind of analysis, it is a major trouble spot. If Rajasthan is not careful with its development strategy, and soon, with the waters of the Indira Gandhi Canal, the Punjab problems can flow into Rajasthan.

So there is a risk. There is also an opportunity. On the basis of your own experience, on the basis of these positive elements which I have indicated, a new operationalisable vision for Rajasthan to overcome its permanent poverty crisis is possible. It is possible to make this a model State. If I am a dreamer, let me continue to be so. I hope these comments from an outside observer, but a friend, can be a useful input into your own ongoing debate on development perspectives and options for your State.

INDO-NEPAL RELATIONS *(Continued)*

from extra-regional powers at the cost of India, would not be ignored as hitherto; and Kathmandu would be required to comply strictly with the provisions of the Treaty of 1950, which governs and regulates the Indo-Nepalese relations.

Thus, a real *quid pro-quo* is needed to resolve the peresent impasse in the relationship of the two countries. In view of her landlocked position with a possibility of developing the bulk of her trade only through India, Nepal should realise where her vital interests lie. In fact the "provocative" policy initiated by late King Mahendra would have justified strong reprisals from India. The fact that this did not happen should and encourage the Nepalese ruling elite to conclude that it would never happen. Nepal should understand that her future lies with South Asia and in the region, and that India would continue to be a regional power despite all the efforts at destabilising her.

New Delhi on its part, should also reconcile with the fact that in the changing international environment, her northern neighbour cannot forever be kept under her "thumb." Also she should make efforts to clear the misunderstanding in the Nepalese mind that India is a great stumbling block in Nepal's "quest for indentity". So far, Indian policy-makers have failed to understand the Nepalese nationalist sentiments and made no meaningful attempt to remove the Nepalese suspicions. This gap in understanding each other's interests has been at the root of the present crisis.

Dr. M. D. Dharamdasani is Reader in Political Science in the Centre for the Study of Nepal, Benares Hindu University, Varanasi. He has written and/or editted the following books : (i) Indian Diplomacy in Nepal, (ii) South Asian Regional Cooperation, (iii) Politics in Contemporary South Asia, (iv) Dynamics of Foreign Aid in South Asia, (v) Electoral Politics in South Asia, (vi) Sri Lanka : Island in Crisis and (vii) Benazir's Pakistan.

COMMONWEALTH POETRY PRIZE

London May 18 : *Allen Curnow* from New Zealand has been awarded the Commonwealth Poetry Prize, for his work **continueum** which had been earlier adjudged a winner from the Australia/Pacific area. He was selected from a short list of five regional winners namely : *Bronwen Wallace* (Canada) for **The Stubborn Particulars of Grace** (American Region) *Koli Awooner* (Ghana) **Until the Morning After** (Africa winner) *Sujata Bhatt* (India) for **Brunizem** and *John Health Stubs* (Britain) for **Collected Poems 1943-87** (Euaope) besides himself

The panel of judges comprised of Dr. Alistair Niven, Literature Director of British Arts Council and novelist, Anita Desai, among others.

The prize was set up by the Commonwealth Institute, London, in 1972 to promote appreciation of poetry from the Commonwealth countries. Last year the prize was sponsored by Dillon bookshops. All the five winners from the various regions were brought to London to share the prize (of £ 13,500/- in all) and to take pa.t In poetry readings at the Commonwealth Institute and six orher British cities.

[From the Commonwealth Current—June 1989]

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BENGAL ATTRACTS THE DUTCH

Om Prakash :
THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE ECONOMY OF BENGAL 1630-1720

Oxford University Press, Delhi, (1988) pp. xii+291, Rs. 150.

Reviewed by Ashim Kumar Roy

Om Prakash, Professor of Economic History at the Delhi University, has written almost a definitive book on the Dutch East India Company's trade in Bengal in the years 1630 to 1720. In recent years, we have had several studies on the trade and trading organizations of the *English* East India Company. Important among such works are : *The Trading World of Asia and the English East India Company, 1660-1720 (1978)*, and other writings of K.N. Chaudhuri; and *Trade and Commercial Organization in Bengal,1650-1720 (1975)* by S.Chaudhuri. Such works are mainly based on the records of the English Company. Prof. Om Prakash, in his various writings, has made use of these sources also. But few before him have gone so deeply into the Dutch sources in the Hague as he has done in this work.

There was, no doubt, a need for such a work, for, in the period under discussion, the Dutch were the most important foreign traders in Bengal.

TEXTILES SET THE FA·HION

The Dutch were trading in the Indian Ocean region since the formation of their Company in 1602. By the middle of the century, they entered the Bengal trade. Their trade in this region grew rapidly. In about 1666, when **Bernier** came to Bengal, he was amazed at the extent of the Dutch trade there. He wrote, "I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloth of every sort, fine and course, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe..... the same may be said of silk and silk stuffs." Yet what **Bernier** saw was just the beginning. The export of textiles and other things by the Dutch reached its peak three or four decades later. There were several reasons why their exports, particularly to Europe, increased so much. One was a sudden change of fashion in Europe. This created a demand for Indian silk and fine textiles, A contemporary English writer said, "As ill weeds grow apace, so these manufactured goods from India met with such a kind reception that from the greatest gallants to the meanest Cook Maids, nothing was thought so fit to adorn their Persons as the Fabrick of India". And Bengal produced the finest of such fabrics.

DATA FROM THE ARCHIVES

The author has, of course, not gone by these impressionistic reports alone. He has drawn on a large number of documents, especially on those lodged in the General State Archives in the Hague. The amount of statistical information he has gleaned from these documents is astonishing Two examples of the hard work done by him may be given: *Table 3.2* gives the value of the Dutch Company's imports of treasure and goods into Bengal for each of the years from 1663 to 1717; *Table 7.3* gives the amount of Bengal raw silk ordered annually from Holland from 1636 to 1716.

TRANSFER OF GOLD & SILVER—IN EXCHANGE OF GOODS

When the Dutch first came to Asia, their purpose was to procure spices from Malabar, Ceylon and the East Indies. They found out early that there was no market for European manufactures in Asia, and they could purchase spices only against gold or silver, or in exchange of textiles, opium, etc. from India. But India would not sell its textiles except for the precious metals or the spices from East Indies.

The Dutch had, therefore, to build an *Intra-Asian* trade to obtain the spices. To start with, they brought the precious metals from Europe; but they soon found out sources of these metals in Asia itself. Some South American silver was coming to the Phillipines; but more important for the Dutch were Taiwan and Japan as sources of gold and silver. A large number of new gold and silver mines had been opened in Japan during the last half of the 16th and in the early 17th century. The Dutch made use of these sources for their requirements.

The Dutch were lucky in another matter also. Japan started its era of seclusion in 1639; but it made an exception for the Dutch. Holland was the only European country permitted to trade in Japan. The output of the silver mines in Japan declined, and export of silver was banned in 1668; but fortunately for the Dutch, Japan had resumed gold exports in 1664. This had been stopped in 1641.

(Continued)

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BENGAL ATTRACTS THE DUTCH

The importance of bullion in Holland's trade with Asia will be evident from the fact that Holland, as mentioned earlier, could send very little commercial goods to Asia. These goods, together with the provisions and equipment, ammunitions, etc., sent by Holland to Asia in 1615, accounted for only six per cent of the exports to Asia; the remainder was in the form of bullion Even about a hundred years later, goods accounted for only about a third of the total exports from Holland to Batavia.

THE PORT OF SATGAON— EXPORT TRADE WITH MUSLIM MERCHANTS

Long before the Europeans came to the scene, Bengal was a large exporter of cotton and silk textiles. Its other main exports were rice and saltpetre. The chief port of Bengal, Satgaon fetched a large revenue. (*The Chaitanya Charitamrita* mentions that the Kayastha Hiranyadas, the tax collector of Satgaon paid 12 lakhs (coins ?), out of the 20 lakhs eh collected, to the King, and kept the rest for himself.) Satgaon perhaps became more prosperous when, after the Mughal conquest of Bengal in 1576, the Mughal officials avidly joined the shipping and export trade there. During the period discussed in this book, most of the merchants engaged in the export trade of Bengal were Muslims, but there were some Hindus and Armenians also. The Hindus were mostly Gujaratis. Merchants "with typical Bengali Hindu names such as Kalyan Ray and Jadu Ray handled only a small proportion of the total trade handled by the Hindu community." *(p. 33)*.

ENTER THE PORTUGUESE... ... THE DUTCH & THE ENGLISH

When in the last quarter of the 16th century, the port of Satgaon was silting up, the Portuguese established their main port in Western Bengal in Hugli. The Portuguese were not all traders. Many of them were pirates and free-booters. In 1632, the Mughals drove away the Portuguese. It was shortly afterwards that the Dutch discovered the advantage of trading in Bengal. At first, they had some difficulty with the local Mughal officials, but sometimes between 1645 and 1647, they were able to establish a factory in Hugli In about 1656, the Dutch East India Company leased Chinsurah, a village adjoining Hugli, for a ground rent of Rs. 582, and moved its factory there. However, the Dutch Company continued to mention this as the Hugli factory, in its letters. (The Dutch held Chinsurah until 1825, when they ceded it to Britain in part exchange for the English possession in Sumatra.)

The main rival of the Dutch in Bengal was the *English* East India Company. The English had entered the Bengal trade in 1651, that is, almost at the same time as the Dutch. Their trade also grew quite rapidly. But it was not until about 1720 that they were able to catch up with the Dutch in their export of goods from the Bengal region to Europe.

TRADE MALPRACTICES by COMPANY EMPLOYEES & *PAIKAR* MERCHANTS

Both the Companies suffered considerably from the dishonest practices of their employees. The employees brought from Europe were not paid well, and could not resist the temptation of making easy money in India. They made money both in purchasing the goods for export from India and in selling the imports from Europe. The method of procurement of the goods such as textiles was, more or less, same for both the Companies.

About six to eight months before the expected arrival of the ships from Europe, cash advances were made to the merchants known as *paikars* The *paikars* were respectable merchants of the area. Their main business was within India, but they agreed to supply the goods required by the European Companies, if advance amounts were paid to them. The *paikars*, in their turn, advanced cash to the weavers or to the manufacturers of saltpetre, The cash was meant both for the raw materials and living expenses of the weavers, etc. during the process of manufacture. (This was called the *dadni* (advance) system and worked satisfactorily for nearly a hundred years).

It was not until 1753 that the English Company changed over to the *gomasta* system. The *gomastas* were servants or paid agents, and not independent merchants. They made the purchases from different *aurangs* or manufacturers centres. (S. Chaudhury in *J.S.E H.O.* Feb., 1988, *p. 85*). The author mentions both *gomastas* and *paikars* in his work, but does not make clear whether the Dutch had changed over to the *gomasta* system earlier than the English, or were using both *gomastas* and the *paikars* simultaneously,

DUTCH MANUFACTURING UNITS

Another method the Dutch adopted was to set up their own manufacturing units. They had refining centres for saltpetre in Patna, and Pipli in Orissa And they had centres for calico printing in Patna, and Kasimbazar near Murshidabad. But their most ambitious centre was for reeling raw silk. This was set up in Kasimbazar in 1653 This unit worked intermittently; at times it reeled all the silk exported by the Company; and at other times it was idle. When working at full capacity, the Kasimbazar centre employed over 3,000 persons. Perhaps it was set up to meet sudden additional demands. The Dutch needed silk not only for exporting to Europe, but also for trading with Japan, where they obtained gold in exchange for silk.

IMPACT ON ECONOMY

What was the effect of all these exports of silk, cotton textiles, etc., and the import of bullion on the economy of Bengal ?

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GLIMPSES OF 18th CENTURY RAJASTHAN

B. L. Gupta

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN RAJASTHAN DURING THE 18th CENTURY

Jaipur Publishing House, Jaipur (1987) pp. 274, Rs. 180.

Reviewed by R. G. Sarien

The book is based on the author's Ph D. thesis. '*Organisation of Trade in Rajasthan during the 18th Century*'. At the outset, let it be observed that Dr. Gupta has done a splendid job by sifting lots of scattered information contained in hundreds of archival records of various princely states comprising Rajasthan (formerly known as Rajputana) on the subject of trade and commerce—its beginning, growth and development during the period of disintegration of the Mughal Empire and early years of the establishment of British Rule in India. He could not have taken the earlier period obviously for the reason that prior to this, archival records—*Bahis*, *Kharitas*, *Bastas* etc.—were not maintained in a systematic way or in a proper order.

SOURCES

The author has made extensive and selective use of contemporary literature in Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Hindi. In addition, he has given a list of useful publications in English, Hindi, Rajasthani, Journals and Gazetteers—as secondary sources which have been used by him in this analytical study of trade and commerce during the 18th century. A very useful and exhaustive Index at the end also adds to the quality of the publication. Equally informative are six Maps of Rajasthan showing distribution etc , of cereals, cash crops, handicrafts, internal trade routes, and those connecting it with other regions of the country, and the currency used in various states during the 18th century.

The book is divided into eleven chapters, including the concluding part, in which author has painstakingly summarised his findings very systematically. Much is added to the value and quality of the publication by an exhaustive Glossary, giving meanings of various terms used in the course of trade and commerce in the states of Rajasthan. This Glossary itself is of a high educative value for researchers and others, because without understanding these terms, no scholar can possibly undertake any research work in the historical aspects of Rajasthan. Equally important, perhaps more, is an exhaustive Bibliography in which primary sources are quoted. In the case of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaipur state records, Dr. Gupta has appended brief notes explaining the nature of each *Bahi*, *Kharita*, *Parwana etc.* and other relevant documents.

GEOGRAPHICAL FACTORS FOR TRADE

The study is mainly confined to the four bigger states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kota, for the obvious reason that only there regular records were maintained properly Each chapter is appended with very exhaustive references in support of what the author has taken from various original sources.

While discussing the "geographical location" of Rajasthan, Dr. Gupta rightly observes that it was because of this fact that Rajasthan played an important role in the expansion of its trade with other parts of India, being largely a desert area in west and north-west of the Aravallis, which divide Rajasthan into two unequal parts. The author makes a reference to the modes of transport—such as bullock-carts, camels, camel carts, pack horses, camels and bullocks. Bullock carts were naturally used more commonly in the eastern parts, where the soils had even hard surface. What is important is that the Rulers of these erstwhile states provided adequate protection to traders for transit of goods through their respective territories from marauders and dacoits.

PATRONAGE OF RULERS

The author mentions other factors which contributed to the development of several cottage industries and handicrafts in the respective princely territories. Not only that the Rulers and their Courts provided patronage to such artisans for the marketing of their products, but they also gave them lots of inducements to immigrate to their capital cities, and finally settle down there. Jaipur Rulers were perhaps more liberal in this respect than others; and a whole lot of weavers, artisans, masons, gem-cutters, gold-smiths and others were bronght from Agra, Delhi, Mathura, Gujarat etc. Calico printers, for example, were brought from Multan and settled down in Nagaur (in Jodhpur State)

POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE REGION

Another important factor which, apart from the Ruler's patronage, contributed to the development of trade and commerce and establishment of trading houses was the comparative political stability in this region. Some of the enlightened Rulers went a long way in giving exemption from payment of taxes by these traders—to encourage exports to neighboring areas – by providing a liberal "export promotion policy"—of which we talk so mucht oday.

To promote trade and commerce, a few state Rulers even went to the length of standing "surety" for the loans taken by traders from *Sahukars*. Added to these were several other concessions, to boost up trade such as exemption in taxes levlled by them. As a result, some of the traders became prosperous and amassed great riches; and in times of need, even the Rulers borrowed large sums of money from them.

(*Continued overleaf*)

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GLIMPSES OF 18th CENT. RAJASTHAN

Dr. Gupta rightly observes that in case Rulers were unable to return the loans, they gave them *(Sahukars)* the right to collect revenue of certain villages in lieu thereof This caused consequent hardships to both traders and owners of land. Enlightened rulers even made efforts to recover loss of goods by plunders in transits, and when required, gave compensation to the traders.

It is interesting to read how the Rulers of Rajputana gave all types of concessions and facilities for the development of trade, commerce and industry in their respective territories. Despite this, the balance of trade was unfavourable; and they imported more goods then were exported—obviously because of all-round backwardness and untapped natural resources, for their means were limited, and many of them did not bother about it as long as they got enough funds to live in luxury with comparative security from external attacks.

FLOURISHING TRADE & PROSPERITY

Convinicing evidence is available to show that there was a flourishing trade with neighbouring territories of Punjab, Agra, Delhi, Malwa. Gujarat, Sindh, Multan, Burhanpur etc. The enterprising traders of Rajasthan established *Kothis* and *Havelis* not only in these regions, but as far as Kabul and Kandhar. Dr. Gupta has given an exhaustive list of items that entered into this trade between Rajasthan and places mentioned earlier—some of which are textiles, indigo, opium, arms, leather goods, grass, elephants, gold and silver, velvets, dry fruits, ivory, embroidered curtains and several items meant for decoration. Rajasthan had a great demand for better breeds of horses from Turkey and Iraq.

Dr. Gupta's work acquires great importance mainly because, like most other researches, he has not picked up political aspects of history for his research, but devotes himself to the more difficult aspects of trade and commerce, and in brief, to the economic conditions prevailing in that period. The data and information were so scattered and scanty that only a researcher with a strong will and perseverance could go into the depths of these documents and manuscripts.

LIVING CONDITIONS

According to the author, the "mode of living of the traders in general was moderate and simple". Perhaps they were very much alive to their 'social obligations', as a "sizable portion of their profit was spent by them on charity and public welfare. Records abound concerning the construction of alms houses, inns (*dharmshalas*) and temples by the traders". He further observes that the traders did not make any show of their wealth—unlike their counter-parts today.

Though artisans led a better standard of life—not unsatisfactory by any chance – the peasantry, however, was excessively burdened with innumerable levies (*lāgs-bāgs*) and led a miserable life. We are inclined to agree with Dr. Gupta when he says that "trade and commerce in Rajasthan during the 18th Century showed a buoyant economy in this region." However, this buoyancy could not be sustained, mainly because of the establishment of British hegemony over Rajasthan States and consequent economic and political changes in this region.

To sum up, we can happily say that it is an excellent piece of research work. It certainly provides a basis for further research in this area. We therefore, strongly recommend it to all research students, to consult the extremely useful Glossary and exhaustive Bibliography given at the end.

Veteran economist and management expert, Dr. R.G. Sarien now leads a retired but active academic life. He was the Founder-Director of the Podar Institute of Management, Rajasthan University. He is a regular column-writer on economic matters in a local Hindi newspaper.

(*Contd. from page 202*)

BENGAL ATTRACTS THE DUTCH

Here the author faces the usual difficulty. There are just no statistics available on the subject, not even any descriptive reports on the matter either by contemporary historians or by travellers. The author has tried to make some 'guestimates', but these do not allow us to arrive at any firm conclusions.

Perhaps the European trade did not alter the economy of Bengal much. It was perhaps not very significant compared to the total production and trade of Bengal.

In any case, much of their trade only displaced the trade being carried on by Asians. For instance, the Mughal officials who carried on extensive trade from Bengal from the late 16th century had almost disappeared by the end of the 17th century. The foreigners had displaced many of the Asian traders.

There is little evidence to suggest that the total production and trade of Bengal had increased very much in these 100 years. Moreland said in 1933, that the total Indian sea-borne commerce at the end of the 16th century would have perhaps required one modern cargo boat of moderate size sailing in each month of the year. Moreland's estimate has not been challenged successfully all these years.

This well-dourmented, yet easy to read, book will remain a standard work for many years to come. Some minor additions and alterations may be made by later scholars, but it will not be easy to supersede it.

Dr. Ashim Kumar Roy, our regular contributor, is a well-known Indologist. The Bay of Bengal-Indian Ocean is also one of the areas of his 'personal' interest, besides the arts, history and culture of Bengal.

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SCIENCE & DEVELOPMENT—A Feminist Critique

Vandana Shiva : STAYING ALIVE : Women, Ecology and Survival in India

Kali For Women, 1988, pp xx plus 224, Rs. 125/-.

Reviewed by Harsh Sethi*

For some decades now, there has been a growing opposition to the two pillars—of modern scientific knowledge and economic development—on which the theory of progress in the age of enlightement rests. "Somewhere along the way, the unbridled pursuit of progress, guided by science and development, began to destroy life without any assessment of how fast and how mueh the diversity of life on this planet is disappearing. The act of living and celebrating and conserving life in all its diversity -- in people and in nature—seems to have been sacrificed to progress, and the sanctity of life been substituted by the sanctity of science and development" (*p. xiv*).

Vandana Shiva, in what is likely to become a popular book, breaks away from the usual critiques of modern science which locate themselves either in the domain of choice and application of technology—'that science is neutral, but technology is not' argument, or focus on distorted political structures which ensured that the fruits of development were inequitably shared. Instead, she argues that the original sin is encoded in the very nature of modern science. Her critique draws upon two streams of critical consciousness—the feminist and the ecological.

TWO STREAMS OF CRITICAL VIEWS

The former traces the issue of sexism in science in the rise to dominance of the concept of man, the hunter, as man, the provider. This anthropological imagery legitimises two forms of violence and amnesia First, by conveniently down-playing the importance of food gathering and the bounty of nature for survival, it seeks to provide a hegemonic provisionary role to hunting—an activity that rarely accounted for more than 20% of the food f r survival. In the process, it down-grades the role of non-hunters (women) and nature. Secondly, since hunting is not a productive/nurturant activity, it legitimises the notion of violence against nature. And since the tools for hunting permit the dominance over women, this mode of thought legitimises the secondary status of women.

Many centuries later, these views found their crystallization in the ideological under-pinnings of modern seience, wherein mother earth (*terra mater*) was converted into merely a machine and a source of raw materials, in the process removing all ethical and cognitive constraints against its violation and exploitation. It is thus that mastery over women and over nature through violence became the common heritage of modern science and all associated concepts and theories that it legitimises. Simultaneously, it encouraged the reductionist view that the diversities and multiple roles and uses of natural resources were an unnecessary hinderance. What mattered was what could be made use of. Thus, within the framework of modern economics, nature was reduced to a set of commodities to be exploited to generate the greatest profit.

THE SURVIVAL GAME

Vandana Shiva's claim is not just limited to providing a critique of modern science and development from an ecological and a feminist point of view or from even their merger. She sees ecological destruction and marginalisation of women an inevitable result of a paradigm which does not recognise the feminist principle, *Prakriti*, that supports life in nature. And in order to resurrect this near-forgotten principle, she bases her theorisation on the numerous struggles of women in Third World societies, against both their own marginalisation and against the destruction of nature. It is in these struggles for survival, spearheaded by poor rural peasant and tribal women, who have always depended upon the bounties of nature to provide them food, fuel and water, that she seeks to strike away from both the western feminist and ecological views, and simultaneously construct a new approach to science.

The distinctions she draws are indeed important. For the West, the perception of an ecological crisis lies in the twin challenge of pollution and the rapid depletion of non-renewable natural resources. This is sought to be tackled through better pollution control technology, in changing relative prices to make the use of scarcer resources more difficult, or finally in shifting these burdens outside their frontiers on to other Third World countries whose resources they seek to control. For the poorer rural women, the crisis emerges in the form of destruction of renewable natural resources—water, soil, forest—which provide the basis to survival and life. Nature for them is seen as a living entity, violence to which results in violence to all humanity.

A MOVE AWAY FROM FEMINISM— UNITY OF *PURUSH* & *PRAKRITI*

Similarly, Vandana Shiva seeks to move away from the gendered feminist views that dominate in the West, the two logical outcomes of which are : either in women seeking to emulate men, or its reverse in the

(Continued)

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negation of a male society by replacing it by a female society. She sees gendered ideology as inherently dualistic and creating a disjunction between male and female. "Such arguments create a conjunction of activity and creativity with violence and the masculine, and a conjunction of passivity with non-violence and the feminine" *(p. 52)*. Shiva would instead seek a concept and process of liberation that is trans-gender, that recognises the embodiment of the feminine principle not exclusively in women, but in nature, [illegible]—the inseparable dialectical unity of *Purusha* and *Prakriti*.

It is from such a perspective on both ecology and feminism that a critique is launched on the universalist claims of modern science. She argues that what goes under the label of modern science is only a reflection of the specific histories of western societies. "Seen from the experiences of Third World women, the modes of thinking and action that pass for science and development respectively, are not universal aud humanly inclusive, as they are made out to be; modern science and development are products of male, western origin, both historically and ideologically". *(p xvi.)* She sees such science as incorporating a high degree of violence, as reductionist and patriarchal. In order thus to evolve a more holistic view of science and knowledge based on the feminine principle in nature and humanity, she bases herself on the experiences and struggles of poor, rural Third World women - the argument being that between the viewpoints of the master and the slave, the latter is both morally and cognitively superior, since the viewpoint of the slave includes the master as a human, while the master only recognises the slave as a thing.

II

A CULTURE OF FORESTS

The empirical base of the argument is drawn from an examination of women in the forest, in the food chain, and in relation to water. And it is here that the book really discovers its metier. Starting with a lovely quotation from Tagere's *Tapovan*, our attitude to forests is traced in the development of the *Aranyak Sanskriti*. "The culture that has arisen from the forest has been influenced by the diverse processes of renewal of life that are always at play in the forest, varying from species to species, from season to season, in sight and sound and smell. The unifying principle of life in diversity, of democratic pluralism, thus became the priciple of Indian civilization" *(p. 66)*.

Just how well this poetic description squares with the equally graphic destruction of the *Khandava-Vana* by Arjun and Krishna to establish the Pandava capital of Indraprastha (the site of modern-day Delhi) where not only was the forest burnt down, but all the living creatures—animals and humans—were ruthlessly butchered to mark the final sway of the pastoral and agricultural *Aryas* over the forest dwelling *Nishads* is an entirely different matter. Nevertheless, it may be argued that many of our people, religions and cultures were indeed rooted in the forests which remained a major source of life. Consequently, we venerated the forest, learnt about its diverse uses—from food, fuel and medicine, to its role in nurturing soil and water sources. And since much of the work in food gathering and fodder collection fell to women, their role was seen as critical and complimentary to that of men.

COLONIAL ENCOUNTER & COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION

What is currently recognised as modern forestry, owes its origin to the colonial encounter. Governed essentially by a commercial rationality, all that was recognised as valuable in forests was the timber. It was to maintain their monopoly over the use of this resource that the 1865 Indian Forest Act was promulgated. This formalised not only the 'reductionist' view about forests. but also placed restrictions on the rights of forest-dwellers to its produce. It is in this twin lack of recognition, both of the multifarious uses of the forest in providing food, fodder, stabilisation of soil etc , and of the role of forest-dwellers, particularly women, in nurturing and managing the forest resources, that our current destruction of forests can be located.

THE *CHIPKO* MOVEMENT

It is as a counter-position that the lessons from the *Chipko struggle* become important, because, in addition to pointing out the ecological dangers associated with the ravaging of forests, primarily for commercial and industrial uses, the movement also seeks to resurrect the near-forgotten knowledge resident in the forest-dwellers. The author argues that the more recent programmes of social forestry and wasteland development, though ostensibly designned to increase the quantum of green cover, by itself an important environmental objective, suffer from the same colonial bias. The near exclusive reliance upon fast growing species like the eucalyptus only popularises the nation of mono-specie plantations. In addition to the negative biospheric implications of this activity, by reserving the produce of the plantations for industry, such programmes further contribute to the destruction of the commons. Movements like *Chipko. Appiko*, and *Mannu Rakshna Koota* are precisely in response to this lop-sided, reductionist and patriarchal view of the forest as a commodity.

CONFUSION & CONTROVERSIES

What is, however, disturbing in this argument is both a tendency to dramatise, (some times present as facts) what are still contested views, and a certain restructuring of history into pre-ordained concepts. For instance, the eucalyptus controversy is far from

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—A Feminist Critique

settled. One has been informed that the only feature of a eucalyptus plantation that all experts agree about is that since eucalyptus oil repells insects, the plantation does not attract birds. Other arguments that Shiva cites with finality—such as impact on soil, water-table, and undergrowth—are still under dispute.

One may be totally opposed to the promotion of eucalyptus plantations in the name of social forestry and waste-land development, which primarily serve as captive resource for industry, but the opposition would be based on a political economy, not ecological criteria. Using the later stick to beat the policy may not only be possibly fallacious in a research sense, but may well defeat the political intent

Similarly, to view *Chipko* as primarily an ecological struggle, or one where the women play the key role, is more than a slight distortion of the past and present history of this unique movement.

Even more, to trace the associated struggles against harmful intoxicants, for greater resource flow into the region, for what now is emerging as an important struggle for separate statehood—all of which owe their genesis to the initial *Chipko* mobilisations and struggles—to the role and influence of either the women, or to a view (undoubtedly more liberated of nature, would invite serious dissent—not just from scholars, but also from activists.

Finally, and this is a point which will be made in greater detail later, terms like patriarchal and reductionist forestry tend to confuse.

ROLE OF WOMEN

This is not to contest that women's role was not properly appreciated by those who developed forestry management techniques and theories. It also cannot be denied that an over-emphasis on 'mining timber' led to a serious disregard of the biosphere role of the forest. Thus, while the label 'reductionist' can be more easily defended, what makes forestry science 'patriarchal' is not at all clear. Is one trying to argue that only women have an ecological, nurturing attitude to nature and the forests? Is this true of all women? What about peasants and tribal people who, over centuries, evolved life-styles and cosmologies with a more benign attitude to nature? Rarely is it realised that with the frequent use of this one word, *patriarchal*, the diverse histories of all forest-dwellers are reduced to a 'gender' construct. A concept which is applicable at the level of social relations is unfairly transferred on to science. And all this, after the great pains that Shiva takes in the earlier chapters about how the resurrection of the feminine principle in nature and humanity should not be confused with the gender-based feminist critique. One would only like to remind her of the fate of the likes of Lyscenko who tried to float the notions of a 'proletarian science'.

"NEW" AGRICULTURE

The next chapter on 'Women and the Food Chain' serves only to increase this discomfort In what is otherwise one of the more powerful and persuasive critiques of modern agriculture, what we have come to know as the 'New Agricultural Strategy', the setting up of the two demons—patriarchy and the West', tend to reduce the effectivity of the argument. That the Green Revolution strategy is socially inequitous and damaging to [illegible] patterns, water, genetic diversity in [illegible] is by now well known. That this package developed in the West, and has been pushed both through Western states and multinational corporations is also well-known. So is the impact that it had on women—insofar as the opportunities that the new technology gives rise to are appropriated inordinately by men, leading to a further devaluation of women's role and status. But to argue that this is 'patriarchal' and a process which could have emerged only in the West is an argument that smacks of reverse reductionism. Such a history, common to all societies in the transition to industrialised agriculture, when reconstructed in the manner in which it has been done here, inflicts two kinds of violence. First, it neglects the many struggles that took place in western societies, particularly those of the peasantry which sought to resist the demands of industry Secondly, it presumes that either the industrial revolution would never have taken place in non-western societies. or that if it did come about, its social and cognitive implications would have been different.

EITHER THIS OR THAT

Similarly the chapter, 'Women and Vanishing Waters' which lays out a detailed critique of the strategy based on large dams, canals, and deep-bore tube-wells to feed the insatiable demands of growing cities, industrial complexes, and modern agriculture, while sound in its ecological dimensions, quite unnecessarily introduces the issue of gender. What, for instance, makes women more prone to resisting the damming of the Ganga and the Narmada?

The peasants, yes. The tribals, definitely. But why women? The fact that the greatest impact of receding waters is first felt by women, hardly leads to a conclusion that the theory and management of water resources is tainted by patriarchy.

ROOTED IN GENDER

In a manner of speaking, the awkwardness inherent in many of the constructs in the book stem from its starting premises. In seeking to restore the primacy of the 'nurturant' principle in nature, the fundamental ethic of respecting diversities—both biological and social—and then giving it the name, 'the feminine principle' (forgetting all through that many goddesses are also the symbol of destruction and violence—the name of *Kali* that the publishers, for instance, employ), there arises a strong tendency

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RADHAKRISHNAN CENTENARY :

A BIOGRAPHY

RADHAKRISHNAN : A Biography by S. Gopal

by **V. C. Kulandaiswamy**

(*Based on his speech delivered recently at Madras*)

A nation is great as as the men and women it can produce. We have celebrated (and are celebrating) in a short period of some five years, the centenaries of scientists like Ramanujan and Raman, political leaders like Pant and Satyamurthi, men of versatile talents like A. R. Mudaliar and A. L. Mudaliar, and now a towering leader like Pandit Nehru and a philopher–statesmen, Dr. Radhakrishnan. A nation that could produce so many illustrious sons and daughters within a span of less than a decade, shall endure and flourish, and never perish, whatever be the trials, tribulations and set-backs that it may face. Memories of such men reassure us of our strength and stability. According to **Valluvar**, the great Tamil poet, philosopher and law-giver, a **land that bears the burden of people who have no claim to fame, will not prosper.**

AN OBJECTIVE AND ABSORBING BOOK

Dr. Radhakrishnan was a person of many dimensions. Though, the thought of him as a philosopher remains uppermost in our minds, he was, sides being a philosopher of world class, an educationist, a statesman, a patriot and above all, a great builder of bridges between nations, between civilisations and even between concepts. I must say that in this book of about 400 pages, **Dr. Sarvepalli Gopal** has succeeded in projecting the versatile personality of Dr. Radhakrishnan with great clarity and almost unsurpassed ob ectivity.

Very often questions arise as to what would qualify for a literary work. **Sheikh Md. Abdullah**, the great leader from Kashmir, was posthumously given the *Sahitya Akademi Award for 1988* for his autobiography in Urdu. A question was raised whether an autobiography could be considered a literary work and merit the Sahitya Akademi Award. Abdullah's work is in Urdu, and I could not read that book. But I have read, with absorbing interest, Dr Sarvepalli Gopal's biography of Radhakrishnan, and can unhesitatingly say that it is an excellent piece of literature. If one can read from cover to cover the whole book on a philosopher, never once feeling a need for even a short break, it must certainly be a work of art.

It is not an easy job to present the multiple facets of a man of his stature. To understand his interpretations of ancient philosophical contributions of India, the Western contributions of recent centuries and his own interpretation of them, for the modern reader is a formidable task, even for an eminent student of philosophy. Dr. Gopal, a historian with no claim to specialisation in philosophy, has been able to focus attention on Radhakrishnan's contributions with such insight and clarity as must deserve great admiration.

HIS APPROACH TO TRADITION & CULTURE ...

When a lay person like me goes through, even in a casual manner, the observations of Dr. Radhakrishnan on a number of topics, one is struck by his open-mindedness, his receptivity, and the resilience of his mind which remained intact till old age. He had the greatest regard for our tradition and culture; but he considered that even exceptional traditions and postures which might appear revolutionary during one period of time, would become reactionary and a block for development during another period. He advocated in the most effective language possible, the need to discriminate between *what is living* and *what is dead* in all that we have inherited, and those elements that constitute the Indian way of life. He considered it necessary to have the will and courage to discard the obsolete, so that the dead ones may not inhibit the living organism from growing.

AS LIVING FORCES ...

A pertinent observation of Dr. Radhakrishnan is that what our ancestors left behind them, for us, is not a deposit that we should guard and protect. It is a historical progressive movement : something that is in the making; something that is perennially revealing and changing. This interpretation arises from his firm conviction that man is evolving. If he could evolve from an anthropoid as a human being, there is a possibility that he may evolve from the human to the divine.

....FOR CHANGE & PROGRESS

Well-read in all the ancient *Upanishads*, *Vedas*, other scriptures and philosophical writings, though believing strongly in their vitality and relevance for the current period, he did not belittle even slightly the importance of science and technology. He took a very positive view of science and technology. Science, to him, is the builder of the modern age; it heals wounds; cures diseases; and where it cannot cure, it at least makes the pain bearable. At the same time, he emphasized an obvious fact that science is not capable of *refining* the human soul. He felt that science should have a plaee and must be used where it is relevant and effective.

While he was a great champion and defender of individual liberty, freedom of thought and faith, he would not, at the same time, criticize the Russian experiment. He maintained that it may be looked upon as an honest attempt at securing to the individuals an equal share in what constitutes the physical basis of life. Inherently he was incapable of accepting the kind of glaring and gruelling poverty that we see as inevitable.

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& A SEMINAR

"RADHAKRISHNAN : MAN AND THINKER"

A Participant's Report *by* **D. Anjaneyulu**

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan was not only Plato's dream come true as the Philosopher-President of the Indian Republic, but also a dynamic humanist, a constructive thinker, a social activist, a political reconciler, a resourceful integrator and a great bridge-builder at various levels. Not only an inspired teacher but also a creative interpreter.

Radhakrishnan was a distinguished man of letters as well. He had an equal and amazingly admirable mastery over the spoken word and the written word, to the extent that, in his case, the distinction between the two was virtually obliterated. For he spoke as perfectly as he wrote; and wrote as brilliantly as he spoke.

CO-FOUNDER OF SAHITYA AKADEMI

Along with Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India and Maulana Azad, the Education Minister, Dr. Radhakrishnan was responsible for the founding of the **Sahitya Akademi**, the Indian Academy of Letters (along with the other two academies) in 1954 He it was who coined the name by combining the two words, '*Sahitya*' in Sanskrit and '*Academy*' in Greek. He also gave it its eloquent motto : "Indian Literature is one, though written in many languages".

Setting out the composition and objectives of Sahitya Akademi at the inaugural function, Radhakrishnan, who was then Vice-President of the Akademi as well as of the Indian Republic, said ;

> "Sahitya Akademi will be an assembly of all those who are interested in creative and critical literature. It is the purpose of this Akademi to recognise men of achievement in letters, to encourage men of promise in letters, to educate public taste and to improve standards of literature and literary criticism."

He was, at the same time, keenly aware of the social conditions necessary for the emergence of great literature. In this context, he quoted the reaction of Napoleon who had said : "I hear there are no poets in France today. What is the Minister of the Interior doing about it ?" ...Radhakrishnan's own comment on that was : "The Minister of the Interior can subsidise versifiers, but he cannot create poets. Poets cannot be made to order ... No great literature can be produced unless men have the courage to be lonely in their minds, to be free in their thoughts and to express whatever occurs to them. Freedom of human spirit is the first essential of any kind of creative literature. That must be protected."

THE SEMINAR

It was only in the fitness of things that Sahitya Akademi should think of organising the Radhakrishnan Birth Centenary National Seminar on "*RADHAKRISHNAN : MAN AND THINKER*" in Madras, the home city of this philosopher-statesman and man of letters. It was no less appropriate that the three-day Seminar should be held in collaboration with the **Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute** (on 31 August and 1 and 2 September). A lot of planning and hard work had obviously gone into it — representing the combined efforts of Dr. Indranath Choudhuri, (Secretary), Mr. A. Krishnamurti, (Regional Secretary), Sahitya Akademi; and Dr. S. S. Janaki, (Director of KSRI), assisted by their colleagues.

PHILOSOPHY, LITERATURE & EDUCATION

Inaugurating the Seminar (on the first afternoon), **Dr. D. P. Chattopadhyaya** Chairman, Indian Council for Philosophical Research, underlined the close relation between philosophy and literature. In support of this, he quoted the words of Samuel Taylor Coleridge : "No man can be a great poet without being a great philosopher". Between the two, there was thematic unity and sub-thematic diversity, he added.

In his brief and pointed presidential address, **Dr. Birendrakumar Bhattacharya**, President of Sahitya Akademi (the well-known Assamese writer and *Jnaan Peeth* Award-winner) placed accent on the contemporary relevance of Radhakrishnan's message : his ideas covering mutual tolerance, human unity and the good life showed that his philosophy was a guide to contemporary action, not merely a holistic view of the world. "The purpose of education is life-enhancement, a process of enlightenment that transforms life to suit our essential needs."

Referring to the bewildering variety of insanity and mindless violence that rocks the world of today and seems to divide man from man, Dr. Bhattacharya hoped that the Seminar being held at this critical juncture would revive interest in the philosophy of Radhakrishnan and help release the forces of enlightenment.

In his keynote address, read on the occasion, the veteran educationist, Kulapati **Balakrishna Joshi**, described Radhakrishnan as a "multi-splendoured luminary of our times." He also said :

"The spiritual integration he had been able to effect among the people of the world by the synthetic presentation of homogoneous ideals drawn from different sources, is the most signal service he has rendered to the cause of international concord and universal peace." Adding in conclusion :

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(Contd. from page 208) **A BIOGRAPHY . . .**

AN INSTITUTION-BUILDER & EDUCATIONIST

Dr. Radhakrishan was essentially a teacher, an educational administrator and a builder. He helped substantially the development of at least two universities—the Andhra University and the Banaras Hindu University. In both the cases, he managed to get significant funding from different sources, and put them on a sound footing. His views on autonomy of the universities, the need for the universities to concern themselves with the problems of the society and the importance of inter-disciplinary approach are very clear and strong. He came out strongly against the establishment of different centres for arts and science. He thought that one was complementary to the other; together they must contribute to human progress.

Education, for Radhakrishnan, is not an ornament; it is not even an intellectual pursuit for its own sake. He viewed education as a major change agent. It should not promote conformity. It should not support individual privileges. According to him, conformity is a negation of change, and individual privilege is inimical to excellence. He was of the firm opinion that the University campus should be thought of as a place where we promote enquiry and liberty of thought, where we support investigation, innovation and consequently make contributions conducive to bringing about a better society—a better order.

The "University Education Commission" Report prepared under his chairmanship is a monumental document. There are two aspects of Indian Education which the Report condemned and discouraged in the strongest possible language. One is the purely "affiliating university system" and the other the "examination system", as was obtaining at that point of time. We do not have to-day a purely affiliating university, but our universities are affiliating universities still; and they are crumbling under the weight of the affiliated colleges; and in that process, pursuit of research, promotion of advanced studies and the ability of the university administration to spend some time on these aspects have received a set-back. It is a pity that certain corrective measures suggested in the area of higher education as early as the middle of this century have not been seriously implemented. There is a drift, a kind of helplessness and sometimes indifference.

HIS MESSAGE

As we celebrate the centenary of Dr. Radhakrishnan, what inspiration can we draw from his life and teaching? We must derive from him pride in our culture and civilisation, in the strength of our knowledge and learning; the importance that he attached to the rich legacies that we have inherited and the capacity which he had to abandon the obsolete and relate the living ones to the needs of the modern society; i.e. the courage to discard the dead and the strength to reinterpret the living ones in a manner that is relevant to the present In my opinion, Dr. Sarvepalli Gopal has done an extremely remarkable job. The book is worthy of the man whose life it portrays That perhaps is the best tribute that can be paid to a biography.

Prof. V. C. Kulandaiswamy is the Vice-Chancellor of Anna University, Madras. [We are grateful to him for letting us publish his tribute to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in a speech delivered at Madras on 21st August 1989, when the biography written by Dr. S. Gopal was released. —Editors]

(Contd. from page 207) **SCIENCE & DEVELOPMENT—A Feminist Critique**

to become rooted in gender. In the process there is an uncalled for mauling of the history of science, of people, and of ideas and constructs. Rarely is there adequate recognition that the history of science (which, for purposes of argument, is converted into modern western science) is full of many struggles and tendencies seeking to resurrect different modes of knowing. Some of the best critiques of 'modern western science' can be found within the scientific tradition itself. By seeking to subdue them, Vandana Shiva, falls more in the camp of those who today argue for concepts like *Hindu* or *Islamic* science. From here to 'male' and 'female' science is not a far step.

Concepts, once they become popular, have a tendency to become pernicious. Since both Third Worldism (read ethnicity) and patriarchy have of late become favoured concepts, we are being inundated with a lot of writing that seeks to reduce complex histories to substantiate these views One wonders how Gandhi and Tagore, two personalities whom Vandana Shiva cites frequently, would react to being appropriated into either the 'feminist' or the 'ecological' camp. At least, scholars like Shiva whose contributions on ecology are by no means insubstantial, should be aware of the dangers of presenting caricatured arguments that finally end in reducing the effectivity of the cause they hold dear.

The challenge before us is to work towards a new mode of discourse that recognises the play between and within differences, without seeking to order them in a unique manner. One knows that the last few centuries have seen the hegemony of western concepts of knowing and doing. Struggling for autonomy with dignity in such a situation is far from easy. That is way the feminist and the ecological imagination hold such promise. Together with ethnicity, the favoured concept in the Foreword, they offer a formidable challenge to the dominant paradigm of development and science. But to take the 'submerged views' and to re-order the world of thought with them at the top is only to replace one hierarchy with another. Many of the scholars cited in the book do just that. □

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A SEMINAR ON RADHAKRISHNAN

"Radhakrishnan was able, by his sagacity, wisdom and perception of truth, to weld the entire humanity into a fellowship of faith. If only this attitude was understood aright.... the world will be a transcript of Heaven."

ON HUMANISM

Presiding over the panel discussion on '*SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY*', **Mr. Kireet Joshi** (of the Ministry of Education, New Delhi) observed that Radhakrishnan's concept of Humanism went beyond the category of man. Radhakrishnan was a consistent thinker, who was an idealist and realist in one, grappling with eternal verities and temporal issues at the same time. The speaker concluded with an appeal for research in an integrated system of Indian philosophy.

Prof. P. K. Mukhopadhyaya, Mr. A. Ranganathan, Prof. Bhuvan Chandel and **Prof. G. S. S. Srinivasa Rao** presented papers on the subject.

Prof. Mukhopadhyaya, who spoke on 'Civilized Individualism', felt that India had its own unity, and a political philosophy could be formulated, which would be consistent with the identity of India.

Mr. Ranganathan said that Radhakrishnan's social and political thought derived its relevance from his humanity. "Like Gibert Murray, who perceived the value of Greek Poetry as constituting a source of creative thought, in his understanding of international relations, Radhakrishnan had drawn upon the fountain-head of Indian philosophy in his assesments of the contemporary international scene", he added.

Dr. Bhuvan Chandel hailed Radhakrishnan as "the only man of his generation, capable of providing Indian nationalism with a creed and a theory, reconciling India's immemorial intellectual tradition with the demands of a changing social order."

RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT

Moderating the session on "*THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION*", **K. Satchidananda Murti** examined Radhakrishnan's evolution of the Religion of the Spirit against the background of Bradley, Bergson, Croce and James in the West and that of Tagore, Gandhi, Bhagavandas and Sri Aurobindo in India. Discussing the concepts of 'Reality', 'awareness' and 'Freedom' in Radhakrishnan's philosophy, he said that he had an encyclopaedic mind and a gift of expression that evoked a feeling for the 'luminous'.

Among others who presented papers, **Prof. Shibjiban Bhattacharya** discussed the doctrine of Religion as 'Realisation' **Dr. P. Nagaraja Rao** described Radhakrishnan's philosophy as that of 'Spiritual Humanism', while **Prof. T. S Devadoss** asserted that *Vedanta*, according to Radhakrishnan, provided the science of religion with one international and intelligible framework of terms and concepts.

THE WORLD HERITAGE OF PHILOSOPHY & LITERATURE

'Mutual educative co-existence' could be described as the message of Radhakrishnan, according to **Dr. Margaret Chatterjee**, who presided over the session on '*PHILOSOPHY and LITERATURE*'. Describing him as one of the Renaissance Thinkers, she explained how he undertook a dialogue with all the thinkers of the past co-present with us, as good philosophy like good literature drew upon the world heritage.

In his paper, **Dr. K. K. Raja** recalled how Radhakrishnan felt that form and content should be inseparable in literature and that poets had a responsibility to mould the character of the readers.

The foundation of spiritual values for literature was stressed by **Dr. P. K. Sundaram, Dr. P. K. Roy** also presented a paper.

TOWARDS A LEARNING SOCIETY

The suggestion to rename the Institute of Advanced Study at Shimla as the Radhakrishnan Institute of Cultural Studies, was made by **Prof. P. N. Kirpal**, chairing the session on '*EDUCATION*'. He stressed the need to transform our society into a learning society.

In his paper on "Higher Education in India", **Dr. Ramesh Mohan** discussed in depth Radhakrishnan's work as Chairman of the University Education Commission, recalling his exhortation : "We have to chart our course by the distant stars, not by the dim street lights."

Prof. S. K. Verma said that Radhakrishnan's philosophy of education could be viewed as a protest against dead knowledge and inert ideas.

The present writer described Radhakrishnan as 'a creative teacher', who had a deep insight into the students' mind and established a rapport with them by his unconventional methods. He was innovative as an educational administrator and imaginative as an institution-builder.

ON INDIAN PHILOSOPHY & HINDUISM

In his valedictory address, **Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar** struck a personal note in recalling his several meetings with Radhakrishnan over a few decades, and mentioned how he was always human, gracious and warm-hearted.

He also recounted the close association between Radhakrishnan and Kuppuswami Sastri who reviewed his two volumes on '*INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*' on their first publication in the twenties.

Hinduism, for Radhakrishnan, was "a movement not a position; a process not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation", he added.

"Radhakrishnan had his share of hostile critics, but he was unperturbed in his achievement, because of the resources of the spirit, the inner calm and the fundamental faith", he concluded.

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ANOTHER BRIDGE between EAST & WEST

Bimal Krishna Matilal : PERCEPTION

Clarendon Press, London, (1986) pp. xii+438; Rs. 175/-

Comment by A M Ghose

Our coming in contact with the philosophical ideas of the West in general, and with the British thinkers in particular, was determined by the accidents of history. Surely, there was no historical necessity behind this phenomenon - of Indians studying Plato and Aristotle, Locke, Hume and Kant, or Quine and Strawson.

As long as the British ruled over this sub-continent, they were in a position to shape our ideas and 'world-views'. And shape they did. But some European scholars—many of them were not associated with our academic institutions -- were attracted towards the traditions 'native' to this country. Often they were eloquent about the variety as well as wealth of those traditions.

Then came a time when enterprising young Indians, educated in the newly established colleges and universities, began to make serious enquiries about the native philosophical traditions. They took time to distinguish academic philosophy from the mishmash of folk-wisdom and mysticism. However, in the course of a few decades, serious efforts were made to study those traditions.

We had men like Ganganath Jha, B. K. Mallik and K. C. Bhattacharya. Jha, known for his immense learning, sought to draw the attention of the English-knowing public, here and elsewhere, to the 'depths' and 'heights' of the systems like the *Nyaya* and *Mimamsa*, while Mallik and Bhattacharya sought to express creatively what they had assimilated from those traditions Then there were men like Das Gupta, Radhakrishnan and Ranade.

Matilal belongs to another generation, closer to us. He has sought to build a different kind of bridge between the East and West Having spent years in the West, he had acutely felt the need of bringing the philosophers of the West close to the investigations of the Indian thinkers, of course, ancient and medieval. At the same time, belonging as he does to India, he has also felt the need of forging a new language, as it were, which could be an appropriate medium to exchange ideas.

Matilal is primarily a student of the *Nyaya*. He knows his Sanskrit texts and does not have to depend on translations. He also knows the methods and techniques of modern logicians working in Europe and America.

PERCEPTION deals with the views of Indian thinkers who flourished between A. D. 100 and 1400. What Matilal attempts here is "to search for some common ground on the basis of which a fruitful philosophical discussion could be generated."

The philosophical system Matilal endorses is 'realism'. In modern times, it has shed off much of its alleged naivety. PERCEPTION is a long essay on classical Indian theories of knowledge; and includes extremely interesting discussions on the nature of philosophical argument, on illusion, on particulars, and universals. The book contains a chronological table of philosophers, mostly the *Nyaya* thinkers from **Aksapada** (c 150 A.D.) to **Gangesha** (c 1700) and a Bibliography.

Matilal's references to the views of **Jayarâshi** (8th cent.) and **Sri Harsa** (11 cent.), when he discusses 'scepticism', are as interesting as illuminating. Similarly, when explaining '*Vikalpa*' or imagination, Matilal refers to Strawson's article 'Imagination and Perception' (*1974*).

'Seeing' is distinguished from 'seeing as' which involves imaginative construction. In this connection, he criticises Dretske, a contemporary philosopher, who holds that 'pure seeing' is 'non-epistemic sensing'.

Matilal's discussion on **Gangesha's** views on 'conception-free' awareness is extremely interesting. Matilal traces Gangesha's views to the *Vaisesika Sutra 8.9*. In this connection, I must say that Matilal's analyses of the first few *sutras* of the *Vaisesika* system are admirably lucid. Matilal's summary of the views held the *Nyaya* thinkers against **Dharmakirti's** view that perception, in the strict sense, cannot be judgmental, is equally lucid.

While discussing the views of **Bhartrihari**, Matilal draws our attention to the views of Davidson; the parallels are indeed striking. Equally striking are the parallels found in the views of Bhairtrhari and Sellars.

Going through the work of Matilal, one realises that the gulf which divides the ancient and medieval Indian thinkers and modern European and American philosophers is not as wide as some would have us believe. The possibility of a meaningful dialogue appears to be so obvious, if one could only get an intermediator like Matilal. These philosophers, in spite of centuries which separate them, are seen grappling with problems which are so similar; the suggested resolutions will cease to be strange to them only when they are translated for them.

Prof. A. M. Ghose taught in the University of Rajasthan before he retired in 1987. He is now engaged in writing a monograph on "Suffering".

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A PANJABI FAMILY SAGA

Nina Sibal : YATRA

Roli Books, New Delhi, 1988; Rs. 59/- pp. 324.

Reviewed by Jasbir Jain

Yatra is Nina Sibal's first novel and, as the blurb says, it is a daring and ambitious novel. Concerning itself with journeys, it does not limit itself to one generation, but goes back into the past, and encompasses not only the history of a family but also of the country. *Yatra* is a generation novel like Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* or Daphne Du Maurier's *Hungry Hill*. The writer provides a family tree in order to help the reader with the large number of characters and people. It is also a historical novel exploring the inter-connections between the past and the present, and the forces which mould individual lives. As such, beginning in 1984, it travels backwards in time to Krishna Chahal's parents and her birth; it moves further into the past through India's freedom struggle, and while tracing the family's history into the nineteenth century.

These incursions into the past are achieved through the personal memory of the characters, through impersonal narration by the writer, through an attempt to explain present events and interconnect them. The story as such is about Krishna Chahal and her mixed parentage, an Indian father and a Greek mother. The colour of her skin keeps on fluctuating between the complexions of her two parents, symbolic of the division in her character and the two forces which have gone into the making of her life After a certain point, the paternal claims and inheritance absorb her completely, subduing the maternal claims.

It is also the story of her marriage and subsequent involvement with Ranjit Dhawan who has helped her father through a crisis during the Indo-Pak war of 1971, Ranjit is later to become involved with politics in Panjab as does Gola, her brother.

Panjab has passed through several crises, where forces of loyalty have clashed with forces of betrayal. It has its own tales of courage and valour, of strength and weakness, of women being sacrificed to the greed of their men, or their political concerns. Swaranjit Kaur, one of Krishna's ancestors, had been deprived both of her property and her place in the family by her brother's family. Similarly, Poonam helps her brother with his political activities and finally dies in a bomb blast. Non-violence and violence are interlaced in the novel, as they are in India's history. It is Poonam's death which turns her husband Satinder towards non-violence.

The novel has several interesting insights, and is earthy and realistic in its approach to the past. There is no attempt at glorifying the past or human nature. It may well be viewed as the first novel of its kind, for while Indian fiction in English can boast of political and social novels, it has none with similar historical dimensions. But the canvas is too crowded, and the events are at times rapidly skimmed over, characters remain names and do not become persons. Even Krishna Chahal does not fully come into her own. At times, the writer feels compelled to comment openly and obtrusively on the darkening complexion of the central character, and the ominous presence of the heavy-breasted women used as a recurring betrayal figure.

The journeys — Krishna's, Gola's, Swaranjit Kaur's, Poonam's, Ranjit's, Sonia's, Paramjit's - are all contributory journeys to the journey towards self-analysis. *Yatra* is a daring first novel, strikes new ground, but the densely populated novel perhaps needed a little more space to avoid being so overcrowded. Its strongest point becomes, not the quest or the journey, but the political divisions and intrigues which act as setbacks, the human jealousies, and betrayals which lead to dissensions; the complexity of human emotions which pull the individual towards various directions.

The local colour comes through strongly with rustic struggle, its peasant background, the strong emotions with all their rough and unrefined undercurrents, the harsh nomadic law. At one level, the characters in the story remain travellers as they travel from Kohat and Gujarat towards Chandigarh, Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay. Their journey changes them from the 'frontier people' to inland population, just as Sonia, the islander, is absorbed into their life. There is truth in this analysis, and a great deal of self-questioning. But some of it gets lost in the overpopulated world of *Yatra*.

Prof. Jasbir Jain is Head of the English Deptt. University of Rajasthan.

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A SEMINAR ON RADHAKRISHNAN

Thanks to the initiative of Dr. Janaki and her colleagues of the *Samskrita Ranga*, there was an enjoyable cultural programme — the staging of the late **Dr V. Raghavan's** allegorical farce, *VIMUKTI*. Also devotional music by **Mani Krishnaswamij**

An interesting highlight towards the end of the Seminar was the appearance on the dais, by general request, of **Dr. S. Gopal**, son and biographer of Radhakrishnan. He gave delightful sidelights of the friendly personal relations of the Indian Idealist Philosopher, while at Oxford, with A. J. Ayer, the youthful exemplar of the analytic school of European philosophy and Bertrand Russell, the older thinker, who described himself as "the Passionate Sceptic".

Dr D. Anjaneyulu, author-journalist, is Associate Editor of TRIVENI (Quarterly) a columnist with the HINDU (Madras), President, Madras Press Club and Joint Convener, Author's Guild of India (Madras Chapter).

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AUROVILLE—The Concept & Controversies

N. K. Singhi : TOWARDS THEORY OF ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

Rawat Publications, Jaipur, 1987 pp. 241, Rs. 140/-

Reviewed by B. K. Nagla

Sociological theories generally tend to be empirical and analytical. The dominance of positivistic paradigm has led to a neglect of construction of normatives theories. The humanistic trend on society, did concern itself with the problematic issues and provided solutions at specific levels, but a wider perspective for changing the total society and its logical basis was hardly attempted.

A FREE, EQUAL & JUST SOCIETY

The book under review aims at providing a construct of "alternative society", which envisages freedom for individual and collective life. The writings of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, make up the focal theme of this study.

The author discusses the nature of human development in the evolutionary process. It is viewed that, at present, mankind is engaged in all types of conflicts, competitions and violence. The unity of man can only be realized through the acts of "the divinity in man". This is an essential dimension of faith which man must agree to realize. Such faith in the past has been the dictum of religions. But Sri Aurobindo has widened this notion with a spititual religion of humanity, which is the hope of the future development.

The theoretical perspective of the vision of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother provides an alternative construct of society based on spiritual foundation encompassing the components of freedom, equality, non-possession and cultural plurality, and leading to a non-exploitative and just society oriented to its future. The theoretical discourse of this chapter leads towards a Theory of an Alternative Society and its application aims at the Project of Auroville.

A DREAM IS BORN

One hundred and twenty four children from different countries — all member states of the United Nation Organisation — placed a handful of soil from their respective motherlands into a marble Urn. With this symbolic gesture of international harmony, a dream was born in February 1983, on the Coromandal coast of Tamil Nadu, very close to the Union territory of Pondicherry. A dream of universal brotherhood : the founding of a township where people of different nationalities would live together in peace and harmony, transcending barriers of colour, caste, creed, politics and nationalities. The dream was called Auroville.

Auroville was the brainchild of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. Aurobindo believed in the process of evolution; and he was convinced that man was not the ultimate product of the process. Therefore, he felt the urge and the need to attain a "supra mental" level. It was towards this goal that Aurobindo worked. Though he could not complete the task in his life time, he had prepared the ground. After his death (in 1950), his work was continued by Mirra Alfassa, a French disciple and intimate associate of Aurobindo, referred to by Aurobindo and his followers as 'The Mother'. In 1956, she started a society called the Sri Aurobindo Society (SAS) to translate her vision into reality. The SAS was registered on September 24, 1960 in Calcutta. Auroville came into existence in 1964 and was formally inaugurated in 1968. It was intended to be a cradle for the "super man", self-sufficient in every respect—an experiment for the evolution of a new human race combining human unity with an international character.

TRANSFORMING CONSCIOUSNESS

Sri Aurobindo and the Mother emphasized the need for the transformation of consciousness at the level of collectivity. The advent of supermental consciousness is the basic tenet of Sri Aurobindo's philosophy and the starting point of the transformation of consciousness. The establishment of Auroville is a part of the same vision of transmission. Therefore, Auroville incorporates the element of spirituality as the basis, and the structural, cultural and personality aspects as sub-systems of the broader spiritual system. The basic postulates of an alternative society conceived of by the Mother are based on an integrated perspective of the individual and social life with a focus on the transcendental spiritual. Thus Auroville is a model of an alternative society and reveals the creative genius of its visionary. Auroville is a project of applied and integrated research aiming at the realization of an idea: human relationship and spiritualized society as an alternative to the predominantly material-economic society of the present time.

TWENTY YEARS LATER

The conception (of Auroville) was based on spiritual philosophy which is an ideal utopian model. After twenty years of its existence, Auroville could not escape from the controversies because of loss of spiritual faith among the Auroville people, who divided themselves into several factions to control this unique institution. It has been reported in daily and weekly newspapers that Auroville is a utopia gone to waste. Even during the life-time of the Mother, the commune was slowly drifting away from its lofty ideals. Matters degenerated to such an extent that the Mother was forced to publically condemn the state of affairs (see *The Illustrated Weekly of India, May 22, 1988, 26-27*).

(Continued on page 215)

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IN SEARCH OF AN ASIAN HERITAGE

SELECTED LETTERS OF ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

Edited by Alvin Moore & Rama Poonambulam

Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts & Oxford University Press, New Delhi 480; Rs. 250/-

Comment by Ram Dhamija

Selected Letters of Ananda Coomaraswamy begins a new series of books on the collected works of this celebrated scholar and art historian, thematically arranged, where possible with the author's own revisions. The entire set of these projected books would be central to the Indira Gandhi Centre's third programme in its Division of Textual Research and Publication called by the name of *Kala Kosa*.

The rationale for this programme is provided by the Member-Secretary of the Institution, Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, in the Introduction :

"In the later half of the 19th century and the early 20th century, scholars from all parts of the world were drawn to the Asian heritage. Some excavated; others brought to light primary textual material; and a third group dwelled upon fundamental concepts, identified perennial sources, and created bridges of communication by juxtaposing diverse traditions. They were the pathfinders; they drew attention to the unity and wholeness of life behind manifestations and process Cutting across sectarian concerns, religious dogma and conventional notions of the spiritual East and materialist West, of monotheism and polytheism, they were responsible for laying the foundation of a new approach to Indian and Asian Art. Their work is of contemporary relevance and validity for the East and West. Restless and unsatisfied with fragmentation, there is a search for roots and comprehension, perception and experience of the whole. Seminars on renewal, regeneration and beginnings have been held The time is ripe to bring the work of these early torchbearers to the attention of future generations. The name of Coomaraswamy is foremost among these pathfinders—for the expanse of his grasp, the depth of his insights and for their validity today".

This vast and rich collection of letters spreads over four hundred and fifty pages. The editors thought they could divide these letters into four categories; those dealing with evaluation and enquiries about works of art; those responding to or dealing with philosophical or metaphysical issues; those written to the *New England Weekly Journal*; and fourth, a handful of brief personal notes to his mother, wife or children.

The editors' task of selection and arranging the sequence was fairly simple. All the available letters, either original or carbon copies, were read and classfied under major topics of discussion. These subgroups were weeded out to avoid excessive length and repetition. The end result is some 400 letters, which can truly be said to be characteristic.

Each of these letters is a sort of 'mini—essay' put forth in direct, no-nonsense language clarifying issues and questions raised by the correspondent. The calibre and the range of scholarship as an art historian, metaphysician leaves a stamp in every one of them, even those written to the younger generation in answering their queries on matters of personal doubt.

The editors' claim that those who would seek an introduction to the writings of Ananda Coomaraswamy could do no better than to start with this book is legitimate. I fully endorse it.

It is such a pity that they could not lay their hands on at least some of the letters of Coomaraswamy's correspondents to be put together with the Coomaraswamy pieces to make for even livelier reading.

The production is competent and workman-like. No waste of costly art-paper. No fancy binding. As such the price of Rs. 250/- seems to be on the high side—probably a concession to the commercial co-publishers. The Indira Gandhi Centre could have resisted such pressure, if there was any. The considerations which make this a valid publication venture for the Indira Gandhi Centre are not considerations of profit that make the central focus for commercial publishers these days.

Dr. Ram Dhamija is a well-known journalist, editor and art critic. This short comment has been gratefully reproduced from the August 1989 issue of the New Delhi monthly' Indian and World Arts & Crafts.—Editors

(*From page 214*) **AUROVILLE**

But the author has not analysed the causes of con-troversies. He has viewed that the controversies over Auroville are altogether different issues, but what is important and exciting is the conception and execution of a brilliant idea which, if and when realized, shall revolutionize both man and society.

Given the contemporary global crisis and ability of man to achieve marvels in technology, the vision of alternative society is an urgent need of our time. The theory needs to be further explicated, debated and refined. The book is interesting and rewarding on the whole, and useful to those people who may have lost their faith in the materialistic world

Dr. B. K. Nagla is Reader & Head, Dept. of Sociology, M. D. University, Rohtak-124001 (Haryana).

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TALES by A CARTOONIST

R. K. Laxman : THE HOTEL RIVIERA

Penguin, (1988) **Reviewed by R. K. Kaul**

Almost every Indian who can read English is familiar with Laxman, the cartoonist and the illustrator of his brother's books (and TV serials). The two brothers have acquired a legendary reputation.

The volume consists of three very short stories by R. K. Laxman published earlier in 1982, and a novelette (about 140 pages) published in 1969 under the title *Sorry, No Room*. In its new format, *The Hotel Riviera* deserves a fresh review.

R. K. Laxman informs us in the Preface that he studied through the medium of Kannada. Implication: English is his *second* language. He also tells us that, in his family, he grew up under the shadow of his more illustrious brother, R. K Narayan.

But is Laxman a master of the art of story-telling like his brother ?

The story of the novellette is built round two intrigues. The main plot is about the antagonism between the Manager of the hotel and Rao, the receptionist. As the novel progresses, the accountant, the clerk, Francis the the lift boy, and finally the cook and his assistants gang up against the Manager, who turns a paranoic.

ABOUT INTRIGUES & A TIMID INFATUATION

The decisive change in the balance of power is brought about by the Manager's infatuation with Sabitha Rao, a courtesan, who keeps up the appearance of running a laundry service at the hotel. The Manager is too timid to approach her directly. So he seeks the spiritual aid of a Swami in promoting his cause. The irony is that he is too shy to acquaint the Swami with his emotional state.

The story is told by one of the inmates of the hotel, who is a confidant of the Manager. Although his job is to survey the market for synthetic rubber, his eye is the eye of Laxman the cartoonist. The first time he sees Rao, the observation is recorded in the following manner : "His eyes, brows, nose, moustaches and lips were gathered in a small space leaving large areas of after-shave green all over his face". *(p. 22)*

COMIC EFFECTS

Quite often, the comic effect is achieved through exaggeration : "...the hot water geyser in the bathroom which did not function most days, but when it did, poured out water so hot that it virtually disappeared as steam before it touched the tub." *(p. 27)*

But not all such strokes are owing to Laxman's training as a cartoonist. Some of the comparisons appear to have been improvised for the occasion : "We fought and shouted till our eyes bulged and veins stood out like dry twigs on our faces and necks." *(p. 38)* and again : "But Rao cannot make out a diamond from a broken piece of soda water bottle." *(p. 103)*.

HUMOUR

Nor is the humour deficient in verbal ingenuity. About Sabitha's family home, the observation is: "The little house adjusting itself obligingly to the irresponsibilities of the ancient house-builders." *(p. 47)*. "The men-folk in the family "did not make a great deal of money but the income was enough to live on, contentedly on credit." *(p. 47)*

Laxman's perception of the incongruous is very similar to R. K. Narayan's. Some of the wit revealed in the epigrams is also similar. Unfortunately, the resemblance ends there. Laxman lacks the narrative talent. Compare, for example, the role of the narrator in *The Hotel Riviera* with that of the narrator in Narayan's *Talkative Man* (1986). When we look at Dr. Rann, the bogus U. N. specialist, through the eyes of the narrator, he immediately comes to life. So does Sarasa who claims to be his wife. The Manager in Laxman's novel, on the other hand, does not involve us in his emotional situation. The laundress Sabitha remains a shadowy figure.

Only in the short stories, and especially "*The Golden Frame*", does Laxman display some of his brother's narrative genius.

SOME LAPSES BUT GOOD SOCIAL DOCUMENTION

Some clumsy expresssions stand out in an otherwise well-written novel. Consider for example, "I began to crumble under the dead weight of his enormous obstinacy." (*p 140*) Even when the language does not creak, it often sounds common, For example, the Swamiji is said to look like "a picturesque Oriental curio in an antique shop." (*p. 41*). It is unnecessary to point out lapses such as 'boarding' (*p. 30*) for "board" (in the expression "board and lodging") because they are now almost universal in Indian English.

For purposes of social documentation, the novelette could provide a useful source. Describing the partition, there is a colourful vignette, "A young man was pushing a bicycle with an upturned rope cot tied to its entire length, which he had loaded with trunks, rolls of bedding, framed pictures, and a gramophone complete with its tin amplifier in floral bloom". *(p. 50)*. Such pictures again reveal the visual sharpness of Laxman the cartoonist.

Dr. R. K. Kaul, retired Professor and former Head of English Deptt., University of Rajasthan, Jaipur, is now an Emeritus Fellow at the University.

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AN "INDIAN" SCIENCE FICTION

Jayant V. Narlikar : THE RETURN OF VAMAN

Ravi Dayal Publications, Delhi, (1989) pp. 122, Rs. 55/-

Reviewed by Sanjeev Mishra

With a scientist as eminent as Dr. Jayant Vishnu Narlikar, one easily associates the qualities of a genius : imagination, accuracy and thoroughness ! But, if with that, he also happens to be a sensitive person, well-grounded in culture and science, with a facile pen and rich expression, you have all the makings of an author to be reckoned with.

So when you pick up a book, be it fiction, by Narlikar, you can rest assured, it would be anything but mediocre. His latest '*The Return of Vaman*' is yet another contribution to his list of very original, very Indian Sci-fi's.

There is nothing new about its theme. It is perhaps the most relished themes of Sci-fi authors the world over, that is Von Nehmann's Theory of auto-reproductive machines. For a long time now, many writers have presented it in various imaginary situations; but in the true Indian tradition of story-telli ig, Narlikar tells this old tale in a new style. It is not the tale, however, but the telling of it that makes it interest -ing and important.

TIME CAPSULE & ROBOT

The story begins with some Indian scientists find -ing a cube while digging for some scientific experiment in South India. The cube turns out to be some kind of a "time capsule" placed deep in earth by a bygone civilization. It contains the secret of making a thinking Robot, more advanced than the existing computers. Despite strict security measures, the news travels fast across the continents.

The Government deploys brilliant scholars and scientists to decipher the information contained in the container, and also deputes competent security men to guard the secret and the site where the unearthed knowledge is being put to use At the same time, multinational companies set about to prey for the secret. Thus starts a drama full of espionage, treason and desperate men. Also a chain of events that move through realms of scientific theories, red-tape, drudgeries and underworld operatives.

DESI FEATURES

Narlikar's style has some distinct features. Foremost is the 'Indianness' of his framework. To present the highly scientific atmosphere, he does not go to the international scientific scene. His scientists remain very Indian, in Indian settings, and so do all the other characters who, despite their '*desiness*', do not hamper the Sci-fi tempo of the novel.

The story proceeds with a swiftness characteristic of the master craftsmen of the field, inter-mingled with crime, suspense and treachery, which gives it a thriller speed on one hand, and some interesting pieces of scientific information that goes a long way to educate the reader, on the other. Narlikar uses images from traditional Indian narrations and religious classics to elaborate his points, and gives much delight to the reader with his extensive knowledge of diverse fields of Indian mythology, music, crime-thrillers *et al.* He is, in fact, a good example of what basic education in the mother-tongue or a vernacular language can do.

HIS LANGUAGE, HUMOUR & SATIRE

The Return of Vaman is perhaps his first fiction in English, though he has earlier written stories in Hindi and Marathi, which have been eagerly read. One striking quality of his writing is his accuracy or exactness of language It is with an almost mathematical precision that he uses his words, in his Hindi fiction, and the distinctive flavour of this language in *The Return of Vaman* comes from the mixture of this accuracy and Indian speech rhythms *a la* R. K. Narayan, which further establishes his fiction on home grounds.

Added to all this is his sense of humour, which is the hall-mark of his genius. The way he deals with the descriptions of the working of the Indian bureaucracy is impressive. Intentioned or not, to this reviewer, the whole novel, at one point appeared to be a satirical metaphor of the bureaucracy, where "the created' become 'the creator', and starts ruling and dictating to others in its own interest "

In all, the book is a highly readable blend of the intellectual and entertaining elements.

Sanjeev Misra is a young journalist of Jaipur.

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[– *Eds*

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THE WORLD OF GHOSTS

Roald Dahl's : BOOK OF GHOST STORIES

Penguins (1985, 1986, 1987) pp. 249.

Comment by Madhu Singh

I picked up Roald Dahl's "*Kiss Kiss*" in Canada in 1975, and was immediately hooked on to him. So I read "*Over to You*" and "*Switch Bitch*" in rapid succession. Back in India, I discovered that he was unknown and not available in the book stores. I used him in my psychology class; adopted one of his stories for a class play; and for many years, kept a look-out for his books, and then forgot about him. Recently, browsing through a book-store, I came across a number of his books and picked them up.

So it was with a keen sense of anticipation that I sat down to read this book. I am not a fan of ghost stories, but the Roald Dahl label promised more than just the macabre to me. It was with terror that I read the small print and realized that I had been cheated, for he was not the author. He had only selected the stories. I almost put the book away, but then such is my fascination with this author's twisted imagination that I decided to see who and what he could have selected, and my faith in him was resurrected.

GHOST STORIES ARE DIFFERENT

Roald Dahl got into this project in 1958, when he set out to choose fourteen stories for a proposed television series. He read seven hundred and forty-nine ghost stories, and found that he was reading "rubbish". This is exactly my opinion about the ghost stories I had read in my formative years, before I gave up reading ghost stories altogether. I started with "*Count Dracula*", which I managed despite its stilted style in patches to give me a few nightmares, which is the purpose of a ghost story. Then I read Edgar Allen Poe, Somerset, Guy de Maupassant, Nathaniel Hawthorne and many others. Except for a few stories like "*The Pit*" and "*The Hand*", most of them left me unmoved. A ghost story should make you tingle, make your skin crawl, give you the creeps and, best of all, make you afraid to switch the light off. If you are not disturbed, the author has failed.

Here, I would like to make a distinction between horror stories and ghost stories. The horror stories and movies, which are very popular to-day, rely largely on posession by the Devil in his many forms (Egyptian, Eastern, Western and what have you). Of these, "*Rosemary's Baby*" is my all-time favourite, though the "*Exorcist*" was righly rated and spawned many more of a like nature. The ghost story is more subtle; it depends on the atmosphere; the creation of an aura of incipient danger, a presence that is felt by the senses, but rarely seen; a heightening of acuity and preception. Thus, it calls upon a greater talent in the writer.

Dahl observes that women writers seem to excel in this art, not that the men lag behind. It is simple to let the imagination take the wildest, most outrageous possibilities than to create in an ordinary, everyday situation, a simple ghost, whether benevolent or malignant.

THE COLLECTION

In this collection of fourteen stories, about half the number are based in the traditional spooky places; the Jacobean manor, the East Anglia country-side inn, the antique shop, the steamer etc.; but surprisingly, the other half are in the most mundane of situations where one would least expect a ghost to manifest itself. It is one of these, "*Harry*", which to my mind, is the best. Can you imagine a sunny day and a garden with white roses to evoke a ghost ? There is one, and it gives you the shivers Another unforgettable one is "*Playmates*" by A. M. Burrage, which ends with an old man standing in an empty, dusty room, with only a flag of moonlight through a barred window, stretching out his hands and whispering "Children! Children !"

Dahl's favourite is "*Elias and the Drang*" by Jonas Lie. The atmosphere of the Norwegian sea does not spook me; perhaps it is a question of cultural exposure and ethics. Fear is a very personal thing, and our responses are individually conditioned. For me, the spiritual crises in the "*Telephone*" and the "*Sweeper*" are more poignant and real. If one cannot relate to the situation, or believe that it is possible and could happen to you, one cannot be truly frightened. "*The Upper Berth*" creates terror by actually trucking a drowned body, but even more horrible is "*Ringing the Changes*".

A.M. Burrage and Rosemary Timperley come out winners in this selection. This anthology by Roald Dahl updates readers of ghost stories. Most of them are short and in the genre of modern short stories. "*The Ghost of a Hand*" is in the style of Poe and Hawthrone. I cannot say: 'if you are faint-hearted don't read these on a stormy dark night', but certainly, you can't read them all together. They are tantalizing; and you have to savour them, taste them and enjoy their bouquet just like a good wine.

Dr. Madhu Singh, a one-time Lecturer in Psychology at Sophia College, Ajmer, and Jesus and Mary College, New Delhi, is now based in Dehra Dun.

AS THE YEAR-END DRAWS NEAR, MAY WE REMIND AND URGE OUR SUBSCRIBERS TO RENEW THEIR SUBSCRIPTIONS. *(@ Rs. 72/- p. a , plus Rs 3/- for postage from January, 1990)* —*Ex. Editor*

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OF NATURE, LIFE & PEOPLE

M. A. Nare : VISIONS AND VOICES

Published by Mrs. Madhuri Nare VMV, Amravati (MS) 1989, Price Rs. 25 p. p. 32+xiv

Reviewed by Susheel Kumar Sharma

Visions and Voices is the first collection of poems in English by a Marathi-speaking poet who teaches English at the Government P. G. College, Vidarbha Mahavidyalay, Amravati. Most poems have already appeared in several anthologies and literary journals.

The collection gives the impression of the poet's close observation of real life without any loss of poetic sensibilities. Of the twenty-seven poems, ten are exclusively devoted to nature and its description. Others include poet's observation of the *real life* of a metropolitan city like Bombay.

NATURE

The nature poems reveal a concern or *shradha* for objects of nature. Nare makes it explicit that, by changing and crushing nature, man cannot become, and be called, civilized. An example from '*Trees*' will illustrate the poet's concern for ecological problems which are the creation of man himself :

Trees that hold the burning Sun
on their heads
to protect us like babes
sleeping in the cradles
are those we mostly neglect
...
We must start building
an Ark like Noah's
selecting the best wood
from the trees of the world
before the great flood of lava
carries us to the dark
sea of nothingness.

BOMBAY LIFE

The Bombay poems make it clear that the poet was initially fascinated by Bombay life, because he saw only its glittering surface which was full of glimmers. But soon he was exposed to the real situations, which "made (his) heart bleed" (*The Skyscrapers*) The poet realizes that in the basement of high buildings lie the poor and downtrodden, buried. People in Nare's Bombay have lost all their sensibilities and become just 'mechanical' to carry out their daily routine and fill up their bellies. That explains the behaviour of the "butcher-priests" — '*In Bombay Fish Market*" and of "the wife and friends" — in '*The Skyscrapers*'. A man who sees corruption all around in disgust, has to cry for "a deathwish like Sita" ('*In the Bombay Mint*'). This disgust grows in him because he finds himself to be helpless – unable to change the system, and therefore, he has only to wait "Till the last citizen of the world is roasted like Joan" (*In Bombay Fish Market*).

SATIRE

The poet is very critical of some of the prevailing social customs, traditions and superstitions. He makes them objects of his satire in poems like '*Women with Cows*', '*These Herons*', '*To Eklavya*', '*The Path*'. In '*These Herons*' the poet censures the Sadhus for their ego, which finds reflection in their safforn flags. He declares explicitly '*To Eklavya*' that in the name of tradition, cheating is being done:

Your willing sacrifice
to humour your Guru's words
will, forever, remind the world
of the cruel, cunning craft
of exploiting the innocent
under the guise of Traditions.

In '*The Path*', the poet satirises man's love of the past, and for the future, but his carelessness for the present.

'*Honeymoon*' is a poem written from the male point of view, and reveals that time is the greatest test of anything. Interestingly enough, the poem has the same theme, images and even locale as is there in Shiv K. Kumar's '*Eclipse at Noon*'. In several other poems too, sex-life has been dealt with, but it has never become sensual.

ALIENATION

A sense of desolation, maladjustment and alienation pervades almost all through Nare's poems. '*Mrs. Snowball*', '*Honey-Moon*', '*The Cry a Street Play*', '*The Sleeping Buddha*' are good examples All is not right with Nare's world; that is why in '*The Sleeping Buddha*', the poet asks the question "Will Ananda's weeping at his feet, /For centuries/ Go in vain ?" However, poems like '*Spring*' and '*The Palms*' have a note of optimism in them. In poems like '*Beggar's Plea*' and '*To Eklavya*', a voice has been raised against exploitation. But at the most, the poet only highlights the malpractices, evils and dead social customs; he does not offer solutions. In many other poems, the poet is haunted by a sense of loss which cannot be made up, and has a certain feeling that the past is alive even in his present Poems like '*On My Father's Death*', '*Time Bird*', '*The Pearls*' fall in this category.

Nature, for Nare, is not all calm and soothing, but is devastating too, as in '*The Flood*'. The poem may as well be interpreted at the level of a "Lover-Beloved" relationship. '*Sweet Apple*' is another poem in which love scenes have been depicted through nature imagery.

IMAGES

The poet has tried to make experiments with images. '*These Herons*', '*The Flood*', '*King Fisher*',

(*Continued on page 221*)

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AN ORIYA POET with EROTIC IMAGERY

Laxmi Narayan Mahapatra : THE NIGHT WITHOUT MOON AND OTHER POEMS

Samakaleen Prakashan, New Delhi, Pp. 80
Rs 30/- (Hard bound), Rs. 20/- (Paperback)

Reviewed by R. K. Singh

Laxmi Narayan Mahapatra, as a ' seeker-poet" aware of his "multi-dimensional self ", tends to mix energy, delicacy, metaphysics and grave reflection to transform his impassioned quest into dream. In his fifth collection of poems, *The Night Without Moon and Other Poems,* he celebrates life and creation with 'raptures of lust". The volume, as skilled in its thought as in its verse, demonstrates the poet's aesthetic of sex, and provides a rational schemata for what is essentially truth and beauty.

TOWARDS A RAPTURE OF DREAMS

Poetry, as Mahapatra's epistemology, is a means to transcend the appearances to discover how the world is in itself, just as his view of the world is fixed by his peculiar manner of interaction with it. As a searcher "under the layers of time", he tries to absorb the fragile harmony of the human body into the boundless harmony of the universe, just as he tries to use sex imagery to enforce intimacy and community between the male and the female, on the one hand, and man and nature on the other. It is as part of a spiritual struggle for a balanced and harmonised life against, what he calls, "frosted silence" of Time (*p. 77*) that his thoughts dance on body rhythm to "molest the blue of space (*p. 61*), just as his rapturous relapse into the erotics of lips and hips are bassically to evoke 'silence' and 'stillness' for his personal 'world' to bloom ' into a rapture of dreams" (*p. 54*).

The twenty-seven poems originally published in Oriya and presented in their English projections by the poet in collaboration with Prof. Asit with an 8-page Foreword by A. Russell, testify to the poet conceiving his own mind as a possible form of consciousness and expressing his poetic responses. Howsoever personal or private, Mahapatra seems to form a point of view, which may appear different; he presents feelings and experiences, or philosophically *facts*, which turn subjective and part of a specific point of view within the structure of his verses.

EROTIC ... YET AN INDIAN QUEST

His erotic imagery and metaphors of sex may or may not have 'truth value', but they disclose the world in a certain way. His quest through the erotic and sexual, is essentially Indian. In India, sex has been metaphysically serious, and never something inhibited by false shame (as numerous surviving fragments of sculptures, wall paintings, carvings and paintings would testify). The aesthetic and the erotic have been closely identified in the Indian imagination. Sexual love, in all its physicality, was taken as a means of access to the realm of psyche, where human and divine meet and the higher self, transcending ego, flowers. Sexual imagery has been traditionally woven as metaphor in the strands of thought, just as divine presence has been associated with the sense of deep sexual arousal.

Mahapatra is in the forefront of poets who are engaged in reviving the ancient Indian tradition and attitude toward sex that encouraged ordinary men and women to discover a more modest and metaphorical reflection of cosmic harmony. Through poetry, he is fighting a "primitive fear" (*p. 37*) that keeps the "door" of the body locked against "a naked stillness/ of void" (*p. 39*). His emotions are upset when he discovers that "she has vanished". When he does not feel her hand over his body, he introspects: "Where am I ? What is me" (*p. 40*). "She" thus becomes both the female sex and feminine awareness, the spiritual *Prakriti*-principle in existence.

WHERE THE PHYSICAL & DIVINE MEET

It is through the physical body that he seeks to know the world, and through its subtle exploitation; apparently conveying what it feels like to be filled with passion and desire, he tries to reach the limitless realm where human and divide meet. The poet is aware of the realities of sex and sex experiences that have provided mankind with very important components of meaning.

Mahapatra's eroticist wanderings in the mind, "revealing the tale/of memories of romance/ruminating in trance" (*p. 31*), might seem objectionable to a less open, conservative sensibility—for now-a-days, people tend to hide and forget the body references buried in their language—but Mahapatra wakes up those components of meaning that lie buried in our language and thought; he revitalises them in various ways. In fact, he draws attention to the essential importance of sex in one's spiritual growth. He revives the cult of pleasure for psychic progress and for transcending the lower self. He reminds his readers that even highly abstract philosophical concepts can be derived from metaphorical interpretation of physical experience.

FLESH AS A HOME OF THE DIVINE

In his thought structure, the "naked body pervades/ all moments of space" (*p. 51*), the sky enrobes it; his ego dissolves into it, he becomes formless, "and then/the supreme beauty leaps" (*p. 52*). Memory of the physical body, "solemn and serene like moon beam", traps him "in a trance" (*p. 51*).

(Contd. on opposite page)

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His conciousness transcends "all that have form and meaning" (*p. 52*). His celebration of the nude physicality is to break the barrier that obstructs his higher evolution : it is to eliminate the ego and baser elements in his consciousness that draw him to death and ignorance. The erotic stirrings are instrumental for his "dance in a trance.../in a surge of passion/and body longs to fade/in a taut embrace." *(p. 19)*.

The home of the divine, as he perceives, is "enclosed by the fleshly walls" for soul to mate with soul. In his philosophic search, woman as a female sex symbol (as also emancipator) turns into a super-natural deity, his "only prop" (*p. 23*): In poem after poem, he looks for an image of his great "lust", he searches for his soul (*p. 32*) :

The shore heaves towards the sea
seeking consummation.
This sea gets lost
in clasping you tight and loose
in his wave arms.
You pervade the distant sky
and the blue void. (*p. 53*)

His emotional thinking through sexual symbology should arouse sympathetic response from readers familiar with the culture of erotic delight. Poet Mahapatra can lead one to a state in which one is 'testing' one's whole emotional awareness. "The better the art, the more complete the experience". The sexual or erotic imagery in Mahapatra, as also in a few other current poets, should revive a reader's own memory-traces of situations and reactions to those portrayed in his verses. Sex symbolism becomes inexpressive if it loses the wealth of its references to actual experience with its delight and pain ecstasy. Memory in Mahapatra invigorates sex experiences and its associated romance :

...I can recall
all that I lived through,
memories of old,some words spoken or heard

In this rainy month of June
tha rain falls like showers of flowers
or like pollen grains on the street
rain water flows far
washing away all that meet it on its way (*p. 55*)

It helps him to re-live through the happiness that the company of his beloved once meant, just as it helps him win over the sadness that the loss of his beloved has generated.

CONVERSATIONS WITH NATURE

The poet converses with the sea, the moon, the sun, the sky, the river, the flowers, in short, with Nature, ever fresh and beautiful :

and I became a honey bee
roaming about your lips
in a ceaseless flux of human kiss. (*p. 45*)

Nature and its events as the human surrogate bring back to him "the forgotten melodies" and invite him "to a tryst that will never end" (*p. 56*), the splendours of the sky throb "with pulsations of coital surge" (*p. 57*) and he seeks "consummate joy" in what he calls "bodiless joy" of union (*p. 58* and *60*).

The sex symbols coupled with Nature provide the key to unlock the philosophy that shapes the individual personality which creates verses and, at the same time, concretises loneliness and longing, dreams and disappointments. The images of consummation of sex—his passion, obsession, and above all, a means to express experience in concrete from—are basic both to interpret experiences and resolve the apparent contraries in them. They help him reconstruct realities that have real effects on the way people act in the world. Aesthetically, he creates '*rasa*' of the Sanskrit poets which relates to 'tasting' certain conditions of delight or joy of love, just as with the rhythm of sex as part of his philosophic thinking, he tries to restore the harmony between man and nature. His poetic responses, feelings and experiences, which can be grasped by means of subjective imagination, can be assigned to sensibility rather than to logical understanding. The "silent message" (*p. 80*) of *The Night Without Moon and Other Poems* is :

Where is that green wood
Whese we lost of our way ? (*p. 75*)

The green wood is Mahapatra's *beloved*, whose company he passionately quests for. It is through the beauty in flesh, her totality of being, outer and inner, that he projects or explores his own mind, his consciousness There is a great deal here which the reader can contend with pleasure.

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(Continued from page 219)

OF NATURE, LIFE & PEOPLE

'*In The Bombay Mint*', '*The Walking Urn*' and '*The Cry a Street Play*' can be cited as examples. Being a teacher of English Literature, he is not free from the influence of English poetry. His references to King Fisher, Noah's Ark, Joan of Arc, Cleopatra, Picasso, Helen, '*Lotus Eaters*', '*Hamlet*', Jesus Christ, etc. make them difficult to comprehend for Indian readers. Phrases like 'Orpheus' lyre', 'Slumber on eternally', 'Womb of time', 'Lover's quarrel', Burning Wheel' and 'rulers came and rulers went' have the imprints of different English poets.

The poet has also given a chronology of the poems, which may serve as an aid to trace Nare's development of thoughts and ideas.

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SEPTEMBER 1939 - - -

And then, suddenly in the late summer of September, 1939, fifty years ago, the idylls of peace were disturbed all over Europe ! The last few victims of appeasement had been sacrificed to the new war-gods ! Only poor, hapless Poland was left, when the conscience of liberal Anglo-French leaders and statesmen was stirred, and would not let them be. Rather reluctantly, they declared war on Hitler, after all the assurances and appeasing gestures had failed. A divided Europe began to prepare for its eventual internecine destruction, rather than yield to the demands of *Lebenstraum–a* breathing space to be – by Nazi Germany, newly risen out of the ashes of its defeat in the First Great War and the Versailles Treaty.

EARLY VICTIMS

For the Anglo–French combine, the war began only in September 1939, though it had been in the making long, long ago, and its many full-dress rehearsals, political, ideological and military, if not fullfledged outbreaks, had been held elsewhere : in 1931–distant Manchuria (for, the forces unleashed by militarist Japan over there were, in no way, different from their counterparts in the heart of Europe) or in 1935, in Abyssinia (Fascist Italy had also wanted its colonies), and in Spain (1936-39) where the new rising power of Republicanism became an anathema to the upholders of old values and power systems. (Some called this unequal struggle as one between "comunism" and...? and what ?....)

For these weak and poor nations, victims of the lust for power and competition between the great and rising military powers, the wars had begun long ago; and the legitimate governments and the brave courageous and freedom-loving people of these nations had fought to the bitter end. The Japanese invasion of mainland China (1937) or German annexation of Sudetanland (Sept. 1938) of Austria (March 1939) and Czechoslovakia (March, 1939) and Italy's march on Albania (April, 1939) were some signposts of the gathering storm. If Europe or its dominant Anglo-French combine had thought that the war lust and the expansionism of Japan, Italy or Germany would be satisfied with the sacrifice of these and other small European countries, they were in for a rude shock, because the war which had now come to their door–steps would hence–forth engage and embroil them for 5 or 6 bloody years of blood, sweet and tears, years of untold misery, mass murder and devastation.

THE SPECTRE

Sitting behind their money–bags and the safety of the English Channel or the fortified Maginot Line, they were unshakeable; but their illusions would not last long; nor their fond dreams of a once–grandeur. According to them, and their propaganda and political machines, for twenty years or more, the "spectre of communism" had been haunting Europe; and anything, any trick or any fighting creature who could swear by "anti–communism" was good enough for them. But now, a re-awakened, fully aroused and armed Nazi Germany was to prove their nemesis, their spectre. With Poland gone and divided between Nazi Germany and Socialist Soviet Union (in an unholy pact of non–aggression) and with Norway, Belgium, Holland and France over–run, how were they to defend themselves or their empires beyond the seas ?

Europe soon lay prostrate under the iron heels– blitzkrieged, out–flanked and out–manouvered, jack–booted and goose–stepped into submission. Soon the toruture chambers, the extermination camps and mass acts of genocide, air raids, carpet bombing and flying rockets would be witnessed, to crush for ever the liberal, democratic and cultural spirit of Europe. Was all this fore–seen and anticipated in the fading summer of 1939 ?

ACROSS THE OCEAN

Across the wide Atlantic Ocean, the United States of America was mostly undisturbed and unconcerned, except as an "arsenal of democracy." Its mighty dollar, shaken ten years ago, had been making its slow recovery, under the healing touch of Roosevelt's *New Deal*; and as the European war would progress, with US trade and aid being stepped up, the American economy would become stronger than ever before, and by the end of the world conflagration, the strongest of all in the world. But who could see that scenario at that time ? The US administration and the Wall Street were still in their "isolationist" stance; and the US was indeed a haven of peace, still a land of refuge and shelter for those lured or driven away from Europe, with opportunities for all. If only it could stay that way ! The rude shock came later, administered by the adventurous commanders and soldiers of the Empire of the Rising Sun at Pearl Harbour. America was also dragged into a war it did not want, did not anticipate and had not prepared for (or at least, not fully).

That was only a few months after Hitler had launched his all–out and no–holds–barred invasion of the Soviet Union. The world, at least a greater portion of it, including the colonies and empires of the various contenders, which had been dragged in willy–nilly, was now involved in the biggest and perhaps the worst–ever conflagration, a civil war on the world scale, in fact a war against peaceful and unarmed civilians of all ranks, and a devastating, long drawn–out struggle to the bitter end, until victory of one side or the other could be final and assured. There were left only a few "neutral" countries and a few areas which did not become actual theatres of war operations or battle fields—among the many areas or reagions left comparatively unscathed, most were being used as grounds for war preparations, for war–time production, stock–piling of weapons and other essentials and as launching pads.

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A HARD TIME OF CHANGE

For the entire world, this meant a big change-over, a hard time of trial, tribulation and transition. Not many knew what the future held in store for them except perhaps the dreamers and the visionaries or the militarists and the politicians backed by their supporting merchants of war, who all had their own plans and aspirations. But there is no denying the fact, that out of that dark and bitter period of struggle and sacrifice, trial and tribulation - blood, sweet and tears, as Churchill had said—millions of enslaved, down-trodden and long-ignored people had to wi n and realise their dreams and passions for freedom.

Few enslaved people could dare to realise these dreams during the war; but immediately afterwards, there was no holding back the people of the colonies and the empires, though many of them had to wage bitter struggles, including armed struggles, for their eventual emancipation. Thus, in a manner of speaking (and though not intended as such) the Second World War became a struggle for people's freedom, the eventual harbinger, herald or nursemaid of freedom in many parts of the world, and the end of empires and their colonies. But, oh what heavy price had to be paid for human freedom, not only in Europe, but elsewhere too ! It was a precious gift, very precious, this boon of freedom ! If only we realise that !

IN INDIA : A POET PROTESTS

For us in India, or the generation that was there then, the war in Europe was a distant war. Only faint echoes of the war drums and the booms of guns or the goose-stepping march of iron-heels and jack-boots could be heard in New Delhi, and much less in the remote hamlets. Yet, we were lucky to have among us, great seers and philosophers and patriots. Poets like Rabindranath Tagore whose heart had cried out in anguish when Mussolini's marauders had descended on helpless and unarmed Abbyssinia (Ethiopia) as he addressed himself to the wounded soul of Africa, indeed the humanity at large :

"
With mantraps stole upon you those hunters
whose fierceness was keener than the fangs
of your wolves
whose pride was blinder than your blighted forests...
You wept and your cry was smothered,
Your forest trails became muddy with tears and blood,
while the nailed boots of the robbers
left their indelible prints along the history of
... your indignity
And all the time across the sea,
church bells were ringing in their towns and villages,
the children were lulled in their mothers' arms.
and poets sang to Beauty. "

(Did not Ernest Hemingway have to remind the world of what was at stake, when in the saga of the Spanish Civil War, he posed the biblical question, "*For Whom The Bell Tolls* ?")

- - - SEPETMBER 1939

Tagore was also touched to the core of his being, when Hitler's hordes had descended on Czechoslovakia. There was acute pain and agony in the poem he wrote on the Christmas Day of 1939 :

"
Those who struck him once
in the name of their rulers
are born again in the present age,
They gather in their prayer-halls in a pious garb
...
They call their soldiers,
"Kill, Kill" they shout;
in their roaring mingles,
the music of their hymns,
while the Son of Man
in his agony prays
"Oh God, fling, fling, far way
this cup filled with the bitteress of poisons...."

Yet again, on the New Year Day (according to the Bengali calender) April 14, 1941, the poet's cry poured forth, his "testament of faith"—in the form of his note entitled "*Crisis in Civilisation*"—*Sabhyatar Sankat*, expressing first his admiration and then disillusionment with the "radical liberalism" of the West, extending beyond frontiers, but mixed up with "the cynical disregard by the British rulers" in India, the "pride of western civilisation" as against "the stark misery" which the British might leave behind, if and when they would depart. That was not the voice of a poet laureate, but the voice of undefeated and resurgent India, and of humanity, which Tagore raised even in his last, fading moments of glory !

OTHER VOICES

There were others too, both young in spirit and wise in age, but restless and impatient, full of militancy, men like Subhash Chandra Bose and his like, and the congress socialists or the communists, and above all, Jawaharlal Nehru who, in more than one way, then represented the young voice of India. And there was Gandhi - the pacifist, the apostle of non-violence, the moralist and the Mahatma ! Between them they could not make up their minds, what the war in Europe was about ? And what it meant to India ? Political India was in a dilemma.

During the late twenties and thirties, the Indian National Congress and other sections of enlightened public opinion had been initiated to a "nationalist" view of the world from the Indian angle ! Yet its bias was towards humanism, universalism and internationalism, though it had its own political connotations. Above all, it was being appreciated, largely because of Nehru's speeches and writings (*The Glimpses of World History*, in particular) that India was not alone in its struggle; and that all the world over, widespread movements were afoot for the liberation of mankind. Resolutions of sympathy and support for the victims of the war lust had been adopted at various public forums.

(Continued on last page–Inside Cover)

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A STORY OF FAITH & COURAGE

Benazir Bhutto : DAUGHTER OF THE EAST

Hamish Hamilton, London (1988) Pp. 333

Reviewed by Manju Rao

Benazir Bhutto describes herself as the *Daughter of the East*. A reading of this book entitles her to be called—"The *Brave* Daughter of the East.

She has suffered much during her young life. The way she responded to the challenges following the 'hijacking' of the Government of Pakistan by General Zia-ul-Haq certainly calls for admiration. She acknowledges that the audacity and courage which she was able to summon to meet these challenges came to her from the teachings of her father in her formative years.

A BRAVE ONE FROM LARKANA

The Bhuttos of Larkana are one of the premier families of Pakistan. They have owned vast tracts of land in Upper Sindh. Her grand-father, Sir Shah Nawaz, was a 'progressive' landlord. He educated his children, even sending his daughter to school, an act which was considered scandalous by the other feudal barons. By educating his own children, Sir Shah Nawaz tried to set an example for the Sindhi landed gentry. Despite the raised eye-brows of his peers, he sent his son, Zulfikar Ali abroad to study.

Benazir's mother was the daughter of an Iranian business-man who had gone to college and even served as an officer in the National Guard, para-military force, after the birth of Pakistan.

EARLY SCHOOLING & AWAKENING

In such an enlightened and *avante garde* family was born Benazir, the eldest of four children, at Karachi on June 21, 1953. At the age of 3, she was sent to a nursery school; then at the age of 5, she went to the Convent of Jesus and Mary at Karachi. It is note-worthy that the Irish nuns who ran the Convent made no effort to convert their students to Christianity. The students of the Convent were however, divided into Houses with inspirational names like "Discipline", "Courtesy" "Endeavour" and "Service".

There was no doubt in the Bhutto family that the girls and boys would be given the same opportunity and education. Nor is there any such prohibition in Islam, says Benazir Bhutto.

"Paradise lies at the feet of the mother !" The *Maulvi*-teacher taught the Bhutto children, citing the Quranic injunction to be always kind to one's parents and to obey them.

Thus Benazir grew up receiving the best of wisdom, from the East and West, while Pakistan traversed through unchartered seas which were often stormy and tumultuous.

At the young age of 12, when she was a student at a boarding school, she found India and Pakistan at war over Kutch and Kashmir. Many of the boarders found the situation exciting, though frightening. She is critical of the role of United States in this war; and records that "Despite this handicap, our soldiers fought successfully".

A TURNING POINT

But the elation was short-lived, as during the peace negotiations at Tashkent, both countries agreed to pull back their troops to their pre-war positions. Consequently, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto resigned from his office of Foreign Minister under President Ayub Khan. This was a turning point in the Bhutto destinies, and made Bhutto seek a popular base for his political foundation,

The events of 1968 led to the arrest of Bhutto and other senior leaders of the Pakistan People's Party. In spite of his incarceration, Bhutto, like Jawaharlal Nehru in the other case, continued to take interest in the education of his daughter who was barely 15, and was preparing for the 'O' level examinations. "You have all the books you need. Read the history of Islam," wrote Zulfikar Ali Bhutto from his prison cell at Sahiwal.

Benazir was accepted for admission to Radcliffe in the USA. This gave her the first taste of Democracy in America, where she spent the next four of the happiest years of her life, and came to realize the difference between dictatorship and democracy.

1970–71

She experienced a sense of expectancy there when, in December 1970, General Yahya Khan, the successor of General Ayub Khan, held elections in Pakistan, after 13 years of dictatorial regime. As the results poured in, she felt exultant, finding that her father and the PPP had captured 82 of 138 seats in the province of West Pakistan. In East Pakistan, however, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman and the Awami League won by an even greater majority.

Here Benazir tries to twist facts and the verdict of history, when she says that,"instead of working with my father to write a new Constitution, Mujib instigated an independence movement to sever East Pakistan from the Western Federation completely. Insead of showing flexibility . . . Mujib showed an obstinacy, the logic of which to this day defies me". However, she soon corrects her views when she says next that

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SRI AUROBINDO ON FRENCH REVOLUTION

(In a lead note entitled "Nehru on the French Revolution" in the July, 1989 issue of the IBC, we had quoted some extracts from Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Glimpses of World History*. A query was also raised (out of curiosity) to find out who else among the Indian historians, writers or scholars, revolutionaries, political activists or philosophers and law-makers had the impulse or the opportunity to study the French Revolution (and when) to guage its immediate or long-range impacts (especially on India) ?

Even before our July number was out (much delayed though it was) we received a welcome response from Shri Jayantilal Parekh, from the Aurobindo Ashram, Pandicherry, to inform us (and the IBC readers) of what Shri Aurobindo had to say about the French Revolution.

He has sent us xeroxed copies of relevant and detailed extracts from two of Ashram Publications. We gratefully acknowledge this gesture and with due acknowledgements and our sincere thanks to the Editors of the Ashram Publications and the Archives and Research Library, we reproduce some (slightly edited) excerpts.

As Shri Parekh has written..."By 1910, Sri Aurobindo was teaching French literature and history as a Professor in the Baroda College. Naturally, his lectures on French history covered the French Revolution in some detail." We hope that IBC readers and scholars of Indo-French Encounters would find the material of interest.

★

—Editors

IDEAS OF LIBERTY, EQUALITY & BROTHERHOOD

The greatness of the French Revolution lies not in what it effected, but in what it thought and was. Its action was chiefly destructive. It prepared many things, it founded nothing. Even the constructive activity of Napoleon only built a half-way house in which the ideas of 1789 might rest until the world was fit to understand them better and really fulfil them.

The ideas themselves were not new; they existed in Christianity and before Christianity, they existed in Buddhism; but in 1789 they came out for the first time from the Church and the Book, and sought to remodel government and society It was an unsuccessful attempt, but even the failure changed the face of Europe. And this effect was chiefly due to the force, the enthusiasm, the sincerity with which the idea was seized upon and the thoroughness with which it was sought to be applied. The cause of the failure was the defect of knowledge, the excess of imagination. The basal ideas, the types, the things to be established were known; but there had been no experience of the ideas in practice.

European society, till then, had been permeated, not with liberty, but with bondage and repression, not with equality, but with inequality; not with brotherhood, but with selfish force and violence. The world was not ready, nor is it even now ready, for the fullness of the practice. It is the goal of humanity, and we are yet far off from the goal. But the time has come for an approximation being attempted. And the first necessity is the discipline of brotherhood, the organisation of brotherhood; for without the spirit and habit of fraternity, neither liberty nor equality can be maintained for more than a short season.

The French were ignorant of this practical principle; they made liberty the basis, brotherhood the superstructure, founding the triangle upon its apex. For, owing to the dominance of Greece and Rome in their imagination, they were saturated with the idea of liberty and only formally admitted the Christian and Asiatic principle of brotherhood. They built according to their knowledge, but the triangle has to be reversed before it can stand permanently.

FOUR GREAT MEN

The Revolution was also great in its men, filling them all with its vehemence, its passion, its fierce demand on the world, its colossal impetus. Through four of them chiefly it helped itself, through **Mirabeau, Danton, Robespierre** and **Napoleon**. Mirabeau initiated, Danton inspired, Robespierre slew, Napoleon fulfilled.

The first three appeared for the moment, the man in the multitude, did their work and departed. The pace was swift and, if they had remained, they would have outstayed their utility and injured the future. It is always well for the man to go, the moment his work is done and not to outstay the Mother's welcome. They are fortunate who get that release or are wise enough, like Garibaldi, to take it. Not altogether happy is their lot who, like Napoleon or Mazzini, outstay the lease of their appointed greatness.

MIRABEAU . . .

Mirabeau ruled the morning twilight, the *sandhya* of the new age. Aristocratic tribune of the people, unprincipled champion of principles, lordly democrat, —a man in whom reflection was turbulent, prudence itself bold, unflinching and reckless, the man was the meeting-place of two ages. He had the passions of the

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past, not its courtly restraint; the turbulence, genius, impetuosity of the future, not its steadying attachment to ideas.

There is an honour of the aristocrat which has its root in manners and respects the sanctity of its own traditions; that is the honour of the Conservative. There is an honour of the democrat which has its root in ideas and respects the sanctity of its own principles; that is the honour of the Liberal. Mirabeau had neither. He was the pure Egoist, the eternal *Rakshasa*. Not for the sake of justice and liberty did he love justice and liberty, but for the sake of Mirabeau. Had his career been fortunate, the forms of the old regime wide enough to satisfy his ambitions and passions, the upheaval of 1789 might have found him on the other side. But because the heart and senses of Mirabeau were unsatisfied, the French Revolution triumphed.

... DANTON

There are times when a single personality gathers up the temperament of an epoch or a movement and by simply existing, ensure its fulfilment. It would be difficult to lay down the precise services which made the existence of Danton necessary for the success of the Revolution. There are certain things he did, and no man else could have done, which compelled destiny; there are certain things he said which made French mad with resolution and courage. These words, these doings ring through the ages. So live, so immortal are they that they seem to defy cataclysm itself and insist on surviving eternal oblivion. They are full of the omnipotence and immortality of the human soul and its lordship over fate. One feels that they will recur again in aeons unborn and worlds uncreated. The power from which they sprang expressed itself rarely in deeds and only at supreme moments.

The energy of Danton lay dormant, indolent, scattering itself in stupendous oratory, satisfied with feelings and phrases. But each time it stirred, it convulsed events and sent a shock of primal elemental force rushing through the consciousness of the French nation. While he lived, moved, spoke, felt, acted, the energy he did not himself use, communicated itself to the millions; the thoughts he did not utter, seized on minds which took them for their own; the actions he might have done better himself, were done worse by others. Danton was contented. Magnificent and ostentatious, he was singularly void of personal ambition. He was satisfied to see the Revolution triumph by his strength, but in the deeds of others.

His fall removed the strength of victorious Terror from the movement within France, its impulse to destroy and conquer. For a little while the impetus gathered carried it on, then it faltered and paused. Every great flood of action needs a human soul for its centre, an embodied point of the Universal Personality from which to surge out upon others. Danton was such a point, such a centre. His daily thoughts, feelings, impulses gave an equilibrium to that rushing fury, a fixity to that pregnant chaos.

SRI AUROBINDO...

He was the character of the Revolution personified, — its heart, while Robespierre was only its hand. History which, being European, lays much stress on events, a little on speech, but has never realised the importance of souls, cannot appreciate men like Danton.

... ROBESPIERRE

One may well speak of the genius of Mirabeau, the genius of Danton; it is superfluous to speak of the genius of Napoleon. But one cannot well speak of the genius of Robespierre. He was empty of genius; his intellect was acute and well-informed but uninspired; his personality fails to impress.

What was it then that gave him his immense force and influence ? It was the belief in the man, his faith. He believed in the Revolution, he believed in certain ideas, he believed in himself as their spokesman and executor; he came to believe in his mission to slay the enemies of the idea and make an end. And whatever he believed, he believed implicitly, unfalteringly, invincibly and pursued it with a rigid fidelity.

Mirabeau, Danton, Napoleon were all capable of permanent discouragement, could recognise that they were beaten, the hour unsuitable, fate hostile. Robespierre was not. He might recoil, he might hide his head in fear, but it was only to leap again, to save himself for the next opportunity. He had a tremendous force of *sraddha*. It is only such men, thoroughly conscientious and well-principled, who can slay without pity, without qualms, without resting, without turning...The conscientious lawyer who refused a judgeship rather than sacrifice his principle by condemning a criminal to death, became the most colossal political executioner of his or any age.

As we have said, if Danton was the character of the French Revolution personified when it went forth to slay, Robespierre was its hand. But, naturally, he could not recognise that limitation; he aspired to think, to construct, to rule, functions for which he was unfit. When Danton demanded that the Terror should cease and Mercy take its place, Robespierre ought to have heard in his demand the voice of the Revolution calling on him to stay his sanguinary course. But he was full of his own blind faith and would not hear. Danton died because he resisted the hand of *Kali*, but his mighty disembodied spirit triumphed and imposed his last thought on the country. The Terror ceased; Mercy took its place.

Robespierre, however, has his place of honour in history; he was the man of conscience and principle among the four, the man who never turned from the path of what he understood to be virtue.

Napoleon took up into himself the functions of the others. As Mirabeau initiated destruction, he initiated construction and organisation and in the same self-contradictory spirit; he was the *Rakshasa*, the most gigantic egoist in history, the despot of liberty, the imperial

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ON FRENCH REVOLUTION

protector of equality, the unprincipled organiser of great principles. Like Danton, he shaped events for a time by his thoughts and character. While Danton lived, politics moved to a licentious democracy, war to a heroism of patriotic defence. From the time he passed, the spirit of Napoleon shaped events and politics moved to the rule, first of the civil, then of the military dictator, war to the organisation of republican conquest. Like Robespierre, he was the executive hand of destruction and unlike Robespierre the executive hand of construction. The fury of *Kali* became in him self-centred, capable, full of organised thought and activity, but nonetheless impetuous, colossal, violent, devastating.

NAPOLEON

The name of Napoleon has been a battlefield for the prepossession of all sorts of critics; and according to their predilections, idosyncrasies and political opinions, men have loved or hated, pangyrised or decried the Corsican. To blame Napoleon is like criticising Mont Blanc or throwing mud at Kunchenjunga. This phenomenon has to be understood and known; not blamed or praised. Admire we must, but as minds, not as moralists.

It has not been sufficiently perceived by his panegyrists and critics that Bonaparte was not a man at all, he was a force. Only the nature of the force has to be considered.

There are some men who are self-evidently superhuman, great spirits who are only using the human body. Europe calls them supermen, we call them *Vibhutis*. They are manifestations of Nature, of divine power presided over by a spirit commissioned for the purpose, and the spirit is an emanation from the Almighty, who accepts human strength and weakness but is not bound by them. They are above morality and ordinarily without a conscience, acting according to their own nature. For, they are not men developing upwards from the animal to the divine and struggling against their lower natures, but beings already fulfilled and satisfied with themselves.

Even the holiest of them have a contempt for the ordinary law and custom and break them easily and without remorse, as Christ did on more than one occasion, drinking wine, breaking the Sabbath, consorting with publicans and harlots; as Buddha did when he abandoned his self-accepted duties as a husband, a citizen and a father; as Shankara did when he broke the holy law and trampled upon custom and *achara* to satisfy his dead mother. In our literature, they are described as Gods or *Siddha* or Titans or Giants. Valmiki depicts Ravana as a ten-headed giant, but it is easy to see that this was only the vision of him in the world of imaginations, the "astral plane", and that in the terms of humanity, he was a *Vibhuti* or superman and one of the same order of beings as Napoleon.

THE RAKSHAS & VIBHUTIS

The *Rakshasa* is the supreme and thorough-going individualist, who believes life to be meant for his own untrammelled self-fulfilment and self-assertion. A necessary element in humanity, he is particularly useful in revolutions. As a pure type in man, he is ordinarily a thing of the past; he comes now mixed with other elements.

But Napoleon was a *Rakshasa* of the pure type, colossal in his force and attainment. He came into the world with a tremendous appetite for power and possession and, like Ravana, he tried to swallow the whole earth in order to glut his supernatural hunger. Whatever came in his way, he took as his own—ideas, men, women, fame, honours, armies, kingdoms; and he was not scrupulous as to his right of possession. His nature was his right; its need his justification.

The attitude may be expressed in some such words as these, "Others may not have the right to do these, but I am Napoleon. . ."

The *Rakshasa* is not an altruist. If by satisfying himself he can satisfy others, he is pleased; but he does not make that his motive. If he has to trample on others to satisfy, he does so without compunction. Is he not the strong man, the efficient ruler, the mighty one ? The *Rakshasa* has *Kama*, he has no *Prema*.

Napoleon knew not what love was; he had only the kindliness that goes with possession. He loved Josephine because she satisfied his nature, France because he possessed her, his mother because she was his and congenial, his soldiers because they were necessary to his glory. But the love did not go beyond his need of them. It was self satisfaction and had no element in it of self-surrender. The *Rakshasa* slays all that opposes him and he is callous about the extent of the slaughter. But he is never cruel. Napoleon had no taint of Nero in him but he flung away without a qualm whole armies as holocausts on the altar of his glory; he shot Hofer and murdered Enghien.

What then is there in the *Rakshasa* that makes him necessary ? He is individuality, he is force, he is capacity; he i second power of God, wrath, strength, grandeur, rushing impetousity, overbearing courage, the avalanche, the thunderbolt, he is Balaram, he is Jehovah, he is Rudra. As such we may admire and study him.

But the *Vibhuti*, though he takes self-gratification and enjoyment on his way, never comes for self gratification and enjoyment. He comes for work, to help man on his way, the world in its evolution.

Napoleon was one of the mightiest of *Vibhutis*, one of the most dominant. There are some of them who hold themselves back, suppress the force in their personality in order to put it wholly into their work. Of such were Shakespeare, Washington, Victor Emmanuel. There are others like Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon, Goethe who are as obviously superhuman in their personality as in the work they accomplish. Napoleon

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was the greatest in practical capacity of all moderns. In capacity, though not in character, he resembles Bhisma of the *Mahabharat*. He had the same *sovrain*, irresistible, world-possessing grasp of war, politics, government, legislation, society; the same masterly handling of masses and amazing glut for details. He had the iron brain that nothing fatigues, the faultless memory that loses nothing, the clear insight that puts everything in its place with spontaneous accuracy.

It was as if a man were to carry Caucasus on his shoulders and with that burden, race successfully an express engine, yet note and forecast every step and never falter. To prove that anything in a human body could be capable of such work is by itself a service to our progress for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful to Napoleon.

HIS WORK & CONTRIBUTION :

NATIONALISM & UNITY

The work of Bonaparte was wholly admirable. It is true that he took freedom for a season from France, but France was not then fit for democratic freedom. She had to learn discipline for a while under the rule of the soldier of Revolution. He could not have done the work he did, hampered by an effervescent French Parliament ebullient in victory, discouraged in defeat. He had to organise the French Revolution so far as earth could then bear it, and he had to do it in short span of an ordinary life-time. He had also to save it. The aggression of France upon Europe was necessary for self-defence, for Europe did not mean to tolerate the Revolution. She had to be taught that the Revolution meant not anarchy, but a reorganisation so much mightier than the old, that a single country so reorganised could conquer united Europe. That task Napoleon did effectively.

It has been said that his foreign policy failed, because he left France smaller than he found it. That is true. But it was not Napoleon's mission to aggrandise France geographically. He did not come for France, but for humanity, and even in his failure he served God and prepared the future. The balance of Europe had to be disturbed in order to prepare new combinations and his gigantic operations disturbed it fatally.

He roused the spirit of Nationalism in Italy, in Germany, in Poland, while he established the tendency towards the formation of great Empires; and it is the harmonised fulfilment of Nationalism and Empire that was the immediate future. He compelled Europe to accept the necessity of reorganisation, political and social.

The *punya* of overthrowing Napoleon was divided between England, Germany and Russia. He had to be overthrown, because, though he prepared the future and destroyed the past, he misused the present. To save the present from his violent hands was the work of his enemies, and this merit gave to these three countries a great immediate development and possession of the nineteenth century. England and Germany went farthest because they acted most wholeheartedly and as Nations, not as Governments. In Russia it was the Government that acted, but with the help of the people. On the other hand, the countries sympathetic to Napoleon, Italy, Ireland, Poland or those which acted weakly or falsely, such as Spain and Austria, have declined, suffered, struggled and, even when partially successful, could not attain their fulfilment.

But the *punya* is now exhausted. The future with which the victorious nations made a temporary compromise, the future which Napoleon served and prepared its early movements demands possession, and those who can reorganise themselves most swiftly and perfectly under its pressure, will inherit the twentieth century; those who deny it, will perish.

The first offer is made to the nations in present possession; it is withheld for a time from the others. That is the reason why Socialism is most insistent now in England, Germany and Russia; but in all these countries, it is faced by an obstinate and unprincipled opposition. The early decades of the twentieth century will select the chosen nations of the future. [*Were these not words full of prophecy ?—Eds.*]

NATIONALISM *Vs.* INDIAN EMPIRE
CHOICE BEFORE ENGLAND

There remains the qustion of Nationalism and Empire; it is put to all these nations but chiefly to **England**. It is put to her in Ireland, in Egypt, in India. She has the best opportunity of harmonising the conflicting claims of Nationalism and Empire. In fighting against Nationalism, she is fighting against her own chance of a future, and her temporary victory over Indian Nationalism is the one thing her guardian spirits have most to fear. For the recoil will be as tremendous as the recoil that over-threw Napoleon. The delusion that the despotic possession of India is indispensable to her retention of Empire, may be her undoing. It is indispensable to her, if she meditates, like Napoleon, the conquest of Asia and of the world; It is not necessary to her imperial self-fulfilment; for even without India she would possess an Empire greater than the Roman. Her true position in India is that of a trustee and temporary guardian; her only wise and righteous policy the devolution of her trust upon her ward with a view to alliance, not ownership The opportunity of which Napoleon dreamed, a great Indian Empire, has been conceded to her and not to Napoleon. But that opportunity is a two-edged weapon which, if misused, is likely to turn upon and slay the the wielder. . .

((*We end these extracts here, on notes of hope and challenge by Sri Aurobindo in his national fervour. There is, however, one more comment by him on a much later date.—Eds.*))

(Pages 377-87 of The *Hour of God* Vol. 17, Shri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Library)

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.... FURTHER COMMENTS ....ON FRENCH REVOLUTION

[Decades later, there was an occasion when Sri Aurobindo had to comment on Napoleon in the context of the then live debate on "Ends and Means". Author Aldous Huxley's book of that title was under discussion. —Eds.]

[From pp. 96-98 of "*Evening Talks with Sri Aurobindo*" by A.B. Purani, Third Edition, 1982].

(*18.1.39*) *Ends and Means* by Aldous Huxley.

A long quotation from *Ends & Means* was read out to Sri Aurobindo. He did not seem impressed. Then the following passage was read : "More books have been written about Napoleon than about any other human being. The fact is deeply and alarmingly significant . . . . Duces and Fuehrers will cease to plague the world only when the majority of its inhabitants regard such adventurers with the same disgust as they now bestow on swindlers and pimps. So long as men worship Caesars and Napoleons, Caesars and Napoleons will duly rise and make them miserable." (*p. 99*)

Sri Aurobindo : That is mere moralising. If Napoleon and Caesar are not to be admired then it means that human capacity and attainment are not to be admired. They are not to be admired because they were successful; plenty of successful people are not admired. Caesar is admired because it was he who founded the greatness of imperial Rome, which is one of the greatest periods of human civilization; and Napoleon because he was a great organiser who stabilised the Revolution. He organised France and through France, Europe. Are not his immense powers and abilities great ?

Disciple : I suppose men admire them because they find in them the realisation of their own potential greatness.

Sri Aurobindo: Of course. Huxley speaks of Caesar and Napoleon as if they were the first dictators the world had ever seen. In fact, dictatorship is as old as the world. Whenever the times have required him, the dictator has come in answer to the necessity. When there is a confusion and muddle in the affairs of men or nations, the dictator has come, set things right and pulled out the race from it. He will have to take all the dictators in on line for condemnation, *e. g.*, Kamal (a different type from Hitler), Pilsudski, Stalin and the kings of the Balkan states. Even Mahatma Gandhi is a type of dictator,

(A portion from the book in which Huxley blames the Jacobins was read.)

Sri Aurobindo : He finds fault with Jacobins, but I think Laski is right in saying that they saved the Republic. If the Jacobins had not taken power into their hands, the result would have been that the Germans would have marched to Paris and restored the monarchy. It is because of the Jacobins that the Bourbons, even when they came back, had to accept the constitution. All the kings in Europe were obliged, more or less, to accept the principle of democracy and become constitutional monarchs.

It is true that in Napoleon's time, the Assembly was only a shadow, but the full republic, though delayed for a time, was already established, because politics is only a show at the top. The real changes that matter are the changes that come into society. From that point of view, the social changes introduced by Napoleon have continued to this day without any material alteration. The equality of all men before the law was realised then for the first time. His Code bridged the gulf between the extremely poor and the rich. It is now very natural, but it was revolutionary when it was introduced. It may not be democracy governed by the mass, but it is democracy governed by the middle-class, —the bourgeoisie . . .

WAR & NON-VIOLENCE

(The portion containing Huxley's ideas about war was noticed.)

Sri Aurobindo : Huxley writes as if the alternative was between war—that is, military violence—and a non-violent peaceful development. But things are never like that; they do not move in a perfect way in life. If Napoleon had not come, the republic would have been nipped in the bud and there would have been a setback to democracy. The Cosmic Spirit is not so foolish as to allow that. Carlyle puts the situation more realistically when he says that the condition was, "I kill you, or you kill me." So, it is better that I kill you rather than get killed by you!

All this criticism by the intellectuals does not take into consideration the immense complexity of the problem.

BOOKS RECEIVED

PITAMBER PUBLISHING COMPANY, NEW DELHI

Chaman Nahal : **The Bhagavad-Gita : A New Rendering**

Prem Kirpal : **Spirit's Musings**

Anita Nahal Arya : **Initiations**

GUJARAT SAHITYA PRAKASHAN, ANAND

Carlos G. Valls
Praying Together : Psalms For Contemplation

Edward H. McGrath, S.J. - **The Priority of Labour**

Michael Amaladoss, S.J.
Mission Today : Reflections From An Ignatian Perspective

Alev Lefrank, S.J. & Maurice Giuliani, S.J.
Freedom For Service

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WOMEN AND THE NEW SOCIETY

GANDHI ON WOMEN—**Compiled by Pushpa Joshi**
Centre for Women's Development Studies and Navjivan Trust (1988) *Rs. 125/- pp. 381.*

Comment by Anima Bose

This book offers a collection of Gandhiji's writings and speeches specially related to women. Earlier, **Anand T. Hingorani** had published *Gandhi on Women*, putting together many of Gandhiji's writings and speeches on the subject; but that was quite a few years ago. Thus this compilation is timely and does fulfil a need, when interest and studies in women's movement and development are growing noticeably.

A contemplative man of action, Gandhi was unambiguous in his recognition of the fact that women are destined to play a very positive role in the reconstruction of society He was uncompromising in the matter of women's rights and underscored again and again that for social justice and fairplay, equal rights for men and women are imperative. He believed that many of the movements in his time stopped half way, because of the condition of "our women", and much of the work did not yield appropriate results because women-power had not been used. In this understanding in essence of the dilemma of women, Gandhi was far in advance of his time.

A SOCIETY BASED ON WORK ETHICS

His attitude is well expressed in "*Bal-pothi*", a primer, he wrote for the children. It is said that his colleagues, some of them, took exception of his "non sexist" approach to the subject, expressed in a dialogue between the mother and the child. Gandhi's rejoinder was, "I am building a new society", where (he envisioned) all children, girls and boys, will learn to pray, to play, to keep healthy, to enjoy work, to till the fields, to work with their hands and also to do house work." Ela Bhatt beautifully illustrates this point in her Foreword.

NEED FOR DEEPER STUDY

Regrettably, Gandhi's understanding of women's rights, and their role in the process of social evolution and political revolution in India are little known, because no serious attention has been paid to his views and actions in this area. Often, Gandhi has been quoted out of context, with a very superficial reading of his words used in secondary books and newspaper articles on special occasions in their anniversary issues. Consequently, no in-depth examination of his thoughts on women and his sensitive awareness of the potentiality of woman as a 'person' in her own right has been undertaken in a systematic way.

The compilation under review is invaluable inas much as it offers the basic primary materials to help such an examination, should one be undertaken by any one who is genuinely interested and concerned. It stimulates an indepth and critical research of Gandhi's contribution to the understanding and assessment of women's potential role not only in home-making but in the reconstruction of the society as well as in the political and economic revolutions in our country.

A HISTORICAL SURVEY

As these writings and speeches are presented in a chronological order, they facilitate a historical survey of the different phases of his life and work, bringing to the fore the evolution of Gandhi's ideas, underscoring his sensitivity to the social, political and economic happenings of his time that affected his thought and action, revealing a process of self-involvement from the contemporary perspective of the times in which he lived and acted. This is important when it is realised that in today's India, four decades after his passing away, not enough advance has been made where women are concerned, despite our Constitution and the enactments that have taken place from time to time since 1950. That realisation clearly provides a disturbing perspective, and makes it imperative that we go back to his words and actions and restudy them. For, his words were not theories, and his actions were not ineffective when we consider the invaluable contribution that our women made to the freedom struggle, that unique kind of resistance he offered to the alien domination, to social injustice and inequality and to economic deprivation of his time, ushering in a method of enquiry and a technique of action "intended to replace methods of violence", an endeavour for engagement with "the others" always directed towards conflict resolution,—conflict resolution by means of what he called "*Satyagraha*".

SEX NO BAR & NO SECLUSION

As he said in his speech in *1931 (p. 257)* : "At the very beginning we had made it clear neither sex nor age would be any bar to one's participation in the movement". *(P. 238, 1932)*: "The women in India tore down the *purdah* and came forward to work for the nation They saw that the country demanded some thing more than their looking after their homes— — They marched to jails and they sustained lathi blows as few men did", and again, in *1939 (p. 312)* : "The salt campaign brought out tens of thousands (of women) from their seclusion and showed that they could serve the country on equal terms with men", and yet again, as Gandhiji said in his article in *Harijan* of 24-2-1940 *(pp. 313 316)* : " .....ultimately woman will have to determine with authority what she needs. My own opinion is that, just as fundamentally man and woman are one, their problem must be one in essence But somehow or other, man has dominated woman from ages past, and so woman has developed an inferiority complex. She has believed in the truth of man's interested teaching that she is inferior to him. But the seers among men have recognized her equal status".

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GANDHI ON WOMEN

Barely six months before he passed away, on July 18, 1947, he upheld : "Women's marvellous power is lying dormant. If the women of Asia wake up, they will dazzle the world. My experiment in non-violence would be instantly successful if I could secure women's help". *(pp. 359-60)*

Again : "If women are still under overt or subtle bondage, perhaps it is so because "reforms came first by the force of public opinion" *(p. 302)*.

FOR ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC OPINION

The confusion, the compromises and reaction in India seen even among his followers in later years, happened perhaps due to lack of study and understanding of Gandhi's ideas and views and the resultant absence of the force of enlightened public opinion.

It is important that Gandhian studies become a part of the core curricula in the academia at all levels to-day, and that Gandhian thoughts and perceptions on women are included in all women's development studies. Only then the realisation of women's equality and development in all its dimensions will become a reality. The goals of national policy which support fuller and equal participation of women in all spheres of national life and development can be reinforced if Gandhian thought and action are studied in depth, and understood in a disciplined way, whether through formal or non-formal education, so that as Ela Bhatt says in her Foreword to the book, one could find "substance for his (Gandhiji's) ideas in one's own life and work."

It would not be an exaggeration that, because an overwhelming majority of men and women in our country are unfamiliar with Gandhian thought and perceptions on women even to-day (although he was in our midst for 79 years), the woman's status and role have suffered so tragically.

Gandhi's words and actions have not been given an opportunity to provide the much desirable and positive support to women's movement in India. This question should offer some food for thought, I believe, in our time and day.

A USEFUL COMPILATION

The book under review provides an excellent opportunity to every concerned person, academic or not, to learn the Gandhian points of view, his perceptions and his thoughts, specially related to women through the four hundred and sixteen documents complete with dates and sources covering the span of 40 years from 24th November, 1906 to 31st December, 1947, which serve well as primary material for research. The value of his compilation is enhanced by the addition of five appendices that include among others, a brief sketch of Gandhiji's life, his thoughts on *brahmacharya* and an interesting conversation between Kasturba and Gandhiji in South Africa over the invalidation of Indian Marriages Law there in 1913. The thematic index at the end of the compilation is useful for a systematic study of the subject. The compiler deserves our gratitude for this exhaustive collection of Gandhiji's writings executed so meticulously.

The publication has certainly opened up new possibilities in the field of Gandhian Studies. One hopes that there will now be a greater intellectual collaboration between those who are interested in Indian revolution and others who accept "women's question" as basically a political one.

The get-up, printing and the lay-out of the book are neat, but its price will not be within the reach of many, specially scholars and the researchers who certainly need and would want to benefit by the book.

Dr. Anima Bose, formerly Teape Lecturer, Cambridge, England, and visiting Gillespie Professor, University of Wooster, Ohio, USA, is a well-known Gandhian scholar, and has written several books on Mahatma Gandhi's principles and action She is now Director, Centre for Peace Education, Delhi.

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Calcutta Press — 200 Years Ago

P. Thankappan Nair : A HISTORY OF THE CALCUTTA PRESS : **The Beginnings**

Firma K.L.M. Private Ltd., Calcutta (1987) Pages 309, Price Rs. 200.

Reviewed by Madan Gupta

P. Thankappan Nair's *History of the Calcutta Press : The Beginnings* is a very readable account of the birth of newspapers and periodicals in India Tracing the history, Nair devotes special attention to three persons—**William Duane**, an American, **James Augustus Hicky**, an Irishman, and **Gladwin**, the founder of *Calcutta Gazette*. Interwoven with this is the history of the East Indian Company's rule.

The story of **William Duane** who came to India in 1787, and after making sufficient money, purchased the *Bengal Journal* in 1791, is particularly interesting. The *Journal* under his management acquired the reputation of a first class newspaper. Duane attracted the wrath of the Company's officials when he publicised the nefarious activities of the Company pertaining to extensive slave trade. One report said that one hundred and fifty children were purchased from Bengal and sold as slaves in Colombo. On the ground that he was unable to pay some of his debts, Duane was taken by force "by a body of persons armed with clubs and *chubdars* headed by a European by whom he was dragged by the hair of his head along the street to the Court House (then situated opposite Lal Bazar Police Headquarters)". In 1794, Duane's deportation was ordered "for publishing certain materials offensive to the Nawab Vazir Asaf-ud-Daula". Another charge was that he was living in India without a licence. Duane's harrassment did not end there. He was called to the Government House and, on arrival, was met by the Town Major of Calcutta, Captain Collins. Nair reproduces the conversation between the two :

Mr. Duane : I understand I was invited by him (the Govenor General).

Capt. Collins : Yes sir ! I am directed by the Governor General to inform you that you are to consider yourself a State prisoner.

Mr. Duane : I did not think Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) or you, sir (*turning to Capt Collins*) could be so base and treachrous as to proceed, or even think as you do.

Capt. Collins : Silence, sir ! (to the soldiers) : Drag him along.

Mr. Duane : (*To the soldiers*) Softly, my friends ! I shall go along with you.(To Collins): What is to follow next, Collins, the bowstring or the scimitar ?

Capt. C. You are insolent, sir ! (*To the soldiers*) : Drag him along, you pig-eating scoundrels.

Mr. D : You are performing the part of Grand Vazier now, my little gentleman, and these are your mates. Calcutta has become Constantinople and the Governor General, the Grand Turk.

While reporting to the Company's Directors about the deportation of Duane, Sir John Shore wrote, ". . .unless measures of this nature were occasionally adopted, the settlement and country would be overrun with profligate characters, over whom the law has not sufficient control."

Says Nair of Duane : "His genius in controversy and management, his courage and audacity, the sincerity and intensity of his convictions, and his virile style of writing, made him the most effective journalist of his time..."

The other person to whom considerable space is devoted in the book is the Irishman **Hicky** who Nair calls the Father of the Press in India. Hicky, from all accounts, was a very controversial person. His *Bengal Gazette*, India's first weekly newspaper, was called "a vile, scurrilous, vindictively abusive print". Some others called it a "scurrilous" print containing a "nauseous mixture of dullness and indecency." Yet others maintained that "Infamous slander is the chief material of which the first Indian journal is composed..."

Nair stoutly defends and supports Hicky's journal and calls it "the gem of journalism." He goes on to say, "One reads the *Times* for news, the *Punch* for Humour, the *Sun* for sensation and the *Private Eye* for misdeeds of public functionaries. *Hicky's Gazette* was an epitome of the best of *the Times*, *the Punch*, *the Sun* and the *Private Eye*.

The book has many interesting quotes from *Hicky's Gazette*. One, a hit on the legal profession, reads as follows:

> Why is a lawyer like a prostitute ? Because they seem zealous for you without affection, feign pleasures that they do not feel, and smile more by habit than sensation. Because they are open to every dirty fellow that requires them, take you in with facility, support you for a fee, often ruin you with a single stroke and frequently rob you while they serve you."

Hicky came to grief for highlighting corruption and malpractices indulged in by people in high places. Warren Hastings who had paid the Russian painter £10,000 for seducing his wife and the Chief Justice Impey who was nick-named Justice Poolbandi, as he had taken lucrative contracts for the repair of bridges were Hicky's main targets. Nair writes, "Hastings and Impy, the most mighty in the realm of Brstish India, were bent upon liquidating Hicky for daring to expose their scandalous dealings."

(*Contd on opp. page*)

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A FREE PRESS—FOR WHOM ?

A Comment on **Dr. Reynaldo V. Guiogion's "Study of Indian Press" in 1985** *by* **Satindra Singh**

Even at the risk of raising a hornets, nest, I cannot help saying that the Indian Press, though nearly 200 year old, is no more than a hot-house plant. In spite of its proliferation, both in numbers and circulasince Independence, it remains *elitist* in character. It is seldom, if ever, that one comes across in its pages an in-depth story about the non-privileged segments of society like tribals, deprived classes or women. The ones that are published are limited only to items of immediate and sensational nature.

The so-called *investigative* stories that are put out are also not informative but politically motivated; if not downright partisan. And, what now goes under the grandiose title of *development* stories are mere reproduction of official handouts without a critical assessment.

The almost neurotic pre-occupation of the print media with politics is its another bane. This is compounded by the undue importance the Indian Press gives to "international" news in far flung countries which have no direct or indirect impact on this country's polity. Why are these considered fit for publication is anybody's guess. As far as I know, no one reads them.

I was made aware of all this when I read Dr. Reynaldo V. Guioguio's study of a section of the *Indian Press for 1985*. Dr. Guioguio, who is Professor of Journalism Ethics and Standards in the Institute of Mass Communication of University of Philippines, selected two leading dailies (*The Times of India* and *The Indian Express* and two magazines *Sunday* and *Economic and Political Weekly*) for their coverage of the "minority and disadvantaged groups which included Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Women."

His study reveals that only 127 items on minorities and disadvantaged groups were published during January and February 1984, in the two dailies, while not even one such item appeared in the two magazines. None of them carried either an in-depth study or an article pertaining to these social segments.

"The content of such press coverage" Prof. Guioguio observed, "could be faulted also for the absence of news or published items on the cultural activities or concerns of the minority groups. In terms of the published items during these two month, there were some Women and Muslim writers who were cited as sources of these articles, but no source or writer was cited as belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes."

As the Philipino academic restricted his study only to what had been published in the two dailies and two magazines, and was not fully conversant with the "inner" working of the Indian Press, he cannot be faulted for his failure to notice the most pernicious practice indulged in by the print media in this country of late.

Editors, more often than not, consign to the dustbin not only articles, but also letters meant for publication, which are even mildly critical of their "policy".A look at the "*Letters to the Editor*" column will show that only letters which endorse the editorial policy or eulogise the edit-page articles written by the editors themselves are published. It will be absurd to

(*Overleaf*)

CALCUTTA PRESS . . . (*Contd.*)

One thing that comes out clearly and vividly is that Hicky had the courage of his convictions and was prepared to face persecution and worse for these convictions. In exposing the moral degradation of his countrymen in India, Hicky was the forerunner of the concept of a free and unfettered press—a concept enshrined in the Constitution of free India.

In all, 18th century Calcutta, according to Nair, had as many as eighteen weeklies, one quarterly and two half-yearlies, besides one bi-weekly and one yearly. Most of them had short lives. *Calcutta Gazette* was the only one which survived. **Gladwin** was the founder of the *Calcutta Gazette*. Apart from the *Gazette*, Gladwin was also associated with *Asiatick Miscellany*, the first quarterly journal in India, and the *New Asiattick Miscellany*.

About press censorship, Nair quotes from the memoirs of Lord Wellesley who, objecting to certain conjectures published in the *Asiatic Mirror*, wrote in April 1799, to Sir Alfred Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, "I shall take an early opportunity of transmitting rules for the conduct of the whole tribe of editors; in the meantime, if you cannot tranquillise the editors of this and other mischievous publications, be so good as to suppress their paper by force, and send their persons to Europe." In May 1799, came Regulations from Fort William for the control and guidance of the proprietors of the newspapers published in Calcutta.

History of the Calcutta Press: The Beginnings is not only full of facts, but also presents them in a very readable fashion. Thankappan Nair, its author, who has gained the reputation of being Calcutta's barefoot historian, is also the author of several other books on the city including *British Social life in Ancient Calcutta* and *Calcutta in the 18th Century*.

A frequent contributor to the IBC. Madan Gupta is a Delhi–based retired civil servant.

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A FREE PRESS—FOR WHOM ? (*Continued*)

believe that in our country, there are no "non-conformists, dissidents and critics." In fact, it is the other way round. They abound.

I can say this from my personal knowledge as well as experience. On scores of occasions, I have written letters to *The Times of India*, *The Indian Express* and *Sunday* trying to correct some gross misrepresentations of the Sikh case, history and religion in my own humble way to enlighten the all-knowing editors and correspondents, but I regret to say that none was ever published. The freedom of the press has thus been reduced to the freedom of the ego-centric, self-opinionated and intolerant editors. This growth of fundamentalism in the Indian Press is as menacing to our democratic polity as that of religious fundamentalism.

S. Satindra Singh, an old and experienced scribe is now a freelancing columnist. This is a part of his contribution as published in the Magazine Miscellany of the Free Press Journal.

A VISIT TO BOKARO STEEL CITY

—P.V. Dhamija

Driving through a wilderness
Of coal dust and grisly bare-footed humans,
Crawling in abject squalor and poverty,
Of rugged tracts of barren lands,
Rising and falling illogically,
With stray cattle vainly browsing,
And huge trolleys sliding overhead,

I approached a host of towering monsters,
Red and black, black and red,
Belching fire and smoke and thundering like hell,
And surrounded by puny huts and hovels and houses,
Which seemed to pay helpless homage
To these demons of steel.

P.V Dhamija is a Reader at the CIEFL, Hyderabad.

MASS MEDIA *PRESS IN INDIA—1985 REPORT*

Newspaper Circulation Touches A New High

The total circulation of the Indian press touched a new high in 1984 with 6.11 crore copies as against 5.53 crore copies in the preceding year, registering an annual growth of 10.4 percent.

The number of newspapers and periodicals in the country as on December 31, 1984 was 21,784 as compared to 20,758 at the end of 1983.

This has been revealed in the 29th Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India "*Press in India 1985*".

DAILIES & PERIODICALS

According to the Report, there were 1,609 dailies in 1984 as compared to 1,423 dailies in the previous year, showing an increase of 31.1 per cent. Daily newspapers totalled a circulation of 1.87 crore copies as against 1.67 crore copies in 1983.

The number of periodicals in 1984 increased to 20,064 from 19,227 in the previous year. Pesiodicals in 1984 included 6,469 weeklies, 2,966 fortnightlies, 7,487 monthlies, 2,022 quarterlies, 248 annuals and 872 other periodicals such as bi-monthlies and half-yearlies.

LANGUAGE-WISE

During 1984, newspapers were published in 92 languages and dialects including English and 15 principal languages enumerated in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. As in the previous years, the highest number of newspapers were published in Hindi (6,370) followed by English (3,961), Bengali (1,662), Urdu (1,492) and Marathi (1,168) In circulation too, Hindi was more than English by 1.18 crore copies. The third position was claimed by the Malayalam newspapers with 59 lakh copies,

Likewise, in the matter of daily newspapers, Hindi topped with 554 dailies Urdu came second with 182 dailies and English third with 138 dailies, Marathi (132), Malayalam (118) and Tamil (113) were the other languages which had more than 100 dailies. Daily newspapers were published in all the principal languages of India, except Kashmiri.

STATES & REGIONS

As in 1983, the largest number of newspapers were published from Uttar Pradesh, having 3,063 newspapers, Delhi with 2,772 newspapers came next followed by Maharashtra (2,738) and West Bengal (2,378) Other States with more than 1000 newspapers each were Tamil Nadu (1,328), Rajasthan (1,210), Andhra Pradesh (1,198), Kerala (1,112) and Karnataka (1,006).

LARGEST IN CIRCULATION

The Anand Bazar Patrika, Bengali daily of Calcutta, had the distinction of being the largest circulated single edition daily during 1984, with a circulation of 3,45,265 copies.

Among multi-edition dailies, the *Indian Express* (10 editions) claimed the first position with a circulation of 6,28,620 copies. *Malayala Manorama* (three editions) came second with a total circulation of 5,97,473 copies. The third position was occupied by the English daily, the *Times of India* (three editions) with a combined circulation of 5,94,233 copies.

(Compiled)

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POETS' CORNER

The Armagaddon Broke Out

POETS' CORNER

An excerpt from an unfinished Autobiographical Poem : "The Seven Stages of Life" by Prof. P. N. Kirpal, Pp nos. 108 - 110 from SPIRIT'S MUSINGS published by Pitambar Publishing Company, New Delhi (1986)

....

False philosophies of greed and power
of sensuousness and luxury
raised their ugly heads to conquer
what was left of goodness and sanity.
Strange creeds of belief and ways of thought
reflecting material strength and ego,
lusts of consumption and domination,
polluted the mind and spirit of man.
The isms and ideologies of all brands,
of left and right, white, black and red,
of pseudo-science and mock philosophy,
revealed the cultural decay and rot.
Faint voices of reason and light,
rare vision of what still might be,
signs of goodness, faith and hope
did survive but could not win.
In his world of research and teaching
midst fiery debates and animated dialogues
these issues were raised and discussed
without satisfaction and conclusion.

The expected Armageddon broke out !
The Nazi hordes overran Europe
the clown Mussolini's brown-shirted crew
bragged and bullied in their sphere.
The Japanese soon entered the war
with sudden destruction of Pearl Harbour
and occupation of Asian countries
of cultures and old civilizations.
Forces of evil and aggression,
of national glory and Imperial might
were let loose through tanks and bombs
and submarines that blocked the seas.

Hitler's armies rolled eastwards
toward Moscow and Leningrad,
winning battles and advancing forward
while the western allies waited and slumbered.
The spirit of man and defence of freedom
was seen in heroic Leningrad;
the invincible Mascovite soul
was pitted against the Nazi flesh
War's fortunes were at last reversed
on the snows and vast plains of Russia;
the western forces entered Europe
and the Red Army rolled westward.
After slaughter of millions of men,
mass killings of women and children,
destruction of cities and monuments,
the war ended with atomic bombs.
Meanwhile Gandhi's Quit India movement
made headway and filled the jails
threatening the Allied war action
in Asia and the Near East.

The aftermath of the Second World War
seen from Europe's heroic past
of war-battered and exhausted London
was full of hope and great new vistas.
The United Nations was being forged
from across the Atlantic ocean
UNESCO came to life in London.

...

TWO POEMS by M. K. Kaw

INDIANNESS

There is a deceptive modernity
about my visible self :
the dress, the after-shave lotion,
my words, my social behaviour.
I seem liberated.
The moment I shut the door
the dormant Manu awakens
my primordial male.

I loll down on the sofa
and open a magazine;
my wife rushes
with pre-ordained naturalness
into the kitchen.

I shut my ears
to innocent child-thoughts
which smell of fresh-baked scones.

I fondle the stones
my ancestors worshipped
and mutter inane prayers
to a god of proven deafness.

I encircle the right ear
with my sacred thread.

I enact with mindless faith
my astrologer's precautions
against ruthless fate.

I let myself be entangled
in the tortuous coils
of what passes for
Indianness.

IN THE PARK

Successful men with paunches
perambulate
in the park.

I wear my frown
and crow's feet,
you have not forgotten to bring
your furrow too.
We had our anginas
before forty.

The fresh-made millionaire
takes the alsatian for a walk,
it is a fad,
vet-prescribed.

Perhaps the air is sweet
with summer scents
only to the truant
lolling on the grass.

M.K. Kaw is a senior I.A.S. administrator of Himanchal Pradesh.

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Indira Hirway : DENIAL OF MATERNITY BENEFITS TO WOMEN WORKERS IN INDIA
Oxford & IBH Publishing Co. New Delhi (1986)
Hardbound pp viii+151 Rs. 75/-

Comment by Chhaya Patel

Despite this century being an age of raising issues of discrimination on grounds of sex and gender, launching struggles for women's liberation from oppressive socio-economic conditions achieving considerable success in multiple aspects of modern-day life and securing many statutory guarantees in the form of equal democratic and constitutional rights, much remains to be done to ensure gender equality. There are many areas of socio-economic life which require rectification, not in theory, policy or legislative measures, but in the form of actual practice and implementation. Viewing the matter from a global perspective, one finds that hardly any work has been done to achieve gender equality. The book under review, (though noticed late) is a commendable and competent effort by Indira Hirway to highlight those aspects of women's life which have continued to defy a book-length treatment, namely, the question of maternity benefits for working women.

NEW WOMAN NEEDS CONSIDERATION

It is being increasingly realized and recognized that only a society fated to doom or decay, can keep its women-folk unequal to men in all the socio-economic spheres of common life. Both are equally contributing to the ultimate health, vitality and continuity of any social organization on earth. It is a matter of tradition and old habit to think in terms of discriminating between man and woman on the mere basis of sex and gender. However, there are certain conservative elements and anti-"women" forces in society who would deprive them of their rightful position and status

Women have proved their mettle in many jobs which were, just a few years ago, considered as exclusive preserves of men. Women are quickly "outbeating" men by developing and acquiring all those skills which were once considered as inseparable features of a man's domain. However, in her quick march towards reaching, one after the other, new milestones of gender equality, the modern woman finds herself in a difficult situation of having to maintain an "equilibrium" between her "social" role of bearing and rearing the children, and her "career" role of pursuing professional excellence, to remain neck to neck with her male counterparts in competitive work situations. Such a working woman needs a rightful and deserving consideration of being assured of maximum benefits, while she undertakes to perform her social function of rearing a family.

LAWS & CONVENTIONS

The book deals with this issue admirably. In the first chapter, Hirway constructs a very informative, exhaustive and empirically rich data-base on such interesting aspects as unequal conditions of women workers in the Indian labour market, the rationale of maternity benefits, a bird's eye-view of comparative scenario in selected western, European and other countries. The sub-section on 'Maternity Benefits in India' is an enriching documentation and discussion on the existing legal provisions pertaining to maternity benefits in India, coverages of various Acts such as the *Employees State Insurance Act, (1948)* and *The Maternity Benefits Act*, 1961, their main provisions and administration of these Acts. At the end of this chapter Hirway has done a useful job of providing relevant recommendations on maternity benefits by the **International Labour Organization** (ILO) Conventions, which are truly the ultimate prescriptions and objectives on this issue. They have hardly left any aspect related to this matter uncovered and provide such a comprehensive piece of legislative drafting that they certainly constitute major guidelines for adoption and implemention anywhere in the world

WHY LESS NO. OF CLAIMS ?

In chapter two, Hirway builds up her main argument on this theme from a premise that, in India, despite various measures towards equal opportunities to women, they are hardly free from their on-going struggle for equal rights, as there exists a wide gap between a suitable legislative/legal measure and its actual, comprehensive implementation. Had this not been so, she argues, how else could one explain the fall in the number of claims for maternity benefit under both the Acts, despite there being an increase in the total number of women employees covered under these Acts ?

She further links this problem to the working of the Indian system. She writes that "the rules of our system appear to favour men and oppose women's needs to the extent that women do not even get the advantages of pro-woman measures" (*p. 48*). Hirway thus specifically attempts .."to examine the coverage of the two Acts, and assess it in the context of the total female labour force, to examine the actual functioning of the *Maternity Benefits Act* and *E. S. I. Act*, and to assess the extent and nature of benefits derived by women workers, to study the reasons for denial of the benefits...and to make suggestions and policy recommendations to improve the situation" (*p. 51*),

GUJARAT STUDY

For her detailed field study, Hirway has selected the factory sector in Gujarat, because it is representative of national scenario, and it is the largest sector among all those covering maternity benefits, as 65 per cent of women workers are covered. Nevertheless, she has selected only those industries where female employment was more than 50. A large stratified sample of 129 private sector and 11 public sector industries was drawn; and 776 and 239 women workers were respectily randomly selected for data collection from all the districts of the State. This was not always an easy task as the researchers soon met with stiff resistance

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MATERNITY BENEFITS

from owners/employers/ managers of these industries who refused to provide data on the number of permanent,temporary or daily women workers in the factory. This being a sensitive research proposition, all kinds of field-skills and strategies, as is reported, were employed to collect the data during the period January-June 1985.

BENEFITS DENIED

The issue of denial of maternity benefit to working women needs to be properly understood. Hirway attaches special significance and emphasis to the term "denial", and neatly outlines its conceptual properties in chapter three, where she attempts to tie it into an analytical framework. She defines denial as "...refusal of maternit, benefits to women workers by the system as a whole" (*p. 59*). She divides this treatment into three main stages of denial In stage 1, she "....refers to the denial that occurs due to the *limited coverage* of the Maternity Benefit Act and the EST Act". At stage 2, she refers to the status *i. e.* marital, and age distribution and recruitment pattern of women workers. Ironically, denial also occurs at the beneficiary level as certain legal entitlements are withheld for various systemic reasons.

She then goes to discuss at length the denial of maternity benefits to women workers (*pp. 60-81*) by citing the findings of her study. She concludes this chapter by reporting an interesting finding that"...the objectives of the two Acts...are far from being achieved as (1) less than two and a half per cent of the total women workers in the State are covered by the Acts (2) about one-fifth of these actually get the benefits and (3) only some of the benefits laid down in the Acts...Assuming that the extent of denial is more or less same in all the sectors covered by the two Acts, it implies that only 0.10 per cent of the total female labour force receives all the benefits of maternity" (*pp 80-31*).

ESI SCHEME

Chapter 4 is a logical sequel to the third one, as many of the maternity beneficiaries reported being covered under the ESI Scheme. Therefore, it became necessary to examine its functioning. In this chapter, the origin and working of ESI Scheme at all-India level and in Gujarat has been examined against the findings of the field survey, especially in case of the latter. The major finding reported here is "more disappointing", as she writes that "though all the ESI, beneficiaries got the maternity leave through the scheme, only six per cent got extra leave, and only 24 per cent beneficiaries got hospital benefits. Some 26 per cent beneficiaries got (cash) benefit instead of hospitalization facilities. In short, all the medical benefits under the ESIS were available to only about one-fourth of the total ESI beneficiaries" (*p. 99*).

Causes of this denial, such as (a) the employers' attitude towards women's employment, (b) required facilities at the work place, (c) inferior status of women workers in labour market, (d) attitude of the government etc. are extensively discussed in chapter five. This chapter concludes very bitterly that in the absence of conducive and objective socio-cultural conditions, women workers are prevented from enjoying the full fruits of their rights.

WHAT NEXT ?

The final chapter contains a discussion of major findings of the study, and the possibility of evolving a conceptual framework of denial and policy inferences. The foremost and obvious finding is that "only a small fraction (less than a half per cent) of the female labour force in the Gujarat economy" enjoys this right of maternity benefits. (*p. 131*). The legal instruments guaranteeing these benefits have only face value, as "it does not really help either in protecting the employment and career of women workers or in looking after the health of the working mothers and their young babies in any significant way." The problem of denial of maternity benefits and general neglect of working women by government, trade unions, voluntary agencies and the women themselves can be located in the Indian social system itself. The male-dominated milieu is mainly responsible for this neglect.

Such a historical back-log of stigmatic mode of gender relations can not be wished away overnight. It requires reformation of socio-cultural values over a long time. However, certain interventions are possible as short measures, such as (i) fresh governmental commitment to the cause of women and (ii) making the legislative measures more stringent and fool-proof by expanding the coverage, (iii) revising the eligibility criteria, (iv) assuring post-pregnancy job security, (v) providing paternity leave and (vi) imposing penalty for evasion etc.

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

It is felt that, while courageously referring to the judgement of the Supreme Court in the case of Air Hostesses (*p. 48*) Indira Hirway ends up making a meekish remark about this matter, and fails to incorporate the element of struggle and a mass movement of awakening and action so crucial to the whole issue. Ultimately, it is the women themselves who will have to launch the necessary struggle to get what they want. The Air Hostess Issue proves this point beyond any grain of doubt. Until recently, the air hostesses were to choose between either their jobs or their first pregnancy. The two could not go together. They filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court challenging this Rule in 1981, and finally won their first important battle. But the war will take a long time to win. The Supreme Court gave a very radical verdict and observed that the "termination of services of an Air Hostess under such circumstances is not only a callous and cruel act, but an open insult to Indian womanhood...Such a course of action is extremely detestable and abhorrent to the notions of a civilized society... Such a provision, therefore, is not only manifestly unreasonable and arbitrary, but contains the quality of unfairness and exhibits naked despotism..." (*p. 48*).

On the whole. this book is a very neat and concise research reporting on a very crucial aspect directly affecting the lives of so many women workers, and indirectly affecting so many more other dependent lives.

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Robert S. Anderson & Walter Huber

THE HOUR OF THE FOX : **Tropical Forests, the World Bank and Indigenous People in Central India**

Vistar Publications, New Delhi (1988) pp. xiv 158
Price Rs 130.00

Reviewed by Walter Fernandes

A new forest management project was planned in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh with the assistance of the World Bank and consultancy provided by the Ford Foundation. From the beginning, there was difference of opinion between various departments of the Madhya Pradesh Government, the Government of India and the foreign agencies involved. Those who supported it,viewed it as the development of the district and took it for granted that the tribals, whom they considered backward, would be integrated into it, and would get its benefits. After nearly a decade of planning, the project was finally abandoned by the Government of India in 1981. The authors of this book try to go back into the whole process of decision-making and try to find out why it was abandoned. That they consider the decision to abandon itself healthy, is obvious from the fact that they are trying to look at the forest from the point of view of the tribals.

FORESTS IN TRIBAL ECONOMY & CULTURE

In the first introductory chapter, the authors try to define the central problem of tropical forests and what these mean to the people, to the environment and the Forest Department. It is obvious that they are sympathetic to the people, and see how their culture has developed around the forests and how they are essential to maintain it. What they have said is extremely useful. But a major shortcoming of this chapter is lack of information of tribal economy. They give adequate data on the forest economy as such, but only as a commercial product. What the forest produce means to the people in their daily life and for their survival is not clearly brought out.

But for the same shortcoming, the perspective on tribal alienation, the growth of their kingdom and their link with the forests is extremely useful. The various categories of tribals living in this district are described somewhat at length; their spatial organisation and social groups described and the role of outsiders analysed. What comes out in their relationship with the outsiders is not merely the commercialisation of their life system; but above all, the contempt with which they are treated. Their culture was considered primitive and efforts for "*Hinduisation*" made. Bastar was a Hindu kingdom with a predominantly non-Hindu tribal population, and efforts were made to *Hinduise* them. In the process, the kings themselves absorbed many tribal customs.

BRITISH INTERESTS : FOREST REVENUES

British interest was mainly in the forest revenue; and in most of their reports, they were unable to present the forests of Bastar as commercially viable. The evolution of all these attitudes is well described in the chapter and the symbiotic relationship between the tribals and the forests situated in this context.

Discussing 'forest-tribe' relations, the authors note how during this century, the organisation of Bastar's resource-base has been transformed, and how the British used the problems of royal succession to get greater control over these resources. They situate this effort at 'controlling' resources in the context of the evolution of the (British and Indian) Forest Policy itself. The first document spoke of the "rights" of the tribals over forests. Slowly this became "rights and privileges", and after independence, it has been turned into "rights and concessions". But even these limited rights are not easily granted, except during the months preceding an election year. Otherwise the pressure is for "more revenue", most of which is got from forest produce, but in part also by harassing the tribals who are using the rights granted to them by law. What comes out of this interaction is "contempt" for the culture and the rights of the tribals. To this should be added the "unofficial" revenue collected by various forest officials through bribes.

INDUSTRIAL FORESTRY & ALIENATION

During the last few decades, the thrust has been towards industrial forestry. It succeeds in pushing the forests farther and farther away from the tribal habitat, thus depriving them of their resource base. All these aspects combined with the attitude of the forest officials who view the tribals as "destroyers of forests" was bound to cause ongoing tension between the tribals and the forest officials.

Though more than a dozen studies were conducted for the World Bank aided plan for industrial forestry, the final plan was based on two reports viz. the Susaeta Report done for the Ford Foundation and the Tewari Report prepared for the Madhya Pradesh Forest Department. Both of them viewed forests exclusively from the industrial production point of view, and sought ways of increasing their output for commercial use. They assumed that the tribals would be accommodated in some form within this project, because they thought that the district would produce many more jobs than were available at that stage. However, no exact calculation was made of the number of jobs to be created. The concentration was on more timber production.

The reports themselves came at a time when the revenue and industrial orientation of forests in Madhya Pradesh was increasing. The MP Forest Department data show that revenue from forests doubled during the decade after nationalisation. Briefly, there was a transition from a "conservation-oriented" Forest Department to revenue production. The Madhya Pradesh Forest Development Corporation

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OF BASTAR (M.P.)

that was founded to implement the World Bank funded project would intensify this approach. Instead of agriculturists, silviculturists and other specialists who manned the Forest Department, the MPFDC had mainly 'market-oriented" managers. Their work was to study possibilities of using resources for pulp production for the proposed 100,000 capacity plant.

Other consultancy teams followed. But they only assumed that jobs would be created. No study of the impact of "production" on the tribals was done. All along, it was also assumed that the change that was planned was good for all. The studies that were considered integral parts of the planning process received low priority and were delayed by several years. When they finally got done, they were given very low priority and were much shorter than planned.

PROJECT SHELVED : POSSIBLE REASONS

Even then, it looks as though the report was not kept secret by the MP Government. More lobbying followed. But even as the controversy was continuing, the Government of India began to feel the pressure and ordered a new study. Based on it, in 1981, it decided against the project.

After giving the history of the project, the authors try to find out the possible reasons both for the formulation of the project and for its final abandonment.

They can see the need for a project of this type, because the country was then producing only a fifth of the newsprint it needed, and the pulp-mill planned in Bastar was one out of several such enterprises being planned all over the country. However, the Birlas were planning a mill in neighbouring Maharashtra, and the Bastar project could have gone against them. The authors think that this could have been one of the causes for the abandonment of the Bastar project.

Similarly, expectations that the private sector would invest in Bastar as a result of this project did not come through since the institutional arrangements in Tamilnadu were much more attractive.

Besides, there were four unresolved issues *viz.* wood supply, classification of forest land and resources, the status of tribals and the capabilities of MPFDC. There were differences of opinion within the Government itself on the advisability of the project. Just when the controversy was continuing came the news of the failure of the Jari project in Brazil that was following a similar approach. Perhaps that was the last straw on the camel's back.

What is obvious from the study of all the causes is that the alienation of the tribals was not the primary cause for abandoning it. In fact, this was also the time when efforts were being made to *protect* forests *from* the tribals. **The Indian Forest Bill 1980** was contemplated around this time. What one gets from the conversation with the officials is that they feared the lack of cooperation of the tribals, and they mentioned even resistance. But they never thought of the alienation of the tribals as the primary cause for abandoning this project.

TRIBAL LIFE SUPPORT V/S CORPORATE SECTOR

The major contribution of this book is to help the readers to understand the process through which the natural resources that are the "life" — support system of the traditional communities are transferred to the corporate sector. The local population is not taken into consideration, except in order to see the possibility of reducing their resistance. They become the victims of development.

All these aspects are well brought out in the book. What is missing is an indepth understanding of tribal economy. The forests have been well understood as the basis of tribal culture. But there is only one paragraph giving a vague idea of the extent of economic dependence of the tribals on the forests and what they get out of it. The rest of it is mainly on the commercial aspects of the minor produce.

From that point of view also, the understanding of the total alienation of the tribals is not complete. Much is written about the alienation of their culture but not enough about their economic impoverishment and deprival of the life-support system. Briefly, though there is this lacuna, what has been written is extremely useful, and is a contribution to the understanding of forests from the point of view of the people and the forces that work against them.

Dr. Walter Fernandes is in the Department of Research, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, and is the Editor of Social Action.

CHANCELLOR RAMPHAL

(New Role for Commonwealth Secretary General)

Commonwealth Secretary-General, Shridath Ramphal was installed as Chancellor of Britain's University of Warwick in mid-July. In announcing the appointment, the University's Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Clark Brundin, said that Mr. Ramphal's "humanity and impartiality have made him an immensely respected force in international affairs."

Mr. Ramphal is the University's third Chancellor after Lord Radcliffe, who chaired boundary commissions before the 1947 India-Pakistan Partition and later a constitutional commission for Cyprus, and Lord Scarman, law-reformer and former judge celebrated for his far-reaching 1981 Report on Community Relation in Britain.

In his installation address, Mr. Ramphal echoed Lord Scarman's view of universities serving 'not merely nations but mankind' and 'the world of knowledge'. Man's knowledge, he said, was not only of science and technology but 'of our inseparable humanity, of a oneness superseding otherness, of a common future on a fragile planet'.

From Commonwealth Currents, August 1989

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Rajni Kothari :

STATE AGAINST DEMOCRACY

Ajanta Publications, Delhi, (1988) Pp 308; Rs. 200/-

Comments by Darshan Singh Maini

A PLEA FOR GRASSROOT

There are moments in the life of a nation when the deeper spiritual rhythm is so addled by events and incidents as to bring to the surface all manner of ironies and irrationalities inherent in its body politic. Such contradictions and irrationalities remain largely out of view, and even acquire a doubtful ethic and a passing validity in the name of pragmatism. But when finally the weight of wanton and rogue occurrences reaches a point where the state begins to split at the seams, as it were, the rulers themselves are no longer in a position to comprehend and direct the course of history. They are either marginalised and rendered irrelevant, or more grievously, as in India today, turn into political monsters.

To be sure, all nations are sustained by a certain dream even when its bones turn grey, and begin to show. The India of Gandhi and Nehru's conception which still comforts the Indian imagination in a romantic fashion was in ruins soon after the advent of Indira Gandhi. That betrayal of the dream by the daughter was, to use a Freudian idiom, an act of political patricide. From the Emergency of 1975–76 to Operation Bluestar, it was an extended exercise in the upturning of the state to feed her ravenous heart of power. No wonder, as her appetite grew, and her paranoid impulses sharpened, she stopped at nothing. It was, in other words, an invitation to chaos and hell. And riding the storm of history, she took the lethal leap. How the swift and tragic and horrendous chain of events altered for ever the balance of trust and faith need not be gone into once again. It is a story of shame and degradation and dishonour. Briefly then, it is the very structure of the Indian State that now raises certain fundamental questions. It may thus be averred that the state has turned against the state itself, and become its own enemy. The idea of the state *qua* state sabotaging its structure, and the 'philosophy' of neo-politics which Rajiv Gandhi and his wonder-kids are seeking to set up as an alternative for a new paradigm of power alone could perhaps make us understand partially why after 40 years of freedom, India today answers to the the echoes of Bofors guns and to the threats of another Emergency.

DECLINE OF DEMOCRATIC TEMPER

And since this is more or less, the burden of Rajni Kothari's latest book, *State Against Democracy*, I set down below a critique of that volume with a view to authenticating some of my perceptions in this regard.

In their pursuit of the 'metaphysic' of power and politics, almost all thinkers and theorists come up, at one time or another, against that blind, bluff rock-face of reality where all thought seems to perish, and turn back upon itself in a sort of philosophical retreat and regression. That is the point where existential politics begin, and the search compels the tormented imagination to take a leap into faith to prevent it from going under. What matters then is not the colour of faith, whether it is religious or secular, but the degree of moral passion that has engendered the moment of truth. To be sure, no theology or system of thought can ever hope to comprehend the entire human reality with all its pleated ironies and ambiguities, and lay claim to a key that would unlock the dark heart of things. Not even Marxism which offers a historical, purposive and 'scientific' perspective has finally proved adequate in praxis, suggesting thus a huge 'leak in its proceedings. So, some kind of faith is always needed to hoist a view of politics that could stand up to the rigours of reality, even if such a view should help open but a doubtful window or two on the ever receding human horizon. Therefore, when a modern political thinker like Rajni Kothari who has been strenuosly battling with ideas and ideologies for nearly three decades, seeks to bring to focus his views and insights and values earned *en route*, and give them not only a name, but also a dynamic direction, we are in fact, witnessing a philosophical engagement in the grand tradition. For there is no doubt, Professor Kothari's concern, at bottom, is with those huge movements of the spirit where ideas turn into visions, and the visions into a dream of action.

State Against Democracy is clearly a volume of immense importance, considering the peculiar sickness of the Indian State and polity today. It is this pathology which Prof. Kothari examines with such compassion, understanding and hope. It is, in sum, a positive exposition of a most despairing *problemtique*. Written in a lucid, expressive style, it has a visible vein of moral lyricism in it. It is not a rhetoric of indigation as as much as a rhetoric of analysis and insight.

In these wide-ranging essays divided into 3 sections, "On State", "On Democracy" and "On Authoritarianism", Prof. Kothari, broadly speaking, purports to investigate, among other things, "the decline of the democratic temper" in India and abroad, the erosion of institutional space", and the angerous levels of "depoliticization" reached lately as a result of radical change in the human situation engineered by science and technology.

These developments, in his view, have caused a new kind of ideological split in which the "techno-managerial elites" (an 'aristocracy' of power and knowledge), and "the peripheries" (all marginalised sections of society) have, in their struggle for supremacy and survival, thrown up two huge political forces which he designates as "corporatism" and "voluntariam". While

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PARTICIPATIVE MOVEMENTS

the former defies the market economy, and invests it with a neo-conservative mystique, the latter returns to the phenomenon of 'grassroot' movements in the developing countries, suggesting immense possibilities, and a whole new dream and dialectic of responsibilities. As Prof. Kothari puts it, "What is needed is to move from government of humans to humane governance." He rejects out of hand any thesis that finds a section of society "dispensable" or disposable, for the Darwinian Law cannot hide its essentially rapacious nature. Stripped down to the bare bones of reality, the 'philosophy' of the marketplace is but "nature red in tooth and claw" to recall Tennyson's agonising phrase.

Prof. Kothari is also convinced that the West-minister model, whatever its value and virtue in the formative years of India's post-Independence period, has lost virtually all its relevance. It is based on "too atomistic a view" to be in consonance with the dipper and perennial rhythms of Indian life. Its constitutive duplicities make nonsense of those positive, intuitively ethical attitudes that define the underlying spiritual grid. Hence his "search for new political spaces". And, though he has not given us a blueprint of the state that answers fully to his dream of humane governance, he has made it abundantly clear that such a state would have to be a participative "decentralised democracy". Its energies and its culture should institutionally connect us with the "peripheries" and the marginalised peoples hitherto excluded from the processes of politics, though used ruthlessly to fuel the engines of state power.

In other words, it would be an edifice raised from below, brick by brick, and the intermediaries or the intervening structures as well as the governing elites (and there is, in Professor Kothari's view no escape from that phenomenon) would have to draw all their power from an integrated, over-arching system of mediating levels which may not be easily violated.

Hence Professor Kothari's accent on activism, on 'grassroot' ethos and on moralism. No wonder, one finds a strong streak of Gandhian thought in his extended argument. That this side of the Gandhian doctrine links us to that subliminal India which comes alive below the threshold of conscious thought, and forms the milk of our moral nutriment, is undeniable, but it is surprising that a thinker of such open perceptions should have stopped on this side of the transparent Gandhian contradictions. For, the fact is that the great Mahatma was an extraordinary *sui generis* star in orbit, and his revolutionary world-view was a curious mix of the *Gita* and the *bania's* ledger-books.

Which brings us to the tragic betrayal of the Gandhian legacy by the Gandhis called Indira, Sanjay and Rajiv—a *trimurti* of pride, pelf and power. It is indeed one of the monstrous ironies of history that the same name should represent both the glory and the shame of Indian politics. And Professor Kothari who has a tender, romantic regard for the Nehru era is forthright in his analysis of the dynastic, populist, adventurist and totalitarian politics of mother and son. He, therefore, views the infamous Emergency, and even the tragic assassination of Mrs Gandhi, as events that brings dramatically and pitilessly to the fore all the historical contradictions and aberrations rooted in a destructive personality. He is civilised enough not to use the word "nemesis", but there's no doubt he regards her as an over-reacher who gave an almost lethal and irreversible turn to India history. As for Rajiv Gandhi, a massive mistake catapulted to power by wanton chance and accident, to begin with, is already a national disaster. All the weaknesses that his fine Roman face hid, when he rose to power like a new rocket, have started appearing in a sort of rash. Commenting on the kind of fractured and abused polity Mrs. Gandhi gifted to him from beyond, Professor Kothari remarks, "A world so apart and isolated and alien that it sounds like another *colonial occupation.*" The moral of his argument is that India today is governed by its *own aliens*, its *own moral outlaws* and its *own imperialists*. It is a *native occupation*, if you like. Having subborned and suspended the political process, the new dynasty rules through whim and impulse as much as through will and design.

THE WAY OUT . . .

In the concluding essay called "Democracy and Fascism", Prosessor Kothari shows up, among other things, the pitiable logic of the Girilal Jains of India and other intellectuals of their kind who defend the Machiavellian politics of our rulers for what they call "reasons of state" and "a higher morality". He might well have added that ancient cliche (and a cliche is a truth gone grey) that the road to the totalitarian hell is always paved with such pious intentions !

How then to initiate "a politics of recovery"? It is Professor Kothari's firm belief that the three dominant distempers of the Indira-Rajiv governance—the *communalisation* of politics (the Numbers Game), the *criminalisiation* of politics (money and mafia *a la* Sanjay Gandhi) and the *lumpenisation* of politics (the *jughi-jhonpri* fascist brigades) can only be walked out of the system, when the 'grassroot' movements acquire not only cadre-based strength, but also a viable theory. And regretfully, such a theory is not fully in sight yet. Professor Kothari may in good time furnish it; meanwhile he remains a gadfly on the Indian scene, big enough to give some moments of anxiety to the Establishment, and some moments of reflection to the country's professoriat.

Reproduced from the magazine Art of Living (Amritsar) April-May, 1988, Vol. XV No. 4-5 with thanks to the Editor and the reviewer, both. Prof. Darshan Singh Maini is a well known commentator on current developments.

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TRIBAL STUDIES IN INDIA

J. P. Singh, N. N. Vyas & R. S. Manu *(Eds.)*
TRIBAL WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT
M.L.V. Tribal Research Institute, Udaipur, and
Rawat Publications, Jaipur (1988) Pp 210 Price Rs.200/-

Reviewed by Suguna Pathy

Voluminous studies on tribal communities have been emerging in India since the early days of colonialism. Barring a few, all researches equivocally focus tribal communities in isolation as archaic and peripherical to the rest of social milieu. Irrespective of the inherent contradictions and uneven levels of development among and between the tribal peoples, all are dubbed *en masse* Time and space do not permit us to enter the long and unresolved debates of the academia at the conceptual level of the term — *tribe*. However, one can ascertain that the term tribe is not a mere 'administrative category', but also a powerful 'politico-ideological category' with wider reflections.

TRIBAL STUDIES & SOCIO-POLITICAL CHANGE

Tribal studies in India have flourished under the umbrella of anthropology with colonial patronage, which is conditioned historically like other social sciences. With the advent of independence, the trend shifted to the new vistas of imperialism, and in the process, became an ally to the subsequent political developments. Accordingly, most of the tribal studies reflected the corresponding ideological orientation resulting in professional optimism—be it androecentric bias or ethnocentric bias.

Notwithstanding the history of recent socio-political dynamics, specially in Third World countries, one can still observe that the sexual inequalities in household, field, factory and public and private institutions prevail with minor modifications; wage and educational differentials continue unabated; women are oppressed through various institutional means *albeit* in different degrees, cutting across caste/'tribe' and class lines. More often than not, women are viewed as "objects of change" rather than as active agents of change, imitators than initiators, and the list is endless. The gender structures in our male-dominated society define and identify women through men, and women are not as important as men. The sex-appropriate behaviour gets institutionalised in specific patriarchal socialization process, thus leading to the assumption that association with man is the determinant factor for woman's social status; and this is decided only by the relationship with men, "sexism" as an ideology justifies the domination of men over women. Gender reflections in society are so pervasive that most of us are unaware of the apparent manifestations at all institutional levels, specially familial and professional. Only recently, the concerned social scientists have started probing the stereotyped assumptions of women precisely, as one-sided comprehension is not only dangerous but also results in the distortion of reality. In most of the studies, women are relegated and bracketed under the generalised term Man assuming the entire humanity, thus leading to defective theorisation in social sciences in general, and anthropology is no exception.

MAIN OUTLINE WITH SEVERAL THEMES

The book under review is an outcome of a national conference on Tribal Women and their problems, jointly organised by M.L.V. Tribal Research and Training Institute, United Nation's Children's Fund (*UNICEF*) and the Indian Council of Social Science Research (*ICSSR*), in July 1986, with the object of finding out the problems and strategic devices for the development of tribal women. This volume first came under the special number of *Tribe* (Vol. XVII Nos 1-4, Jan-Dec. p. 85). *Tribe* is devoted to analysing the advances made in researches on the life, culture and issues concerning the development of tribal communities. Considering the prevalent gender biases and stereotypes in anthropology, this book offers a welcome departure and precisely the reason for this review. As Dr. K. S Singh very aptly mentions in the *Foreword*, that "while the status of women, their economic right, their participation in management, their access to employment and food, and many other things, have been debated over many years, these issues have not been focused in relation to tribal women".

The book is organised into five sections, and the very first part deals with the conceptual issues of status and development of 'tribal' women. Needless to mention that this section gears the reader to the intended objectives and the concerned issues of women in the following sections based on empirical evidence.

The participation of women in different economic activities and their corresponding position in the social structure has been discussed in detail in the second section–Women and Economic Activities. In the following section, Tribal Women: Impact of Socio-Economic Change, many crucial issues have been analysed regarding the position of women in the context of changing environment of social, economic, political and juridical junctures. In fact, these two sections could have been combined as there is a dialectical relationship between the economic processes and the nature of development in the society.

In the ensuing fourth and fifth sections, on the Need for Education & Training & on Voluntary Action for Tribal Women Development, the role of education among the tribal people in general, and women in particular and, the impact of voluntary organizations on the issues concerning women in various tribal regions have been enumerated. These discussions become equally important for the practical purpose of policy-planning. For, more often than not, our policy-makers are blissfully unaware of the existing variations

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TOWARDS A PERESTROIKA

and specific cultures of the people. "While planning for, and implementing, programmes of development, such areas of native social structures must be understood and adapted for use in the best interest of the intended aim" (*xiv–Introduction*).

SOME MAJOR THEORETICAL ISSUES

As the first section raises some of the major theoretical issues having direct overall bearings in the following sections of the book, it becomes pertinent therefore, to highlight some points. The issues raised are: (1) There are very few studies on women from tribal areas. As Dr. Singh observes, "the studies on tribal women have not been many nor in depth.... The study of tribal women, however, has been either succinct or has been generally ignored or disposed summarily .." (*P. 8*). (2) Tribal women enjoy comparatively better status than the non-tribal women, but this *should not induce complacency and pre-empt all action.* The picture seems to be grim. The women are exploited both sexually and economically. (3) The gender bias in food distribution exists, which negates the romanticism of tribal communities.

One positive sign of *perestroika* in Anthropology in general and tribal studies in particular, is that it is admitted that "Anthropologists and Anthropological Survey of India have suffered from a masculine bias in not undertaking an anthropometric survey of Indian women or similar studies on a large scale. This is now sought to be remedied by undertaking an anthropological study of women and their status on the national scale" (*p. 8*). The reviewer hopes that it is in process.

However, one caution persists; mere undertaking of surveys on women will not solve the problem and cannot fill the gap of hitherto existing biased researches, until and unless women are understood as potential subjects in the wider political economy, which is indeed a methodological and an ideological question.

In the same section, B. K. Roy Burman examines some indicators of development of the tribal women with a special reference to the Seventh Plan with authenticity; like the demographic composition of females, age at marriage, rate of participation of women in economic activities, sex-wise division of labour and so on. He very aptly holds, and the present reviewer agrees with him, that "The crucial question is not, however, that of quantum of labour, it is freedom of work, of share in decision making" (*p. 21*) which determines the status of women. If we go by the quantum in all societies, women should enjoy higher status unconditionally, but the reality is reverse. Why? Precisely, it is the **lack of freedom** for which women (not only from tribal areas) have to struggle to assert.

STARTLING IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

In the third section of the book, Sachchidananda critically analyses the impact of development policies of independent India on the status of women in tribal areas. Some of the startling issues are: (i) Early marriage among the tribal women has become prestigeous; (ii) Among some communities, widow remarriage and divorce suffer from stigma; (iii) The control of the state over the forest restricts the freedom of the people from generations and affects women in various ways. "The state exploitation of the forest has drastically reduced the scope of hunting and forestry ...The role of women in agriculture is drastically reduced" (*P. 83*); (iv) The mechanization of agriculture increases the work-load of women; (v) The intended tribal development programmes institute the patriarchal dominance in the tribal regions and increase sexual inequalities.

In other words, the million dollar question before us is ..development or deprivation?

In one of the most provoking papers, K. Murali Manohar and B. Janardan Rao have meticulously examined the women's question in the tribal regions within the overall broader framework of political economy which seems very interesting. In all probability, the political economy of tribal India urges the class analysis of the tribal society in general and the tribal social structure in particular. As they stress that, in the final analysis, struggle alone can lead to qualitative transformation by raising the level of consciousness, corresponding articulation of the people at large, and in the process, separate women's organisation are necessary to speed up the tempo. For, the movement of human history is a continuous process of creation and re-creation of human life in a particular enviroment which, in turn, is mediated by specific social milieu.

In sum, this book, a pleasant addition to any library, is not only useful to the concerned academicians, but also to the policy-planners, administrators, social workers and activists.

Dr. Suguna Pathy is in the Department of Sociology at the South Gujarat University Campus, Surat.

● *Have you read any of these books by Dr. Rajni Kothari? If so, how about your comments?*

STATE Against DEMOCRACY : **In Search of Humane Governance** (1988) Rs. 200/-

TRANSFORMATION and SURVIVAL : **In Search of Humane World Order** (1988) Rs. 190/-

RETHINKING DEVELOPMENT : **In Search of Humane Alternatives** (1988) Rs. 200/-

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Rediscovery of Self : A Guru's Legacy

Sushmita Devi : NECTAR OF WISDOM

Writers Workshop, Calcutta (1988) Pp. 382 Rs 150/- & Rs. 100/-

Comments by Udayan Majumdar

Though it is a brief book, this reviewer has taken a long time over it—not because of the usual procrastination normally indulged in by many book reviewers, but because of the very nature of the book. Some works are not meant to be reviewed; they just have to be read and enjoyed the way connoisseurs enjoy their drinks.

Nectar of Wisdom is a collection of myriad such oblations by way of notes and anecdotes, compiled together—each one with a different component and taste, but all of them leaving the reader with similar feelings of a very deep satiation, a secretive pleasure or a profound truth that wants to be buried deep within one. All of them are brief, contextually placed and theme-specific. At the same time, they reflect and resound in one, something deep and universal. Each of them centres around the personality of **Sri Sri Babathakur** whose adorers believe him to be unfurling the more subtler aspects of their inner lives.

Divine intentionality does not preclude man's choice. On the contrary, it gives to him tremendous freedom of supporting or opposing its design. The world is a great lesson, an arena for human evolution from a self-perplexed existence to a self-realized being. Every intervention that men (or women) make in nature is like a question they ask, and the corresponding effects on our environment are nature's answers to this question. Sri Sri Babathakur echoes this view when he suggests to its devotes : ". . .Consciousness is ever new—never monotonous. Confusion born of reflection or ignorance is called bondage. . . All your movements in life must turn to worship, because you will then have good results . . . the whole matter is to permit Self to shine through the mists of worldly thoughts which have filled up the mind more and more, and made us forget how the light of Self can shine beautifully".

The author also endorses Sri Sri Babathakur's suggestion that discriminative intelligence must accompany action. Moreover, the Divine being man's deepest imperative must touch the plane of action for his/her existence to be redeemed. Though, in this work, the author has delineated the great paradoxes and dualities of life that must form and be resolved before the redemption of the Self, the author's view is far from the dominant one in contemporary times, which suggests that man's essential self is all avarice, lust and narrow ambition, that any emergence of the Self would necessarily imply collective annihilation. Nevertheless, confronted by other kinds of threats of annihilation, our chances of survival could be a lot better on the path that deals with the "whole" man — the path of bliss and love suggested by Sri Sri Babathakur, as evident from this book.

Today, truth and faith have become separate and irreconcilable, thus rendering the need for "wholeness" a perpetual torment, and destroying any integrity between the objective world and the individual psyche. This book suggests that the wholeness, the realization of unity, the realization of Self, cannot be prompted by being in a distant cave or *ashrama*. Paradoxically, it has to be discovered amidst all the din and bustle of life.

However, the contents of the book may well arouse mixed reactions in most readers—from unsuspecting agreement as regards general theses to unqualified rejection of tendentious and unsupported individual statements of the author. The reason for this perhaps could lie in the "legacy" of a *Guru* not well-maintained and transmitted by his disciple whose mind seems rooted in a one-dimensional view of Indian spiritual continuity in order to combat the "big, bad world" of today.

Critics might consider this work as teleological, uncritical and non-objective. But then Susmita Devi does not write ideological, compliant or taboo-respecting, opportunist personal history. She just writes down her impressions — the lessons conveyed to her much adored *Guru*, and therefore, deserves full ontological legitimacy for her work. Down the swift, circuitous arc of time, veiled in paradox and metaphor that remain serenely beautiful, pour out the persistently haunting sermons of Sri Sri Babathakur. Perhaps no recent work presents as wonderfully the divine laws governing all life in this world in the light of what we today presume to know of the world and of ourselves, as this one.

I commend this work to a new generation of readers for whom "rediscovery" of the Self has become essential. This is a work that the reader would like to go back to every now and then. And that is where the sweetness of *Nectar of Wisdom* lies.

Udayan Majumdar is University Grants Commission Research Fellow in the Department of Sociology, University of Calcutta.

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—Editors

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A CANDID PORTRAIT

A Scholar's Tribute to His Illustrious Father*

Comments by **Amrik Singh****

This biography of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan by his son has been reviewed by a number of people in appreciative terms. Several people have praised it for its unusual balance of candour and reticence, intimacy and formality. Several others have praised it for its many other qualities, including the fact that it is an exceedingly well-written book. I have no intention of repeating those things, for the book is rich in several other respects also. In my opinion, those need to be referred to and noticed.

At this stage, a question might be raised. Why is it that we read book reviews? There can be several answers. One is because we want to know whether the book is worth reading or not. Another is that we have no time to read the book and are content to read the review so that we can save ourselves the bother of having to read the book. To both these categories of readers, I would say that this is a book which requires to be read by any one who is interested in modern India.

Here is the interesting life story of an outstanding son of India who, through sheer ability, rose to the highest position in the land, and served the country in various capacities, and left a mark on modern India. Reading *about* the book can be no substitute for reading the book itself.

A SCHOLAR—WITH DIGNITY & INTEGRITY

The author's statement in the preface that he has not been "swayed by personal affection" and has "shirked nothing" is substantially true. What he presents is a compelling portrait of a man who, even with warts and all, comes across as a man whom we cannot but respect and admire.

Two things stand out from the portrait for us. One was Radhakrishnan's dignity as a human being, and the other his integrity, both as a scholar and as a man of affairs. Unlike most intellectuals, Radhakrishnan had a shrewd sense of the world. As Vice-Chancellor of two universities (Andhra University and Benares Hindu University—BHU) he gave ample evidence of it. When he went to Moscow as Indian Ambassador, he brought the same gifts into play. How he performed as Vice-President and then as President of India are details that do not have to be recounted; those are comparatively recent, and known to a large number of people.

AUGUST '42—AT THE B. H. U.

To take one instance. Dr. Radhakrishnan was the Vice-Chancellor of BHU, when the August 1942 events took place. Eastern U.P., where Varanasi is located, was one of those parts of the country where administration broke down and the British Government had to make extraordinary efforts to bring things under control. How he dealt with the U.P. Government and the Central Government are recounted in great detail. What comes through is his refusal to compromise his dignity as also his patriotism. By standing firm and acting correctly at every turn of event, he was eventually able to manage things the way they ought to have been managed.

In this approach to things, he was greatly helped by his standing as the leading intellectual of the country. It so happened that the man sent to be in charge of the BHU campus, Michael Nethersole, was one of his admirers. He, according to Gopal, was "a rough hewn, hard-drinking administrator", who had high respect for Radhakrishnan's scholarly distinction. As Gopal describes it, on one occasion, when "Hallett was seeking to adopt a firm line with Radhakrishnan, Nethersole, braced by numerous lashings of whisky, suddenly interrupted. 'Your Excellency, you may be the Governor of the Province, but can you ever hope to be a Fellow of the British Academy and of All Souls?' . . ."

Having noted this, Gopal makes a delicious comment and adds, "Hallett mumbled under his breath and quickly terminated the conference".

AN INCIDENT OF 1930

It is gems like this that are scattered all over the book; and unless somebody reads the whole book, he cannot get the flavour of Gopal's writing. For instance, in 1930, Dr. Radhakrishnan was invited to deliver the convocation address at the Punjab University, Lahore. What he said on that occasion is not important as compared to what happened subsequently. As he and the Chancellor of the University were leaving the hall, "a young man rose, bowed to Radhakrishnan and then pulling out a revolver,fired at the Chancellor wounding him. Later asked why he had failed in his attempt to wound the Governor fatally, the young man answered that one main reason was that he had mainly wished to avoid hurting Radhakrishnan".

This is interesting; but equally interesting is another fact when, a little later, Radhakrishnan was knighted by the British Government. The comment of the Punjab Governor on this decision was interesting. He said, "It is rare for a man to receive at once an honour from the King and the homage of a revolutionary". Evidently he was referring to the unsuccessful attempt on his life by the young terrorist. If the Governor was able to escape, it was because of the presence of Radhakrishnan next to him.

A CHANCE MEETING & OTHER EPISODES

There are innumerable anecdotes of this kind in the book. For instance, Radhakrishnan happened to meet Jinnah, by chance during a train journey to Bombay. He had known Jinnah somewhat in the past. When the two met, Jinnah said to Radhakrishnan, "You are one of my major enemies". When Radha-

(*Overleaf*)

*Sarvapalli Gopal : RADHAKRISHNAN : A Biography—*Oxford University Press *(1989) Pp 408, Rs. 250/-*

***Dr. Amrik Singh is the Founder Editor of the Indian Book Chronicle and nursed it from 1976 to 1985.*

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A CANDID PORTRAIT

(*Continued from page 245*)

krishnan looked puzzled, Jinnah added, "because you have made Hinduism respectable".

A couple of reviewers have questioned some of the statements made by the author in regard to certain events. For instance, it has been said that one of the names under consideration for the Ambassadorship to Russia, when Radhakrishnan was nominated, was that of Devdas Gandhi. This has been, however, described as not exactly accurate. Similarly, the version of how Radhakrishnan did not get his second term as President has also been questioned in regard to a few details. It is not possible to go into these issues unless one has a fairly detailed knowledge of what was happening behind the scenes those days.

ADIEU SCHOLAR & STATESMAN

Where I disagree with one of the reviewers is when he found fault with Gopal's remark; "That neither Indira Gandhi nor President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed had the grace to attend his funeral". What is wrong with making such a statement, except that both the persons referred to are dead, and one usually does not say such things about persons who are no longer alive ? That is correct. But was it not an omission on their part to have turned their back on a man whose place in public life was not based on self-seeking or manipulation, but on solid scholarship and a remarkably versatile talent.

On the face of it, there seems to be considerable truth in Gopal's statement that if Radhakrishnan did not bow out from being considered for the President's post the second time, it was largely because of Kamraj's pressure. There was a tug of war between Indira Gandhi and Kamaraj at that time. Though eventually Kamraj lost, he had some chance of success as long as Radhakrishnan was a candidate.

In retrospect, one can say that he should have bowed out much earlier. But when one is caught in these personal tangles, sometimes it becomes difficult to take the right decision at the right time. Evidently, it was an error of judgment on his part not to have put his foot down when he should have done so. How Indira Gandhi behaved with him in that situation is another matter and need not be referred to.

Altogether the book makes a splended reading. It evokes the mind and personality of Radhakrishnan with great understanding and warmth. The man comes through as susceptible to certain human failings. But that does not take away anything from the achievements of the man and his contribution both to the world of learning and the world of affairs

"A Life at Many Levels" the title of the concluding chapter, is an accurate description of the man. It needs to be recalled, particularly in the light of the two dominant characteristics of the man's personality —his dignity and his integrity—that here was a man of exceptional gifts who needs to be remembered and praised. □

IN MODERN INDIA

POLITICS IDEOLOGY

[*We publish extracts from an essay by* **Dr. Avijit Pathak**, *a social scientist and commentator of Varansi from his recent book DISCONTENTS OF A CULTURE —Writers' Workshop, Calcutta (1988). We hope that this would initiate a debate amongst IBC Readers.—Eds.*]

India after forty years of Independence ! What does it mean ? Surely this is not a very pleasant experience to repeat. One view to which the Leftist and the Rightist seem equally inclined is that corruption has become an integral part of our existence. And corruption is essentially a fall from an ideal. Corruption is deviance—deviance from our noblest aspirations. But what are those aspirations whose complete negation we are witnessing today ?

GANDHI'S VOICE

With the hegemonic spread of imperialism, it became obvious that India's destiny would depend on how she coped with the challenge of the White Man. On the one hand, her culture and identity; on the other, the irresistible urge for modernity. How to reconcile these two demands was a major question. The process initiated by Raja Rammohan Roy and further accelerated by Vivekananda and Aurobindo, took a new shape when Gandhi emerged on the national scene,

With Gandhi, even Hinduism—which sociologists and historians used to call a life-negating experience—acquired a new meaning. His unique attempt to reconcile religion with politics showed that India could evolve her own way to remove her ugliness—her poverty, inequality and oppression.

The language that Gandhi invented was not an invitation to tradition, pure and simple. Nor was it inclined to cultural imperialism as propagated by the mighty West. He sought to transcend the duality of tradition and modernity. Gandhi wanted justice—spiritual, political and economic unity.

The institutions, he imagined, were designed to implement what men always wanted—a peaceful community where spiritually contented beings retain their uniqueness and diversity.

NEHRU—THE VOICE OF A NEW GENERATION

Not many would like to believe that with Nehru began our fall. Doubtless, Nehru was a leader of a different kind. Gandhi's faith in him was supreme. Yet, astonishingly enough, Nehru symbolised all that Gandhi denied. May be Nehru spoke the language of a new generation, for which the Gandhian negation of the West looked ridiculous Gandhi spoke of oceanic circles, village *swaraj*, simple and solidly integrated communities with manageable technology. Whereas Nehru—an admirer of Darwin and Marx—knew that a twentieth century civilisation was fast becoming

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& ALTERNATIVES

uniform, that isolated experiments could not succeed and that India, in order to survive, must welcome the next stage of societal evolution.

So with Nehru began the process of political modernisaton. Nehru's intention was as noble as that of Gandhi. But because of his extraordinary urge to catch up with the West, Nehru could not visualise the incompatibility between the institutions he welcomed and the expectations of the people.

DEMOCRACY, UNITY & PLURAL CENTRES OF POWER

For instance, parliamentary pemocracy—a major process of political modernisation—is primarily authoritarian. It undermines the freedom of the individual. The critique of parliamentary democracy came not solely from Gandhi Even a rationalist like M.N. Roy could not to fail to sec the danger implicit in parliamentary democracy. You and I elect our masters ! And what looks like democracy degenerates into the dictatorship of the ruling party !

The idea of parliamentary democracy was largely a product of the West that witnessed a nation state with the growth of a new middle class, scientific education and technological progress. But our experience was entirely different. Although in the process of our glorious freedom struggle, some kind of nationalism emerged, the fact remains that here diversity is more real, and the existence of innumerable sub-nationalities can hardly be denied

None is suggesting that unity is an impossible proposition. But unity can never be imposed through a centralised source of power. What is required is as Gandhi thought, a gentle anarchy. Not a centralised nation-state legitimised by parliamentary democracy, but plural centres of power that enable each and every cultural unit to shape its destiny, are required.

So the gaps are clearly felt. A political institution that, as the Nehruvian liberals thought, would promise liberation, causes powerlessness for the majority. Democracy is reduced to the simple act of voting. We are robbed of our conscience and responsibility...

CENTRALISATION

And, then. with the increasing centralisation of power, a situation has been created in which different sub-nationalities feel they are left with only one option: to take up guns and bombs and reveal their fears and suspicions. From TNV extremists to Gorkha rebels—the message is the same everywhere. It is a deep rooted suspicion of our brand of nationalism, the existing model of federalism

The Government, however, pretends not to see these gaps, these incompatibilities between the prevailing institutions and the politico-cultural aspirations of the masses. The result is obvious. Violence continues to spread. Every day, one reads in the newspaper all that is ugly, all that reminds one of the collapse of the existing institutions.

THE VACUUM OF IDEOLOGY & ITS RESULTS REGIONALISM, COMMUNAL VIOLENCE & TERRORISM

What is really pathetic is the ideological vacuum we are passing through. The crisis is deepening further; and the possibility of an alternative is seldom visualized. Instead, we are witnessing ideological compromises.

If you feel that the Centre is far away and it negates your cultural identity, form a regional party and elect an NTR ! This is a wonderful compromise. The Centre accepts this kind of regionalism, because it is not the true expression of the suffering masses. It has got its own elite, its own coercive machinery, its own history of corruption.

And then, there are innumerable communal organisations, clever enough to exploit the powerlessness of the individual. But these organisations have nothing to do with men's true religious aspirations.

In fact, communal violence emerges out of an ideological vacuum; it has to be located in a context in which there is no mediation between a "secular" state and a "religious" world-view.

The ideological vacuum manifests itself most intensely in the form of terrorism. Terrorism is an act of despair; a terrorist assumes that the society he lives in has exhausted all possibilities. He experiences a deep, frightening void. His bombs and guns seek to penetrate into this terrible nothingness. Terrorism is a cry, a symptom of our collective neurosis.

MORE CENTRALISATION & OPPRESSION

But then, through terrorism, no new art of rebellion is born. Instead, the fear it creates in the psyche of "normal". "peace-loving" citizens causes a situation conducive to more centralisation of power. The state finds reason to convince its citizens to believe that its coercive machinery needs to be strengthened in order to cope with those who mercilessly kill innocent bus passengers. As a matter of fact, terrorism, if not absolutely uncontrolled, helps to perpetuate its oppression. Both the terrorist and the army general prevent the oppressed from evolving their own alternatives, their own visions of a new society.

What should not be forgotten is that ultimately, concrete humans have to make their presence felt. They must satisfy their cultural aspirations and local identities. They must evolve their own alternatives. That was a lesson Gandhi intended to teach.

And. after forty years of Independence, amidst the noise of bombs and guns everywhere, should we not reflect for a while and learn the dialectic of the Gandhian art of rebellion ?

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Closer To The Stars

Chitra Narendran : RANGAMMA AND OTHER POEMS
Writers' Workshop, Calcutta (1988) Pp. 41, Rs. 60/- (Hardback) Rs. 40/- (Paperback)

Review by D.C. Chambial

Rangamma and Other Poems is a posthumous volume of verses by Chitra Narendran. The book contains her twenty-two piquant poems In these, she had captured the prettiest moments of life and made them everlasting with her spruce poetic imagination. The range of subjects varies from Ecstacy, Tea-break, Jai Kisan, Anguish, Erosion, Cess-pools, Mother, Kanishka—the ill-fated air-bus, to the philosophical, Cosmos and I. She chose her subjects with equal ease from her vicinity, day-to-day life, national events and philosophy.

'Rangamma' the title poem is the story of a beautiful young girl who grows up, marries and then the cruel fate plays its game; she is widowed. In her deserted life : "*The velvet sky studded with stars/Whispered Life ! Life !*"

The same pessimistic note continues in 'Karamchedu' where : "*Dreams die in the harsh light of day/The world is a roaring headache, a raging thirst*" This poem embodies the theme of untouchability.

'Ecstacy' teems in the poetic affirmation of life and rejoicing nature in all their suns and shades. Ephemeral and meta-physical questions are commingled together : "*While absorbed in the/Making of chapaties/Questions of cosmic importance/Occurred to me.*"

The poor farmers, who have got only lip sympathies,are the victims of society. In spite of hard labour, their recompense is very little. In 'Jai Kjsan', she describes the farmers as : "*Wasted sons of sterile soil/ Undone by the vital toil, glorified*"

The Kanishka tragedy is captured in ironic words —the ghastly act of sabotaging and terrorism with an echo, but with inverted connotation, from the *Geeta*. She writes :

The exploding myth of humanity,
The scattered debris of
Human hopes and aspitations
The drowning of innocents.
A ceremonial spilling of blood
Burnt offering Unheard cries for mercy
Seeking. dread vampires shrieking—
"Sambhavami Yuge Yuge !"

'Mother' is full of love, tenderness, cares of a mother and yet a "*sick orgy of wanting, wanting/with desperation.*"

Her imagination is sharp and focussed. Most of the poems are objective in approach, where her self stands at a distance and looks at the objects very clearly. Head and heart are tn perfect diapason. A strain of pessimism runs throughout the book. She tells "*You tread on my dreams/That are woven gossamer thin.*"

The tragedy of her dreams becomes more distinct, when one reads the publisher's note that the poet left this world for good after submitting her manuscript, to ponder over the sorrows and sufferings of life. We would have had more sparkling verses from her pen, had fate not been cruel to her. Oh, she died young! A tribute to her in her own words : *One is closer to the stars/with room to stretch and/Reach for the unreachable.*

D.C. Chambial until recently Lecturer in English at Bagsiad (H.P.) has recently moved to Chamba.

A First Collection

B. R. Nagpal : VARIED TEXTURES
Writers' Workshop, Calcutta (1987) pp 38, Rs. 60/- & Rs. 32/- (flexiback).

Review by Sunaina Kumar

Parts tag the whole
The gyrating leaves, veins
connect you with the earth's bosom
parts tag the whole.

Varied Textures by B. R. Nagpal could aptly be summed up by the above extract. In this collection of thirty short poems, each averaging from ten to twelve lines, Nagpal has endeavoured to put together the whole gamut of felt experience'. The seasons, nature, the spiritual and the temporal—all are represented here.

While winter finds him 'awaiting newborn gods' (*Winter*), a summer evening discovers his 'pulsating' heart overawed by

a silver streak in the shroud
The penultimate moment.

In poem after poem is discernible the influence of Yeats suitably transmuted into the Indian ambience. Be it awaiting 'newborn gods' in *Winter*, or 'throngs' that 'dissolve' or the 'wild dispersion of living... with no fixed centre', one is reminded of '*The Second Coming*', '*Sailing to Byzantium*' and other similar poems.

The tangled webs of relationships, of 'married misfits' and grating voices that resound "No Love" are overshadowed by the Eliotian 'third presence'. The poet soon rises above these dismal portents in *Flashpoint*—

musing upon tempests,
chasms on the planet
between you and I,
we discern a flashpoint,
illumined towers and chapel bells.

(Continued)

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THE YEAR OF MASS PROTESTS & REVOLUTIONS

Nineteen Eighty-Nine may well be hailed as a year of big changes and sudden convulsions all over the world, in Asia, Africa and Europe. The silent murmurs of the people in Eastern Europe, kept for too long under the strait-jacket of "People's Democracy" or the dictatorship of the communist parties have erupted in a wind-storm of freedom—freedom to travel and trade beyond the national frontiers unchecked, the right and opportunity to jump across the dividing Berlin Wall, the freedom to hold and give expression to all sorts of beliefs and opinions, and above all, freedom to elect their own, truly representative government, and a new, more humane and unencumbered way of life in an "open" society.

Few could have anticipated a few years ago, even a few months ago, that the era of change or "restructuring the state" and 'creating an open society' which the new leadership in the Soviet Union, led by Gorbachov, tried to usher in, would have so wide and resolutionary effects, not only in the U. S. S. R. (where not only "nationalist" or "regional" aspirations have resurfaced in an open and loud manner, and the clamour for "autonomy", even secession, of the outlying Republics has assumed great proportions) but also in all the Soviet satellites — Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

The Communist/party-led governments have been marginalised, regimes isolated and the party forums besieged and made to surrender their position of prominence and leadership. The structures of state and the society have been changed at a phenomenal and breakneck pace. At times, it appeared that each of these nation-states has been hovering between chaos and anarchy on one hand and the promise of a new social order through an orderly process of change on the other; and a razor-thin line of hope and fear divided the scene, dominated by huge demonstrations of people's power.

Perhaps the most assuring sign of the times has been that the demonstrations as well as the changes which they have brought about have been "peaceful" and "non-violent", so far, and as we have said, orderly. The people have been on the march, literally so, in their millions; they have kept their vigilance, yet their powders dry. And citadels of power and authority have bent before them. Dictators have been humbled, including many scapegoats, and the prison-walls, as if it were, have crumbled.

Was this the sort of scenario which Karl Marx and his followers had foreseen when they talked or dreamt about the golden dawn of the "withering away of the state" after the dictatorship of the proletariat ?

Whether the "state" has withered away or not, there is no doubt left now that, in several countries of Eastern Europe, "the Communist Party State" has withered away; rather it has been brought down by the power of the people.

That, and the restraint shown by the Soviet Union. For a change, Soviet forces have not been rushed in, nor has there been any Party interference to bolster up the old regimes.

Would the story be repeated in other communist countries or in other totalitarian states ? Can it be ?

As Jawaharlal Nehru had repeatedly suggested in his *Glimpses of World History* and elsewhere, revolutions are made by the people with their weapons of ideas. He had seen these signs in the making of the French Revolution in 1789 (and the earlier revolutions or changes in England and America) and in the Bolshevik Revolution—the October Revolution of 1917. And now in the bi-centenary year celebration of the French Revolution, we have had a new version of the October Revolution, the dawn of a new spring, as if it were, all over Eastern Europe. The recent months, weeks perhaps, have been the hundred and odd days that have shaken the continent of Europe from its foundations, that have shaken the whole world ! We are sure that, if he had been alive, Nehru would have hailed these developments as new landmarks, mile-stones and turning-points in human history, with the socialist states shedding their ugly and frowning masks of tyranny and power, and assuming more human, benign and pleasant visages.

One hopes that these revolutionary changes are there to stay; that the years of trial and tribulation, and the months of turbulence are over, that further transitions in the political, economic and social order would continue to be peaceful; that the apparent scenes of anarchy or chaos, if any, would soon end; and unlike what happened in the wake of the French Revolution or the Great October Revolution heading forward in their own momentum, almost at a break-neck speed, would not recur; and that Napoleonism or Stalinism would not re-emerge

(*Continued overleaf*)

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under different names or forms. After all, both Napoleon and Stalin, and what they stood for or represented (like Hitlerism and Fascism, and many other dictatorships of the day, all over the world) were historical phenomena, perhaps inevitable and unavoidable in the sets of circumstances in which they emerged and grew. Such forces and phenomena emerge and grow whenever the people in their exuberance or the madness of euphoria over their momentary victory seem to lose their vision, their ideology and balance, and then miss their steps. Strong and iron-heeled leaders, or men with iron in their souls, rise out of the sea of confusion and chaos. Let that not happen again !

One way to ensure that is to see that there is no tampering with the process of change, no interference from outside, nor any siege-political, economic or military—as had been the case earlier.

An interesting feature of these changes is that unlike the Revoluions of 1789 or 1917, the people of Eastern Europe are fighting not so much for their "bread", as for "butter" and all that a reasonably "prosperous" society can afford or aspire to have. They want to escape from the austerities or shortages of "communism" into the promises and temptations of western-type "consumerism."

There is some sort of euphoric talk in certain circles that now that "communism" is on the retreat, capitalism and bourgeois democracy would be restored in these countries with open and free markets, free enterprise, the era of competition and profit motive, the age of incentives and opportunities. Would that be the route, this wished-for restoration of the capitalist, competitive order of free society that the East European would adopt ? Are there any capitalist elements left, or any emigrant groups, who would strive for their restoration ? Or would the powers that be, both inside East European countries and outside, try and restore the elements or structures of capitalism ? That is the big question. In other words, what is the likely economic, social and political shape of these societies ? And how much guidance, support, interference or intervention would be there, or would be tolerated, from the "capitalist" West or the still "communist" East ? Or, would these newly "liberated" countries be given chance to try and find their own identities and their seperate paths to a new resurgence ? Their own "middle way" ?

Future, after all, is not only a game of winning political power, of how power and authority are won, by bullets and ballots, and are wielded, through communist party led and supervised people's democracy or through free and open elections, in which all political parties, groups and factions can participate openly and freely. Future is the economic, political, social and cultural vision of tomorrow, of the direction a society or nation chooses to follow. That is the test of a successful revolution. Unfortunately, as yet, with the attention focussed on the change of guards, the people and political parties of Eastern Europe have given no indication of their plans and ideas on these fronts of national resurgence and reconstruction.

Anyhow, it is time to bid good-bye to the old established order of a communist-dominated, and often Soviet-manipulated and controlled system of satellites facing a ring of adversary Nato powers and their like-minded allies. But while doing so, we must try and understand how all that had come about. How, for example, the scenario or possibility of all-parties coalitions and programmes of mixed economy and a free society even in Eastern Europe suddenly changed with the outbreak of the "cold war" and the division of Europe, not only of Germany or Berlin, into two opposite and almost hostile camps, each trying to out-smart and out-arm the other did come about ?

When the history of our times comes to be re-written at a distant point of time, with the cooling of passions and controversies over ideologies and economic systems, perhaps it would be stated and realised that if the Allies had not split and gone their separate way to protect their national vested interests, if the Cold War had not happened and continued to be fanned for more than four decades, if the policy of deterrence and arms race had been replaced by detente and disarmament sooner that now, the face of Eastern Europe and the destinies of all European nations would have been different—more secure and prosperous than is the case today. May be the rest of the world would also have been better-off, more free and more at peace and harmony with itself! That being so, let us hope and try to ensure that the winds of change that are now sweeping across Europe augur well for the rest of humanity, and that the songs of freedom and the spirit of spring spread across all the continents. Let this new dawn also bring about the end of the long dark night of tyranny all over the world, in Africa as well as in Asia, especially West Asia and in Central and Latin America.

B. H.

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SOME GLIMPSES OF NEHRU'S MIND

S. P. Agrawal and J. C. Agarwal :
NEHRU ON SOCIAL ISSUES
Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi (1989)

Reviewed by V. T. Patil

Jawaharlal Nehru was a multi-dimensional personality who made unique and distinctive contribution to modern Indian politics and society. A charismatic leader, a nationalist and internationalist, a world statesman, freedom fighter *par excellence,* a revolutionary and a Fabian socialist, a romantic visionary and a litterateur with a sense of history.

For more than five decades, Nehru, along with his mentor Mahatma Gandhi, strode as a colossus on the firmament of modern India. It has been said that a great man is one who gives shape, substance and thrust to human societies. In this very meaningful sense, Nehru was a very great leader of modern India, who has left a lasting legacy for posterity to persevere with his mission.

SECULAR DEMOCRACY

In the initial years of freedom, Nehru protected, nurtured and laid the foundations of Indian democracy. If India is still a viable democracy, a large measure of the credit should go to Nehru. Deeply influenced by 19th century British liberal philosophy, Nehru championed the cause of the freedom of the individual in an open society.

Through his innovative concept of secularism, Nehru sought to bring about communal harmony. To him India was a multi-lingual, multi-communal and multi-religious society, and only a state policy of secularism could hold the nation together. Nehru always argued that India was a composite society, and it was necessary that every section of India's population must have a sense of participation in the developmental process. Nehru knew that there was a gap between secularism as a policy and secularism in its operational dimensions. Thus, during the Nehru era, secularism was a state policy, but communal riots were a frequent occurrence.

SCIENCE & SOCIALISM

Nehru emphasised the role of science and technology so as to foster industralisation and modernisation in India. He always argued that it was necessary for the people to internalise the scientific spirit with emphasis on rationalism. He established a network of scientific institutions like C. S. I. R, I. C. A. R., National Physical Laboratories etc. Nehru also laid the infrastructure of industralisation during his tenure as Prime Minister of India. He was instrumental in conceiving the multipurpose river valley projects and laid emphasis on heavy industries.

Nehru inculcated the spirit of socialism in the people with a view to bringing about rapid economic development. He was of the firm opinion that an egalitarian society could be built only on the basis of a socialist philosophy.

At the Avadi session of the Indian National Congress, Nehru talked in terms of achieving a socialistic pattern of society. This line of thinking was also evident in the later sessions of the Congress. For Nehru, socialism, secularism and democracy were three pillars on which the superstructure of a scientific and technological society could be built and nourished.

HIS SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY & SENSE OF HISTORY

Schematically, the book is divided into thirteen chapters with meaningful appendices. The first chapter discusses Nehru's social philosophy of life. Here Nehru discusses the "means and ends" dichotomy. Like Gandhi, Nehru also argued that right means produced good results. On the other hand, wrong means could lead to evil results. Therefore, the doctrine of means and ends was based on the assumption that human beings should always adopt right means. In a materialistic civilization with its cut-throat competition, the moral dimension of any problem is ignored, while success through any means acquires the highest priority. The "Means-Ends" philosophy of Gandhi and Nehru is moralistic and applicable only to individuals who are moral in the real sense of the term.

The second chapter looks into historiography. Nehru was of the opinion that as an Asian, acts and events relating to Asia were of great interest to him. He felt that a holistic viewpoint of Asia's history could establish the point of contacts and similarities between the peoples of this region. Those with good knowledge of history must consider this fact for a world perspective.

The subsequent chapters deal successively with Nehru's views on democracy, nationalism *versus* internationalism, democratic socialism, national integration, education, women, youth, children, communications, non-alignment and non-aligned nations, and democracy after the Second World War.

TOWARDS A WELFARE STATE

Nehru was a great liberal with deep faith in the democratic ethos. He was of the opinion that democracy got considerably weakened towards the end of 19th century since it could not adopt to the new socio-economic and political milieu of society. Nehru, in his writings, discussed persuasively the three images or forces of communism, dictatorship, and fascism in

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GLIMPSES OF NEHRU'S MIND

the contemporary period. Nehru as an individualist was keen to evolve an egalitarian society in India. Hence his goal was to achieve a welfare state with a socialistic economy. In other words, Nehru took a synthetic view, wherein he tried to combine democracy with socialism through non-violent and legitimate methods. To Nehru, parliamentary democracy was the most peaceful form of government which could provide an opportunity to every individual to develop and enrich his/her personality.

Given Nehru's vision of a futurist, scientific, technological society, he emphasised planned economic development It was his firm belief that only through organised and systematic planning, it was possible to eradicate poverty, hunger and disease in India. Unfortunately, this nearly four decades of planning have been years of a mixed blessing. This is for the simple reason that the planning process created islands of wealth surrounded by a vast ocean of poverty.

INDIA—A MOSAIC OF CULTURES

Nehru knew that India had linguistic, religious and cultural diversities. Hence his objective was to evolve a secular society wherein everyone would be given the freedom to profess his religion. He was also aware that the Indian society represented a mosaic with a capacity for synthesis by combining the old and new elements.

Nehru laid emphasis on education in a traditional society like that in India. He was in favour of "socially relevant" education, which could come to grips with the on-going social reality. He was in favour of thinking and creative individuals rather than of automatons who were dull and supine and whose usefulness to society was marginal.

WOMEN & WEAKER SECTIONS

Nehru also applied his mind to the cause of women and their role in the joint family and in the society. He felt that in many instances, women did extraordinarily well, which in itself was praise-worthy, but on the contrary, there were many examples which were indicative of our negative approach to the position of women in our society. Nehru had no doubt in his mind that women were capable of playing a very important role in the national life.

Nehru also expressed his concern for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It was true that Nehru was in favour of reasonable reservations for them. But he firmly believed that it was necessary to advance them economically and educationally, so that they could depend upon themselves.

LANGUAGES — CREATIVE LINKS

On the vexed issue of language, Nehru was in favour of the language of the masses, rather than a language of a select coterie. He believed that language is a medium of communication. Therefore, it has to be adopted to develop a scientific and technological society for India. But yet, Nehru held the opinion that it must be rooted in our ancient heritage and tradition. Through the medium of language, Nehru wanted to establish a creative linkage between India's past, present and future.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Finally, Nehru's theory and practice of non-alignment was a unique and distinctive contribution to world affairs. He was one of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement. Through the policy of non-alignment, Nehru gave thrust to the hopes and aspirations of vast millions in the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Nehru's non-alignment did not have a negative connotation. On the contrary, he perceived it in a dynamic context. Non-alignment today has enabled small and economically backward nations of the Third World to organise themselves on a common platform and play a significant and useful role in world affairs. Nehru's non-aligned policy has not proved a complete success, but paradoxically there is no other alternative and viable policy for India. The fact that more than hundred nations today accept the policy of non-alignment is an eloquent tribute to the genius and vision of Nehru as a world statesman.

A MONUMENTAL LEGACY

All in all, Nehru was a constructive and creative thinker, a man of ideas who believed that all meaningful action was preceded by meaningful thought. The best tribute we can pay to Nehru in the centenary year is by re-evaluating his monumental legacy to modern India and to the world. It is in this context that we must congratulate the editors of this volume for paying tribute to the memory of one of the great sons of India.

One of the major limitations of the book is that the editors have not provided an objective and critical introduction to the various ideas, themes and issues projected by Nehru during his life time. Such an introduction could have provided a proper focus and frame of reference to Nehru's views on social issues as presented in the book under review.

Dr. V. T. Patil is Jawaharlal Nehru Professor & Chairman, Department of Political Science, Karnataka University, Dharwad, 580 003, Karnataka.

Editor's Note : As a sample of Nehru's views in his own words, we reproduce elsewhere some extracts from this compilation.

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A TALE OF TWO FAMILIES—*ACROSS THE DIVIDING LINE*

Amitav Ghosh : THE SHADOW LINES

Ravi Dayal Publishers, Delhi, (1988)

Comment by R. K. Kaul

This second novel of Amitav Ghosh is not experimental like his first, *The Circle of Reason* (1986). The plot is involved, but quite coherent. The scene shifts from Calcutta to London and back, with one memorable excursion to Dacca. The chronology, however, is jumbled. The story moves back and forth between 1939 and 1965 (the last date mentioned); but some incidents presumably refer to a later period with a total disregard to the time sequence. Still there is nothing mysterious or mystifying in this novel. There are no metaphysical overtones, nor any suggestion of the absurd.

What makes the novel coherent is the central position held by two families : the Datta - Chowdhary family in Calcutta and the Price family in London. All the other characters are related in some way to them. The two families have several links spanning three generations. The Price family lost Dan and Mike in the war; the Datta-Chowdhary family loses Tridib in a communal riot in Dacca.

The narrator has a crush on Ila and, in spite of the frequent fluctuations in their relationship, their encounters are the most emotionally charged in the novel Ila, however, marries Nick Price, an erstwhile Marxist who turns out to be a parasite and philanderer. The narrator's first advances to May Price are rebuffed; but by the time the novel ends, she accepts him as a substitute for the dead Tridib.

THE DIVIDING LINE

The title refers to the line of demarcation between West Bengal and East Bengal (or East Pakistan as it was known until 1971). In spite of the frequent communal tensions, migrations across the border and other hostilities, the line dividing the two Bengals (like the Iron Curtain between the two German Republics) has not been accepted, at least by those who, like the Grandmother, originally came from the East—a contrast to the division of Punjab.

The Grandmother undertakes a journey to Dacca in the hope of persuading Jethamoshai (her father's elder brother) to return to India—a journey that proves fatal for Jethamoshai, his host Khalil, the rickshaw puller, and Tridib, the son of India's High Commissioner in Dacca (called the Shaheb by the family) This climactic scene is reconstructed afterwards for the narrator by May Price and Robi (two of the survivors) on two different occasions. Presumably the writer considers the line of demarcation to be no shadow.

Although some of the place names are fictitious (like Stockwell and Lymington Road), on the whole, the novel has a very firm sense of place. Similarly, the political events beginning with the Second World War (1939-45) to the riots in Khulna (1964) and the Indo-Pakistan War (1965) are historically accurate.

A REALISTIC & INVENTIVE NARRATIVE

Being a realistic novel, it also satisfies the old fashioned reader's demand for a hero. In the eyes of the narrator (and we have no other eye for a view of the book) the hero is Tridib, a Bohemian scholar engaged in archaeological research. When in the right mood, he would hold forth on any esoteric branch of learning :

> "On those evenings, looking at the intent faces of his listeners, watching his thin waspish face, his tousled hair and his bright black eyes glinting behind his gold-rimmed glasses, I would be close to bursting with pride"... So great is his identification with Tridib.

The most colourful character in the novel (which like *The Circle of Reason* abounds in eccentrics) is undoubtedly the Grandmother. She is the retired head-mistress of a school, who is respected and feared. She is both dogmatic and domineering. Her originality is Dickensian :

> "For her time was like a tooth-brush; it went mouldy if it wasn't used. I asked her once what happened to wasted time. She tossed her small silvery head, screwed up her long nose and said : It begins to stink" (*p. 4*).

Every new character in the novel is introduced with a memorable description. The author's inventiveness does not desert him till the end. When the Grandmother's party goes to visit Jethamoshai, he (aged ninety) strikes Robi as shrunken, tiny, with spit hanging in threads from the corners of his mouth :

> "The pupils of his eyes had leaked into the whites like punctured egg yolks. He ... slowly raised a match stick thin arm *(p. 213)*.
>
> He grinned, and Tridib flinched from the ferstering malevolence in his bare, black gums."
> (*p. 214*)

After all these examples of Mr. Ghosh's mastery of the narrative art, it is surely unnecessary to add that we eagerly look forward to his next novel. His refusal to repeat the devices employed in the first novel gives promise of something equally unexpected in his third novel.

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STORIES IN THE SHADES OF FREUD

Ramesh K. Srivastava : LOVE & ANIMALITY

Writers' Workshop, Calcutta (1985) Pp. 102 Rs. 60/- (HB) & Rs. 40/- (PB)

Comment by Karnail Singh

Love and Animality was the first volume of Dr. R. K. Srivastava's short stories. The book has about it shades of Freud and is, in a way, a discourse about sexuality.

In a sublimated form, sex is said to heighten into love. In a degenerate state, it tends to come to the level of animality. Nevertheless, love and animality are two polarities, and yet their homologies derive from sex. At any rate, Dr. Srivastava's presentation is not as simple as that. He does not treat sex as something in the abstract. Rather, in each one of his short stories, he takes up a concrete situation and allows the persona to work out his/her motif in relation to the theme on the whole.

A CONFLICT

His mind shuttles freely across the boundaries of Indian and American cultures. The Indian puritan ethos comes into conflict with the American permissive code of morality, and causes tension in the mind of the protagonist, (Shyam in '*A Drowning Man*', Palwinder in '*Tigers of the Steering Wheel*' and so on.) The writer transcends each stance and sees the situation and character in each story in a disinterested manner.

In '*A Drowning Man*', Shyam, a physician from the University of Hawaii, chooses to marry Sarla. At this psychological moment, he begins to reflect over several alternatives which were open to him during his stay in the States after he had earned a medical degree there. Amelia, Jamie, Cathy or for that matter any other young American belle would have welcomed him as a life-partner. His 'Indianness' has had an upper hand. During the honeymoon, he drinks deep at the fount of erotic love. The definition-in-practice of the neologism 'Newega' makes Sarla bold to share with him the definition of what she calls 'chechu'. This out-Newegas Newega. A shudder runs through the spine of Shyam. He begins to feel as if he were 'drowning in an unfathomable ocean.' (*39*). His bourgeois puritan sensibility shakes up his whole being, in spite of the fact that he has been in the States for a couple of years and has had in his bones a sort of American-ness. Dr. Srivastava seems, in a way, to be hinting at the discrimination which is being exercised against the female in a male-oriented economy.

In '*Tigers of the Steering Wheel,*' Srivastava puts up a new perspective on the dialectic of sex (love) entailing as it does Indian and American cultures. The chance meeting of Palwinder and Marilyn is explored by the writer to the fullest extent possible within the small canvas of the story. Palwinder takes a fancy to Marilyn, an American belle. She is free and frank with Palwinder and can afford to be in his company, never minding the time. She has no mind to go beyond. Palwinder for one wants to be 'beyond' by winning and marrying her. In the course of a casual talk, she reveals : "I probably won't ever get married." (*45*)

When Palwinder drives her to Claria's place to attend the latter's marriage, she prods him to speed up lest she get late. He is clever enough to say that in case he becomes 'one-handed or one-legged' (*48*) in some accident if he drives rashly, no Indian girl would be willing to marry him. "Then, I will marry, Okey." (*48*). This utterance sends a thrill into his whole being and he begins to conjure up something phantasmal in his mind.

By way of strategy, he contrives an accident. He pretends to have broken his leg and gets it plastered. This disingenuous device moves Marylin. She marries him. 'A planned disaster' the trope that occurs in the last sentence of the story makes the reader see the whole imaginative construct in a new perspective. He begins to visualise the gloom which is bound to envelop the inter-marriage of an Indian youngman with an American belle.

A VARIATION

'*The Human Thirst*' is a variation on the theme. The perspective is slightly different. The protagonist marries Phool Vati, a semi-literate girl, in spite of his striking achievement in the academic field. In the course of private coaching, he takes a fancy to two girl students, Alpana and Banmala. He dates them on the same day in the evening.

In either case, his dream is shattered. Surprisingly, Banmala is seen lost in amorous follies in the lap of Bhola. Disappointed, he rushes to try his luck with Alpana. He crosses over the boundary of her house to have a physical encounter with her. But fie ! O, fie ! she is in some one else's arms. The return is not safe, and he has to pay a heavy price for his folly. He is severely beaten up and his leg is badly hurt. He hobbles back home to his wife's arms and bids a farewell to his romance-intrigues for good. An obvious moral of the story, I take it, is that in romance, what matters is the age-group of the individual partner rather than his academic achievement.

In '*Love and Animality*', after which the book has been entitled, the writer addresses himself to an almost similar theme. Chadha is a moneyed person who can afford to provide all amenities to his wife. By contrast, the protagonist is a teacher who has to live within his means. His wife Manjula, a counter-

(*Continued*)

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part of Phool Vati in *'The Human Thirst'*, makes a good many demands on him, but he cannot meet them.

WIFE-BEATER

Chadha frequently beats his wife. The protagonist is at peace with this. One day, Chadha is caught red-handed, "arrested and taken to the police on a charge of adultery". (*P. 99*) This is what accounts for the mal-adjustment between Mr. and Mrs. Chadha.

To be sure, the writer juxtaposes the standards of a lecher with the values of a puritan and makes his aesthetics bear the burden of his ethics.

A DEAF & MUTE

In *'The Living Doll'*, the writer develops the character of Kashi, deaf and mute. Henry George, a psychiatrist, gives him a doll to play with. It tends to be Kashi's substitute-mate, a symbol of his unconscious erotic fulfilment. The doll is a doll, and insensitive to his heavy crushing touches.

His sister-in-law Karni is dissatisfied with her husband who is a weakling and turns to Kashi, for she is enamoured of his giant-like muscular body. She is on the look-out for an opportunity to have a physical encounter with him. When Kashi loses his doll some-where and is in search of it, she conducts him deliberately through a dark room, apparently to help him find it out. At this point, the doll assumes symbolic significance, for Karni plays the doll herself. Kashi weighs her down and crushes her to death in a bestial manner.

This is how, devoid of soft human touch, sex degenerates into animality. This could be the mind of Jack the Ripper, a notorious sadist who put wee-white women to death after having pleasure with them. But Kashi's sadism is primordial in contrast to Jack's. Put differently, the bottled-up libido of Kashi proves to be destructive when he mates with Karni. As it were, the animus in him annihilates the anima that lies not only within, but also that which informs the psyche of Karni. Where the inanimate doll can bear the thrust of Kashi, the animate cannot. Granted that sex-starvation goes to make the individual neurotic, he may be disproportionately vehement in his attack on the sex-object. As it were, sex is said to be the keystone of the arch of human relationships, but without being tempered with delicate structures of feeling, it tends to become execrable.

As Lionel Trilling would have it, the Freudian psychology is generally taken to give sanction to the belief that mental sickness is a condition of true vision and artistic creation. Obviously such a viewpoint runs counter to the concept of impersonality which has been dominating the literary-critical scene in our day. Anyway, something subjective is always there, which imples the writer to re-structure his unconscious mind by means of the written word. Let us say that personal experience does matter in the art of creation, *albeit* it is hard to mark it off from imagination which goes to unify disparate experiences into an organic whole. With a view to identifying the writer's solipsism and his endeavour to cross it, local analysis of the printed word is *sine quo non.*

IMAGINATIVE CONSTRUCTS OR CONFESSIONS ?

The text of Dr. Srivastava's short stories helps the reader reconstruct his personality by putting together the bits of information obsessively projected by him in portraying the personae peopling his canvas.

The protagonist in *'The Human Thirst'*, who is a teacher of Hindi (*66*), a man of forty five (*71*) and an M.A.Ph.D., D. Litt., with publication of half-a-dozen books (*76*) to his credit, seems to be an imaginative construct of certain aspects of Dr. Srivastava's personality, but by artistic distancing, English which the writer teaches has been supplanted by Hindi. The addition of D. Litt to the protagonist's academic qualifications is a pseudo-statement and lends itself to the writer's esemplastic power of imagination.

The protagonist in *'Love and Animality'* who hails from Bihar, is cradled by poverty and honesty (*86*), humiliated by the Head of the Department and indifferently treated by the students (*84*) seems, more or less, a version of Dr. Srivastava's own lived experience.

That Shyam in *'A Drowning Man'* has a ready wit (*28*), takes Sarla to the Waikiki hotel (*27*) and has earned a medical degree find echoes in the wit of the writer and his visit to the Waikiki hotel, most probably during his stay in the States. His earning of a Ph.D. degree there has been transposed into the earning of a medical degree by Shyam.

The erotic inclination of the protagonist towards Mrs. Chadha as against his love for Manjula in *'Love & Animality'* and towards Alpana and Banmala vis-a-vis Phool Vati in *'The Human Thirst'* are diverse but uniform structures of erotic feelings that echo the aspirations, deprivations, fulfilments and challenges of the writer. He has banged imaginatively the doors, which perhaps he never banged in life but passed by wistfully.

There is no denying that creativity defies any such psycho-analysis, but its take-off remains experience, lived or academic. About Shakespeare it is said that he too had his sufferings, frustrations and agonies, but he outlived them by living them in his oeuvres. In a way, the wounds inflicted on the

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STORIES IN THE SHADES OF FREUD

psyche of a writer by society make him carry a bow. By articulating his silent sufferings in his works, he has self-fulfilment. That paves the way for self-transcendence.

In a certain way, this holds equally true of Srivastava's creative art. To be sure, he has tried to axe out his sex-inhibitions and complexes through the personae of Kashi, Shyam, Palwinder and the protagouists of '*The Human Thirst*', '*Love and Animality*' and so on. The short stories may or may not be his confessionals. Yet these seems to have relieved him of loose, baggy and disquieting emotions and readied him to do something considerable in the sphere of creativity, as in *Yoga, dhyan* (meditation) brings the devotee near to *Gyan* (knowledge) and makes the knower and the known inseparable. Dr. Srivastava seems to have sought a return to the unity of his being by constructing verbally what Yeats calls 'anti-self.' Certainly, in '*Love and Animality*', he has projected eros and introjected an identity with the transcendent creative self.

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Of Personal Experience & A Search

TWO SHORT COMMENTS *by* **Raji Prabhakaran**

Radha Saraswathy: MONOGENESIS

Writers' Workshop, Calcutta (1988) Pp. 38; Rs. 40/-

Poetry, like all art forms is dynamic, ever changing, and one of the most powerful forms of expression of personal experience. In the most traditional form, a systematic rhyme and structure were essential characteristics of poetry. In more modern times, there has been free use of cryptic, almost terse expression of thoughts that often border on mysticism.

The volume of verse titled '*Monogenesis*' by Radha Saraswathy can be regarded as the expression given by one individual to an awareness that is almost universally felt. There is throughout the verses, a reference to the oneness of all creation. The underlying sadness and frustration that is as much a part of life as the basic joy is the central idea in all the verses In the poem "*Eternity*", the author reflects on the continuity of life or the indestructibility of the soul. The last verse seems to carry on with the same idea The use of the first person is symbolic. The parade of human beings punctuated by joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments is vividly drawn.

The poems are examples of blank verse. The absence of traditional rhyme is compensated by powerful and apt phaseology.

In succeeding writings, the integrated perception of a future vision is bound to emerge in the most effective manner.

Tarlochan Singh Anand :

THE MAN AND THE MASKS

Writers' Workshop, Culcutta (1988) Pp. 37; Rs. 40/-

The entire collection of verses in this volume is characterised by the unfulfilled search that man makes for happiness, the search for true joy. The language is impassioned, blunt and very powerful. The poet refers to the dissatisfaction one feels with the "Regimentation of social life" that kills all spontaneous feeling.

In the poem "*Hanging Pegs*", Tarlochan Singh Anand makes a thoughtful analysis of the importance and significance of human relationships.

Topical references to current events like the Punjab killings, the Bihar earthquake are made in a thought-provoking manner.

The poems "*Human Seasons*" and the final poem "*The Rising Demon*" proclaim the author's capacity to think deeply as well as to express these thoughts in a most striking manner. The atmosphere of desperation and depression that pervades the entire collection of poems must be seen as the stepping stone to a joyous finding of true joy and peace in the more meaningful areas of the soul.

Mrs. Raji Prabhakaran is a Madras-based housewife who has retained a keen interest in creative literature both in her mother-tongue and in English.

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A NEW GOLDEN DAWN WILL COME

Kali Das Gupta 'Riza' : ODE TO THE EAST-WIND
translated from Urdu into English by **P. K. Nijhawan**

Sakar Publishers P. Ltd., New Marine Lines, Bombay, (1987) Pp. 50, Rs. 32/-

Review by Tejinder Kaur

This collection of twenty-five poems is a remarkable contribution to the treasure-house of Indo-English poetry; and the credit for this goes to P. K. Nijhawan for his translation of the poems originally written in Urdu. In fact, the poems do not give the impression of "literal translation" from a different language; rather the very spirit and feel of what poet Kali Das Gupta 'Riza' must have desired to communicate in Urdu, have been communicated successfully. This book has a similar impact like that of Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali* in English, which was originally written in Bengali.

The selection, as Nijhawan tells us, represents the narrative poems of Kali Dar Gupta. 'Riza' is his pan-name. The title of the book *Ode to the East-Wind* immediately brings to our mind Shelley's "*Ode to the West-Wind*". But, whereas the *West*-wind is "wild", "Destroyer and Preserver", "uncontrollable", the breeze of the *East*-wind in Riza's poems is "cool", "heavenly", "merry", "scented", "mystic", "a soothing balm for all pains", and "breath of life". This breeze brings love and "Amity returns and enmity takes to hell". This, in fact, is a glorification of the spiritual atmosphere of the East.

In the twenty-five poems, we find six thematic strands running, though the basic theme that unites them all is the poet's clarion call to man "To be a "*Karam-Yogi*" and to "Move on and on" in search of an "unending quest".

FROM INTROSPECTION .. TO A LIFE OF ACTION

Poems like "*First Step to Fame*", "*On a Moment of Booklessness*", "*On Being Unrewarded*", "*On Last Moments*" and "*Spirit's Quest*" deal with self-instrospection on the part of the poet. Being very much conscious of his shortcomings, he believes in self-evolvement, and guards himself not to be over-swayed and seduced by fame, vanity, pride and popularity.

A few poems like "*Move on, O Man ! Move On*", "*Lead Kindly Light*", "*An Earnest Prayer*", "*On Being Lost*" encourage man to go on working as directed in *The Gita*, and "be up and doing/with heart resolute", in spite of the hardships and obstacles on the way. The spirit and enthusiasm of Ulysses "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield" should be the motto of Man.

But for this path of *Karma*, Man should not follow the course of violence and bloodshed, rather Gandhi's message of "Love, Truth and Non-Violence" should be the mode of action. Man should hold the weapon of "Peace and faith" like *Devas*, even when the opponent is "armed with rods and axes" and revenge, like *Asuras*. These ideas are expressed in poems like "*Mahatma Gandhi Today*", "*A Garden of Blood Stains*" and "*Churning of the Ocean.*"

AGAINST CORRUPTION & EROSION OF VALUES

Apart from these guiding themes, some of the poems make a scathing criticism of the corruption and perversion of values in modern civilization, exploitation, and pretentions in the field of scholarship, and "the manners and etiquettes" of "the exalted assemblage" at poetical symposiums etc. Poems like "*O Children of the Night !*", "*Awakening*", "*Questions Un-answered*" have a subtle revolutionary fervour and appeal, like the poems of Blake and Shelley. There is "blood, sin, mischief, killing" and "the beast is reigning supreme"; and "politics and murder are the marks of civilization". Therefore, 'Riza' like Shelley, provokes the children of the night "to surround the night" and overthrow the whole set-up. In spite of all these upheavals, ills, and corruption around, the poet is not pessimistic and unhopeful of the betterment. Rather, like Shelley who believes "If Winter comes can spring be far behind !" 'Riza' also has the faith that "Moon always smiles at night's end". He avers that a new dawn of "Truth, Love, Peace and Progress" will automatically come if people use "the oars of truth and fearlessness" in their actions. The "golden days will come again", is the sustaining theme of Riza's poems.

OPTIMISM & FAITH UNBOUND

Though his optimism is based more or less on religious faith, yet the poet does not approve of binding oneself in the "fences and fortifications" of any kind of religious dogma, or self-imposed solitude, He also does not believe in escaping from the "crowded cities", full of evils, with a pretence to discover the 'self' and live in a 'cobweb' of one's own creation. Rather he likes to give his 'imagination" an unbound flight to soar in the sky, and cultivate open mindedness. His quest for 'self' is not a metaphysical quest that negates bodily pleasures, but he believes in experiencing "life to the lees".

Thematically, all the poems are very rich, and their moral impact is deep and intense. In fact such poems prove Matthew Arnold's dictum that, in the present times of faithlessness in religion, Poetry will replace Religion. Poetic lines like :

..."Struggling do we near
The goals we aspire."... and

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Deforestation and . . . Destabilisation of Tribal Economy

Walter Fernandes, Geeta Menon and Philip Viegas :

FORESTS, ENVIRONMENT AND TRIBAL ECONOMY—Deforestation, Impoverishment and Marginalisation in Orissa"

Indian Social Institute, Tribes of India Series(1988)Rs.50.

General Editor : Walter Fernandes

Reviewed by G. Chokkalingam & Vinod Vyasulu

ECO-DEVELOPMENT

The literature on environment and development has been growing rapidly in the last decade. First came the insight that growth and development meandifferent things. Then the understanding that each can exist without the other, *e.g.* Growth without Development in Brazil under the military or 'development without growth' in Kerala. This led to scholarly introspection and a deeper appreciation of the multiple dimensions of social change. For example, the complex inter-relationship between social services and productivity and their role in the development process are now being studied seriously.

PROBLEM OF FORESTS

The problem of forestry has been in the centre of this deepening understanding of the development process. In India, the beginning lay in the late 1970's with the debates on environment, development, displacement, deforestation, etc. as catalysed in the proposed forest legislation. This research has been fruitful, as can be seen from the contributions surveyed by Gadgil, Prasad and Ali in the 1983 study. Based on this study work, Guha, Kulkarni and Nadkarni have all made valuable contributions. The book under review is the latest in this tradition.

The penetration of capitalism does not spare even the people living in or around forests. The growth of capitalism in the 'forests' does destabilise the tribal economy and, in the process impoverishes and marginalises the tribals. The process of surplus extraction from the forest economy by the private as well as by State capitalism is detrimental to environment and developmental needs as well as to the survival of impoverished sections of our population.

These are the major findings of this study conducted by the Indian Social Institute in collaboration with eight voluntary organisations in Orissa, during 1983-84. The main contention of this book is that the revenue needs of the State and the profit maximising behaviour of the industrialists have resulted in the large scale deforestation in Orissa. The deforestation leads to further deforestation, and this vicious circle of deforestation is set in motion, mainly because of vested interests of private and State capitalism, and partly because of impoverishment of forest-dwellers.

PRIVATE CAPITALISM AND DEFORESTATION : The Role of Middlemen Outsiders

The kind of planned development which has been taking place during last thirty years is "growth"-orientd and to a large extent, is dictated by private capitlists. This "growth-oriented capitalist" economy treats the forests primarily as sources of raw materials. This has resulted in large scale deforestation, which caters to the needs of developmental infrastuctures and raw material requirements of industries.

Apart from the private industrialists, the merchants, middlemen and moneylenders, mainly from outside the forest economy, have also caused large-scale deforestation and, therefore, the destabilisation of tribal economy. To begin with, these outsiders occupied the best plots in and around forests and, therefore, forced the tribals to cut the trees for their survival. The penetration of these powerful outsiders in the forest economy has resulted in indebtedness and land alienation among forest dwellers. For instance, the forest-dwellers have lost 15 per cent of their land to these "outsiders".

The forest-dwellers were paid low prices by the "outsiders" for the minor forest produce they sold, and outsiders also became agents of the governmental marketing cooperatives. Thus the operations of these "outsiders" were integrated through the worst form of capitalism, and consequently the forest-dwellers were impoverished and marginalised. The profit maximisation behaviour of the private capitalists initially leads to large-scale deforestion and subsequently to the destabilisation of tribal economy; and destabilisation in turn, accelerates the magnitude of deforestation.

STATE CAPITALISM AND DEFORESTATION

The State too is a major source of extensive deforestation and also one of the biggest exploiters of impoverished forest-dwellers. To start with, this book under review clearly brings out the "anti-people" stance of all forest policy documents. The revenue orientation of the State accelerates the process of deforestation. Further, the subsidy given to the industrialists increases the industrial demand for major forest products.

The State policy of transferring vast tracts of protected forests to the "reserve category" denied the traditional rights of tribals and at the same time served the interests of industrialists. Even in the afforestation and reforestation programmes, the State has been giving priority to economic plantations and plantation of quick-growing species, both of which benefit industry more than the local people.

The marketing agencies established by the State too have strong profit orientation. They do not enco-

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Deforestation and ... Destabilisation of Tribal Economy

urage the forest-dwellers to sell minor forest produce (MFP) directly. Rather, they force these forest-dwellers to sell MFP to the middlemen. The State agencies buy certain types and quantities of MFP from the tribals, but sell them to industry at a price which is more than fifteen times the price paid to tribals. Thus in the process, the forest-dwellers are exploited by the State too; they are, therefore, forced to sell the produce at the cost of their own consumption.

SHIFTING CULTIVATION

Thus the private capitalists as well as the State capitalism impoverish and marginalise the forest dwellers. These forest-dwellers are, therefore, forced to opt for shifting cultivation, which involves large-scale burning of trees, and to cut the trees for selling the fire-wood. It is their "survival question" rather than the "profit maxisation" which forces the forest-dwellers to cut and burn the trees. However, the contribution of forest-dwellers to deforestation is much less than the contribution by the other two "big partners" *viz.*, the State and private capitalists.

Traditionally, the tribals maintained a "constructive dependence" on the forests. But the "big partners' through their exploition, dismantled this symbiotic relationship and promoted "destructive dependence" of the tribals on the forests.

These are not mere allegations of the authors of the book under review. This book contains rich data to prove this fact.

Apart from enlightening us about the real causes and consequences of deforestation, the authors also provide valuable suggestions to protect the existing forests as well as to promote the welfare of forest-dwellers.

NEED FOR MORE STUDIES

This book is of much use to the researchers and the policy-makers and administrators because of its strong methodological foundations and valuable suggestions for maintaining the balance between the needs of forest-dwellers, development and, of course, the environment.

If a coherent, people-oriented programme is to be defined, many more such studies are needed. This study of Koraput in Orissa, along with Nadkarni's in Uttara Kannada and Guha's in the U.P. Himalayas, are major milestones towards a specific understanding of Indian reality. For that understanding to have depth and focus, though, much more information and insights are needed. That is the challenge; and Fernandes *et. al.* are to be congratulated for their excellent, pioneering work.

Mr. G. Chokkalingam is a Ph. D. Fellow and Dr. Vinod Vyasulu, Professor & Head of the Social Services Management Unit, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Nagarabhavi P. O., Bangalore.

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A NEW GOLDEN DAWN WILL COME

..."To be always on the Move
Is to know the Truth."... and

.. "Horizons are now my only
Frontiers to touch."

are undeniably the touchstone and hall-mark of great poetry.

'Riza'has taken up quite modern themes, and he can be enlisted with the 'new poets' of Indo-English poetry who are deeply aware of their responsibility towards societry. He appeals to our emotions and thoughts simultaneously, and touches the deepest cores of our hearts. Though there are revolutionary messages and a voice of protest against the prevailing malpractices and ills in society, the solution and solace in Riza's view is to be found not in revenge or bloodshed, but in "Truth and Non-Violence", and in the eternal wisdom of the *Vedas*—"Om Shanthih, Shanthih, Shanthih" as Eliot sought it in the ideals of "Datta", "Damayata" and "Dayadhwam". Riza's poems are certainly a store-house of wisdom for the modern times.

Last but not the least, it is P. K. Nijhavan's commendable English translation which has introduced us to this lesser-known Urdu poet, 'Riza'. Not a single phrase or line seems to be artificial and superfluous. The vocabulary, the rhythm and the tone of all the translated poems seem to convey the real spirit and fervour of the original poems, written in Urdu. Even the coinage of certain words like "booklessness", "grime", "sharpnel" and many others, becomes appropriate to the requirements of the theme.

Beautifully produced, and lucidly written, this book is a must for institutional and personal libraries. I personally feel that some of the poems like *"Move on, O Man! Move on"*, *"A New Dawn"* and *"Dream"* should form part of the anthologies meant for our school and college syllabi.

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THE IRON MAN

Rani Dhavan Shankardass :

VALLABHBHAI PATEL—Power and Organisation in Indian Politics

Orient Longman, New Delhi, (1988) pp. 325, Rs. 175/-

Review by Nawaz B. Mody

Rani Dhavan Shankardass' book, based on her doctoral thesis, is described not a "biography" of Vallabhbhai Patel, but "an analysis of his distinctive contribution" to nationalist political organisation and activity.

THE THEME OF POWER & AUTHORITY

Power and authority are the themes of the book, more specifically, political authority. The object is to observe the process whereby political activity (of the Indian National Congress) was neatly fitted into the existing social structures, and to see what dimenstions it assumed in relation to other areas and activities in society, where intrinsic problems needed attention.

However, the book does not purport to recount the achievements and failures of Patel or his leadership qualities. It highlights a transitional phase of Indian politics in the process whereby political domination and authority of the colonial state was supplanted by the national state. It also looks at the manner in which a nationalist leader like Patel took control of the "state" apparatus from the colonial goverment and sought to devise political schemes by which control would remain with those who would conserve the social and economic order.

THE *CRITICAL* DECADES

The decades of 1920's and '30's were critical decades in Indian national politics. In order to make a direct bid for the power of the state, the Congrees had to be organised and restructured to make the transition from a phase of "agitation" to that of "participation". Patel was one of the principal architects of this process of transformation. The book focusses on his significant contribution to this political organisation and analyses his distinct style of leadership. It is a political study and hence precludes an extensive discussion of socio-economic matters.

The author scrutinises the vehicles for obtaining political domination *viz.*, state structures and intermediary groups which assisted in the politically crucial exercise of mobilisation. Shankardass also attempts an objective analysis of the anatomy of power. Gandhi's special contribution in meeting the challenges of the colonial state has received a great deal of attention from historians of modern India. In the crucial period of change, leaders like Patel, who adapted themselves to altered political and social stimuli and could channel both power and dominance, were bound to play a prominent role. This book is about that role.

A CONSERVATIVE *PATIDAR*

Patel is seen as a conservative *Patidar* who methodically developed his own following. He extended his control over the national scene and wrested structural power and control away from what the author describes as "those who ideologically and organisationally had the potential for an equally wide appeal, that is the left", a potential that was never fully realised.

Naturally, Patel enhanced his own power by curbing the efforts of other political groups to gain influence and to spread mass movements. He tried to give a particular direction to the nationalist movement; and in that, he was aided by the prevailing structure of society, the framework of the state and Gandhi's strategy of non-violent non-co-peration. Many other leaders, including Socialists, Conservatives and Gandhians, sought political progress by emphasising one of these factors. Patel's skill lay in the masterly way in which he deftly and successfully co-ordinated all of these factors according to the situations.

THE ORGANISATION MAN

The 1920's, in the wake of the 1919 Reforms and the spurt in political unrest saw, the extension of political participation by the Indians. Nationalists were divided between "changers" and "no-changes". The latter consisted of the Gandhians, other Socialists and leftists who opposed reforms because they had their own vision of an independent India. Starting out as a "no-changer", Patel found himself combating the dual challenges of imperialism and socialism. His perception was that there existed a smooth running "state" machinery which would survive the combative forces, and the control of which had to be acquired in stages. To this end, he set about revising some of the Gandhian programmes and policies of the Congress. His first objective was to 'house power'. This he did by refashioning the Congress from an untidy political organisation to a well-structured political party. In the process, he grew to become an "organisation man"—a leader with his grip on the "organisation" of the party.

KEEPING THE LEFT OUT

The processes by which Patel linked the locality to the province and the nation reveals the importance he gave to political mechanisms and structures. The struggle had to be multi-pronged. In handling the British strategy of Reforms which were directed in part towards reducing the growing strength of the Congress,

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VALLABBHAI PATEL

Patel tightened the organisation, making it top-heavy and consequently less democratic. Growing increasingly impatient with the Socialist and Communist insistence on "revolution", Patel decided to take them on in a long-drawn and determined political battle.

Ridden with internal dissensions amongst their ranks, the inability of the Socialists to control Congress politics was largely due to the doggedness of men like Patel, who made a concerted effort to keep the leftists out, says the author. This is clearly brought out by her in the details of the Patel-Bose conflict. However, the differences between the two could not merely be explained away as simply those between the 'left' and the 'right', or between two rivals for power. This dispute between Patel and Bose, which led to the 'expulsion' of the latter, has also to be seen in the light of Patel's on-going strategy of escalation in the control of Congress High Command over the recalcitrant provincial leaders.

To ascertain Patel's distinct contribution to Indian politics, the book analyses his political activities from the time of the No-Tax Campaign in Bardoli in 1928, which made him a national leader till the time when the Congress formed the Interim Government in 1946, bargained for Independence and then formed the first national government of independent India.

HIS SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT & POLITICAL BAPTISM

The earlier chapters of the book take a close look at the "power structure" of society with the focus on some aspects of Gujarati society and Patel's family and community background within which his initial political interest was aroused. The family, the *Patidar* community, the legal fraternity in Nadiad, Borsad and Ahmedabad, the Municipality and the Gujarat Sabha were all parts of the loci of power of the political environment in which Patel initially functioned. The status of these loci, in terms of Patel's ability to use them, depended upon their capacity to function independently, to wield power and regulate the power of others Particularly interesting was his experiences with the Ahmedabad Municipality, which brought him 'public recognition for political purposes', according to the author. More important, it was his first training ground and became a vehicle for political take-off.

The Bardoli No-Tax *Satyagraha* is the subject of the second chapter in the book, which has been aptly titled "Provincial Consolidation 1928", since Bordoli was the spring-board for Patel's entry into national politics. Lebelled a Gandhiite (as distinct from a Gandhian who devoted himself solely to Gandhi's constructive work), Patel had to work his way towards a position from which he could assist Gandhiites in their domination over Swarajists or other groups like the leftists within the Congress.

The author has presented some pertinent details, and analysed the basis of the Bardoli *satyagraha* She points out that the Bardoli agitation was not intended as a "massive" peasant movement to fight poverty and injustice. It was an agitation geared towards "politicisation" and "political mobilisation" in separate ways. No change was intended or achieved in the structure of social and economic realtions between the Patidar landowners and the poor peasants.

CHANGING ROLE OF THE PARTY & LEADERS

The beginning of Patel's quest for dominance of the Congress becomes evident in the third chapter. Patel's role as the pivot of a move by the Gandhiites to change tactics to meet more political threats, such as those by the left, is dealt with in the following chapter The Congress had transformed itself into a "party organisation" in preparing itself for the role of an "alternative" government. The author suggests that Patel had perceived that with the Act of 1935, the process of transfer of power had begun and accordingly, the Congress party's structure and organisation had to be modified so that it could emerge as the most formidable contender for power. The "open umbrella" image of the Congress gave way to a more "closed association" run by like-minded leaders.

1937-38

The Congress itself had to deal with conflicts between the pure 'constitutionalists,' 'leftists' and pure 'Gandhians' who wanted to specify what kind of India they stood for, before fighting to gain it. By forming Ministries in seven out of 11 Provinces, the Congress re-inforced its position, and put its adversaries at a con-siderable disadvantage. Patel went to great lengths to keep the Congress, and particularly Gandhiites, at the helm of affairs Though accusations of high-handedness were levelled against him, it seemed that for him, the end was more important than the means.

Of particular interest here are details about Patel's supervision of the Congress-led popular agitation in 1938 in Rajkot state, which not only provided him an opportunity to show his political strength, but also enabled the Congress to gain some of the ground lost to the radicals. Patel's tactics here were to stand him in good stead, when he brought about the integration of the princely states after Independence.

...& THE YEARS OF WAR

Chapter 7 entitled "Negotiator, Manager, Administrator 1940-50" reveals how Patel sought to regain the advantage the Congress seemed to be losing with the outbreak of the great war. This he did by trying to secure the best possible terms for the Congress in its negotiations with the British. His attitude towards the British was always more tough

(*Continued overleaf*)

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THE IRON MAN : VALLABHBHAI PATEL

than that of either Gandhi or Nehru. Between Britain's principle of 'no freedom without unity' and Patel's insistence that there would be no unity without a guarantee of freedom and adequate steps in that direction, the goals of freedom and unity came to be considerably altered. Shankardass points out that Patel never really forgave the Communists, Socialists and other leftists for their role in the 1942 Movement and after. She also discusses the damage done by Patel's "anti-Muslim behaviour" and its contribution to the creation of Pakistan.

After 1945-46 Elections

Patel's intensive efforts laid the basis of the Congress contesting the elections of 1945 and 1946 for the Central and Provincial Assemblies and the Constituent Assembly. All these activities culminated in the Congress forming the Interim Government in September 1946, and fulfilling most of its political objectives Patel also played a firm hand and an important role in forming "one nation", despite the forces of disintegration, such as factionalism in the Provinces, the Sikh demand for a separate state and communal clashes (including tension over the Babri Masjid 40 years ago). Problems arising out of corruption and reorganisation of the civil services also demanded his attention as Home Minister.

PATEL'S VISION

The author attempts to answer some questions regarding Patel's vision of India. He had neither the pretensions nor the makings of a mass leader. To him, things that were wrong could be remedied through "political control". There was no need to change society, which remained as it was. He modified the mechanism of the Congress party and the Government to make the Congress a centralised political machine "with right-wing management and left-wing rhetoric", designed to place the Party above the State. This factor has had disastrous consequences for India's democratic functioning.

Can Patel be put in the category of "rational" leaders who are not worshipped but "obeyed"? The basis of authority, which the author has analysed, is control through different loci of power. The elaborate political structure in which power was housed was systematically constructed by Patel. Through it, the Congress acquired its authority and legitimacy.

PROBLEMS IN A FEDERAL POLITY

Another underlying theme is the conflict arising between "centralisation" and "decentralisation"

Operating after Independence in a *federal* structure, the Congress government had to meet the problem of devolution of power with greater skill in order to adapt to the parliamentary framework. Problems like internal authority, structure of the party, the distribution of power within the party and confllict management in the party, and between the party and government were as important then as they are now.

A CONSERVATIVE NO-CHANGER ?

One of the problems with this illuminating study is that the author seems to have pre-conceived notions about the character and role of Vallabhbhai Patel in the emerging political situation. Clearly, Patel is viewed as a conservative, a no-changer, the major factor responsible for the destruction of the "left" movement and one who excelled in the art of "manipulation" rather than of initiative and ingenuity.

This is a common attitude among researchers today who seek to build their hypotheses first, and then select the material which fits in with their analysis. The book suffers from this defect, since most of the time, the author views Patel and his achievements from this perspective rather than as an individual who guided the destiny of India in keeping with the exigencies and complications of the situation.

Dr. (Mrs.) Nawaz K. Mody is Reader, Department of Civics & Politics, Bombay University. (This is a slightly modified version of the review which appeared earlier in the "*Indian Post.*" —*Eds.*)

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Six Hectic Years—A Micro-Level History

Tanika Sarkar : BENGAL 1928–1934 : The Politics of Protest

Oxford University Press, Delhi, (1987) pp. 183; Rs. 130.

Reviewed by A. M Ghose

It is perhaps necessary to remind the younger generation, particularly those who live in other parts of the country, that 'Bengal' in 1912, then known as a Presidency, included what are now known as West Bengal, Assam. Bihar and Orissa In the year 1912, Assam along with 'Bihar and Orissa' were made two different 'provinces'. In 1936, Bihar and Orissa became two separate units, and in 1947, Bangladesh went to Pakistan. The author deals with what was known as 'undivided Bengal' which came into existence in 1912 and ceased to exist in 1947,

The period covered is of six years. The author begins with 1928, because it saw a revival of nationalism, widespread demonstrations against the Simon Commission, revival of revolutionary terrorism and new departures in the organizational activities of the Congress Party. The year 1934 is taken as the cut-off point, because the civil disobedience movement along with the terrorist activities came to an end.

PARADOX OF THE CONGRESS & OTHER POLITICAL FORCES

The researches of Gyanendra Pande (*The Ascendancy of the Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh, 1926-34: Delhi, 1978)* and an article by Sumit Sarkar ('The Logic of Gandhian Nationalism 1930-31' in *The Indian Historical Review*, July 1976) helped the author, as she herself says, "to conceptualize the central paradox of the Congress both as organizer of and brake on mass radicalism".

Dr. Sarkar has worked hard, which is evident from the materials she has collected. She collected her materials from the ('Private Papers' available in London, Cambridge and New Delhi. She interviewed several leaders who had participated in the events that shaped those six years. She also consulted official records and publications, newspapers and periodicals, contemporary pamphlets, several unpublished theses and research papers, Indian and foreign. The bibliogarphy is detailed and excellent.

The author is concerned with the descriptions of several working class movements, the rise of workers and peasants in different parts of the province, the Civil Disobedience movement in Bengal, communal riots mostly in the eastern parts of the province and the revival of revolutionary terrorism. The rise and growth of the Communists has been referred to at different places.

It is a work into which a good deal of fruitful labour has gone. However, it remains unreadable except for a few readers who may be interested in the details the author has so carefully collected. The *leitmotif*, if any, is not clearly discernible. If the theme is the depiction of the waning of the Congress as an effective umbrella and the rise of ideologies broadly called 'leftist', then it has not been projected in a focal manner.

MICRO LEVEL HISTORY— QUESTIONS & COMMENTS

Bengal–1928-34, is an example of 'micro–level' history, chronologically as well as geographically. It is opposed to 'macro-level' history which deals with continents. ages and cycles; offers magisterial surveys of civilizations with sweeping generalizations. If the one is interested in counting trees like a ranger, the other takes photographs of the vast ranges of forests from a jet.

I have a few questions and then a few comments.

(1) Who was this Das who was assassinated in 1924 ? (*p.12*). (C.R. Das died a natural death),

(2) Subhash Bose ond his volunteers went on 'route marches' in 1928 sporting Khaki uniforms. Were they not tailored by the Anglo-Indian tailors? (In 1929, an all-Bengal Khadi Exhibitlon was held in Calcutta !)

Comments :

(1) The author should have tried to find out (it is indeed a difficult task today, more then five decades later) how many of those 'revolutionary terrorists' were genuinely inspired by patriotism and how many of them were plain 'adventurists', if not anti-socials.

(2) Not often the educated urban youth, drawn mostly from the middle classes, fancied that they were the spokesmen of the 'lowly and the lost' while, in fact, they were grooming themselves, albeit unconsciously, for more comfortable positions elsewhere. If one cares to study the lives of some of those revolutionaries a little more dispassionately, a different picture becomes more evident.

(3) Finally, it is difficult to graft an *alien* 'political culture' (irrespective of its hues) imbibed by a few urbanised youth and educated in a *milieu* which itself was alien, on a society where the hold of tradition was strong, where the rate of literacy was/is low and hierachy is acknowledged as a matter of fact. An alien 'poltical culture' with its own *arhe* and *telos* can only have a brief existence.

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November-December 1989

A WORLD CITIZEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Shridath Ramphal : INSEPARABLE HUMANITY
Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi;
(1989) Pp. 391, Rs. 295/-

Comments by Manju Rao

Tnis book is perhaps targeted at those young and inquisitive minds who may be interested in the study and understanding of freedom movements in the eastern and western hemispheres during the last century and a half.

FROM SLAVERY TOWARDS FREEDOM

It is an anthology of "reflections" of the agile and cultured mind of Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, which has been ably edited by Ron Sanders, a Visiting Fellow at Oxford University and a regular presentor on the B.B C. World Service. Both are Guiana born As the essays included in the anthology would show, Ramphal is fiercely "West Indian" though his name points to his Indian ancestry. The foreword has been contributed by K Natwar Singh, former Indian Minister of State for External Affairs. The occasion to present this anthology was the 150th anniversary of the aboliton of slavery in America, and the arrival in the West Indies of Indian workers under the system of indentured labour.

As Ron Sanders says in the introduction, progressively the anthology details out the trials of Shridath Ramphal's forebearers from India, his own beginnings in Guiana with reminders of its twin historical experience of slavery and indentured labour, his insistent advocacy of regional unity for the West Indies, his early perceptions of the need for near and closer relationship with an enlarged Latin America, his out-reach beyond his own region to the Third World in the efforts to forge links between developing countries into a more effective unity in their interna tional bargaining with the rich, his passionate crusade against *apartheid* and the denial of freedom in South Africa and, finally, his prescriptions for what every nation, but essentially the major powers, can do to make tomorrow's world of the twenty-first century, better than today's.

THE SAGA OF A FAMILY—OF A PEOPLE

It would be a startling news to many, as indeed it was to me, that Shridath Ramphal's grand-father, Daniel was only 9 years old when he was indentured along with his mother on plantation Vreed-en-Hoop in British Guiana on January 5, 1881, when she landed by *S. S. Alora* in British Guiana to serve in the sugar plantation of John Gladstone, the father of the illustrious Prime Minister of England, at the meagre remuneration of Rs. 5/- per month. They suffered all the indignities and hardships to which East Indian labourers were subjected by the sugar planters.

The necessity for procuring natives from this part of the world to work upon sugar plantatons in the West Indies arose from the termination of the slavery of Negro population in 1834. Within two years, upwards of 2,000 Indian natives were sent to the Mauritius under contracts of engagement for five years.

The Indian labourers were" perfectly ignorant of the place they agreed to go to, or the length of the voyage they are (were) undertaking". The men were "well-limbed and active, without prejudices of any kind, and hardly any ideas beyond those of supplying the wants of Nature, arising it would appear, however, more from want of opportunity than from any natural deficiency, of which there is no Intelligence. They are also very docile and easily managed, and appear to have no local ties, nor any objection to leave their country, as the copy of the letter from Mesesrs, Gillan -ders Arbuthnot and Co., to John Glandstone Esquire, Calcutta, 6th June, 1936 would show (*Appendix B*). The concluding para of the letter makes a dismal reading : "The Hill Tribes, known by the name of Dhangurs, are looked down upon by the more cunning Natives of the plains, and they are always spoken of as more akin to the Monkey than the man. They have no religion, no education, and in their present state, no wants beyond eating, drinking, and sleeping, and to procure which they are willing to labour. In sending men to such a distance, it would of course be necessary to be more particular in selecting them, and some little expense would be incurred, as also more trouble, but to aid any object in interest to you, we should willingly give our best exertions in any manner likely to be of service."

Thus it will be seen that these poor tribes ("monkies") were exported to the inclement sugar plantations of the western hemisphere more as a cargo of labour force than as contracting men and women of equal status.

STRIVING UPWARDS—TOWARDS FREEDOM & PEACE

Through sheer grit and determination, the progeny of these indentured men and women rose to occupy the commanding heights of political and economic power in their new habitats. Gimmy Ramphal, Shridath's father, was a pioneer of education in Guiana. When Shridath went to London in 1947 to study law his father went with him. As stated by the son, "He was fulfilling his own life-long ambition to be a lawyer, and had already done most of the first part of the Bar exams in Guiana. In the six months it took me to settle down and tackle one subject at the Bar, he had passed his finals I was 19, he was 44. He hardly practised law, and I would guess that he was a better teacher than he would ever have been a practising lawyer, but he had fulfilled that driving urge for futher education, for betterment, fulfilment of potential. And that was typical of his generation".

(*Continued on next page*)

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QUIET BUT FUZZY FLOWS THE GANGA

Vijay Singh : JAYA GANGA
Penguin India; (1989) pp. 185; Rs. 55.

Reviewed by T. N. Dhar

Vijay Singh's *Jaya Ganga* approximates a literary potpourri, and has the semblance of a surrealistic act which "consists in dashing down the street, pistol in hand, and firing blindly, as fast as you can pull the trigger, into the crowd." For it fires at the reader stuff which cuts across generic distinctions, and encompasses virtually everything that can be put within the framework of pen and paper: prose, poetry, history, reportage, anecdotes, sketches, meditations, graffiti, different kinds of languages, printed as well as handwritten. This makes the book not only uneven in its tenor, but also somewhat confusing.

Jaya Ganga does, however, have the trappings of a work of fiction, for it has the scaffolding of a journey, which starts like this: Nishant the protagonist is told by Jaya in Paris that she would like to meet him in her next birth on the banks of the Ganga. So he comes to India and goes on a journey over the river in a boat. Within this frame, Vijay Singh brings into his book a great deal of infromation-mythological, cultural historical, and political-and several interesting and exciting encounters with men and women.

The river Ganga receives Vijay Singh's prime attention. He describes its physical contours and its varying moods, its mythic origins and its role in the cultural evolution of India. It touches different chords in him and stimulates him to reflect and to meditate. He considers it as a "sandbed of harmony" in the face of the "horrors of history." He waxes eloquent about its healing powers: "It is not the silence of her waters that heals, nor its rhythm, nor the lapping of her waves She acts on you because, even for her, healing is not just magic, but magic in therapy. She weaves around her pilgrim a spectacle of purity .. " The author also provides us with factual information about the river, which touches the other end of the spectrum: for example, the precise weight, in terms of tons, of the silt it deposits during the course of its movement into the sea.

These varying reflections and details alternate with the writer's account of more recent happenings in the country. We get a brief glimpse of the election campaign of Amitabh Bachchan at Allahabad, discussions on the role of Nehru family in Indian politics, a close view of the world of *twaifs* and brothels, and realistic representation of various people who live on the banks of the river. These details are brought within the fold of the narrative through Nishant's meetings with two Muslim girls, Shabnam and Zehra. Shabnam tells him about the mythical lore relating to the goddess Ganga, because he acts like an ignorant being; Zehra talks to him about the *twaifs* and the mixed Hindu-Muslim culture, because he gives her the feeling that he knows nothing about things. And yet, on other occasion, he gives proof of being vastly knowledgeable. When it suits him, he lectures to his boatman like a teacher about "the central position occupied by the river Ganga during the first phase of our history."

Vijay Singh is least worried by these inconsistenicies in the behaviour of his protagonist He is not even bothered by the extreme self-consciousness with which the narrative moves from India to Paris and back. and the promiscuous shifts of the narrative from the factual to the meditative, to the playful, to the serious and the half-serious, and finally to no narrative at all.

To add another trendy dimension to the book, Vijay Singh intersperses his account with an uneasy combination of the East and the West: a great deal of reflection on the transient and the ephemeral world and existential nothingness. Here Singh is quite wordy and fuzzy. One example: "Because death is dead, it has no consciousness of its own. Death is lived by the other, by someone capable of contemplating it. Separation offers a glimpse of infinitude, of the end of union; it restirs the awareness ... Separation, therefore, is nothing but a man before his foetal mirror ....."

Jaya Ganga is too flashy and ambitious, and cracks under its own pressure. Although in parts it has passages of poetic prose, very often it tends to be arcane and fuzzy. Unwieldy in design, a work not well executed.

Dr. T. N. Dhar is Professor and Head, Deptt. of English, in the Kashmir University, Srinagar, (J&K).

(*Contd from p 264*) **A Citizen of the Commonwealth**

There is no doubt that Shridath and his generation are heirs to a formidable tradition of individual efforts for vertical mobilisation. In the families of each one of them is the record of striving upwards, of working assiduously, often quite modestly, but always steadily towards the goal of self-improvement, a generation for whom the "work ethic" became an almost natural element and a precondition of the process of survival.

No wonder that, in the circumstances, Sridath Ramphal has grown into an internationalist, a citizen of the world, an ardent humanist, a passionate advocate of world peace-real peace. He says : "It is for us all to work for peace. We cannot pray for peace, but nurture hate and prejudice and selfishness in our hearts. The peace of the world comes from within each and every one of the people who inhabit it. For everyone of us, however small a measure, peace is in our keeping. Our option is world order or world's end !"

In short, it is a mind-seeding anthology and a gripping book. A must reading for students of world affairs and those anxious for the survival of our dear planet, this Earth.

Ms. Manju Rao is a Research Scholar in the Deptt. of Public Administration, University of Rajasthan.

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Visiting Europe—Two Decades Ago

BEYOND THE HORIZON —by J. Bapu Reddy

[We reproduce some exceprts from a longish poem by J. Bapu Reddy included in his book *The Quest of Harmony* released at the 10th World Congress of Poets, Bangkok. (Nov. 14-18, 1988).

The poem based on the poet's experiences of an extended visit to Europe in 1967-68 was written originally in Telugu in 1970. Bapu Reddy has translated the same.

In view of the recent happenings in Eastern Europe, especially East Germany & Czechoslovakia, we have selected the poet's 1967–68 impressions of Germany and Czechoslovakia. *Ed.*]

Beyond The Horizon

Life is a long journey
combining all journeys
for pleasure or knowledge, for war or peace,
experience, the ideal of all journeys
is the life blood of existence,
let me share with you my experience
of an encounter with life
across the narrow national frontiers
of a quest of latent truth in apparent reality.

.../...

.../...

Incredible Germany

Germany, once a guillotine for righteousness
the country which had bid to swallow the globe
cracked into two pieces
drunk with inebrious Rhine waters
soaked its barbarous hands
in the innocent blood of humanity.

Germany reminds us naturally
of Hitler and his horde of marauders
Ravana imprisoned Seetha in Ceylon
Hitler enchained Justice in Germany
neither Seetha lost her modesty
nor justice its life.
I slung this innuendo entering Germany
in the company of my friend Meera Khan
but it was the epitome of eternal truth.

Yet a German is synonymous with toil
it is a land of Einsteins and Max Mullers
of known and unknown scientists and philosophers
who took the clue
from Vedic hymns for heavy machines
who employed mystic ways
to enrich experimental science
who drew out material knowledge
from the abyss of metaphysical disputation
and manifested the world of atoms
and the space age travel.

Is not Germany the proverbial sea which
when churned yielded nectar along with poison?

Fields of bumper crops
milch cattle in plenty
villages unvisited by poverty
towns with ever growing prosperity
unveil the flourishing Germany
in the vigilant care of a loving Rhine
and the merciful valleys
which cleave to the picturesque hills.

She is a lovely golden maiden
humming with life and lustre
bidding farewell to its dreadful past
turning her back on the path of peril
she ascends the heights of construction
in the rocket of progress
bearing the emblem of new awakening.

Her markets flood with valuable goods
her rich exports belittle poor imports
she proclaims to the world
"a sweating people shall never lose
a patriotic nation shall never be wanting"
Bonn, Koln, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg
five great cities reflect her vigorous life and
constitute the hub of production and prestige.
The soaring towers of Koln Church
mirror the spiritual heights
the roaring factories of the renowned Ruhr
demonstrate man's genius and might
varied traits and shades
mark the baffling chapters of German life.

.../...

Czechoslovakia of Sweat and Sweetness

With plentiful food, drink.
unsophisticated beauty and nature's bounty
Czechoslovakia is a heaven for the poor.
Socialism with freedom and fraternity
flow through the land
smiling in the lap of the river Danube
held in the affectionate arms
of the Carpathian Sudeten mountain ranges.

Sporting in the playgrounds
of Subterranean caverns and mineral springs
of the High and Low Tatras.

Rosy cheeks still rosier lips
lovely hair still lovelier shoulders
shapely curves real so real
are the only ornaments the Czech girls wear.

They are sharp arrows
that pierce through soft hearts
they are rich in feeling if not in money

(*Continued on page 268*)

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The Pomp & Glory . . . That was . . . Raj !

Mark Bence-Jones : THE VICEROYS OF INDIA

B. I Publications India (Ltd.) 1982

Comment by R. N. Chowdhary

Here is a very interesting and readable account of the significant contributions of the Viceroys of India to the imperial glory and greatness of the British Raj, written for the British readers, especially for the loyal servants of Her Majesty. The author has carefully selected events to high-light the grand status of the Viceroys of India through the period of British rule. Using the words of Lord Mountbatten, he calls the post of Viceroy as the "greatest office in the world," which was created in 1858, following the transfer of the Indian Empire from the East India Company to the Crown.

FROM CLIVE TO DALHOUSIE

The book is divided into fifteen chapters. In the introductory chapter on "The Office and the Men Before It", the writer traces the history of the conquest and consolidation of British Raj in India from Clive to Dalhousie. Hardly any attempt has been made to study the impact of British policy on the Indian people. To the 'imperialist' Britons, some details appear to be revealing. For example, we are told that "Wellesley invested his office with a viceregal pomp unknown to his predecessors, . the ball he gave . cost over £ 3,000 in illuminations alone." (*p. 9*). He spent £ 63,291 on the construction of the new Government House, which the Company Directors considered as excessive. (*p. 8*) Jones appreciates 35 years' old Dalhousie's policy of "a centralised India governed directly by British administrators" (*p. 17*) without any attempt to evaluate the consequence of his disastrous policy of annexation. There is only a passing reference to the 'Mutiny' *albiet*, according to V.D. Savarkar, this was India's First War of Independence.

FIRST & THE LAST

Chapters 2 to 15 deal with the private and public lives of the Viceroys from Celmency Canning to Lord Mountbatten, narrating the antecedents of each Viceroy, their oath-taking ceremonies and farewell functions which, though entertaining and interesting for the British fans, have little significance for the Indian readers.

The first Viceroy of India, Clemency (chapter - 2) according to *The Times*, ably defended his policy that the permanancy of British rule in India depended on the support of the influential aristocrats of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. His defence has been called "one of the noblest apologies in English history *(p. 34)* This reveals the hollowness of the Queen's Proclamation promising equal opportunity to all Indians in government service.

Lord Mayo, "one of the best loved of all the rulers of British India" (chapter - 4) and the only one to be murdered, has been approbated the "Ideal Viceroy", conveniently underestimating the execution of 49 Kukas by blowing them from guns, which act was inhuman, disgraceful and unnecessry. (*p. 73-74*). The Imperial Assemblage organized by Lord Lytton (Ch. 6) at Delhi on 10 January, 1877, on assumption of sonorous title of *'Kaiger-i Hind'* by Queen Victoria can hardly be called an act of political wisdom, when the South of India was in the midst of an unprecedented famine. The Durbar was siginificant to India as a whole. There is no reference to the Vernacular Press Act (1878) and the civil service agitation launched by Surendra Nath Bannerjee.

The name of Lord Ripon (Ch. 7) has become a legend in India, but the learned writer is not prepared to concede the title of the "Father of Local Self-goverment" to him, because in his opinion, "Mayo has a better claim" (*p. 127*). He holds Ripon responsible for betraying the principle of racial equality in the amended Ilbert Bill. Mediocre, timid and weak, his "viceroyalty was a failure", a verdict with which few keen students of modern Indian history would agree.

CURZON

Lord Curzon's maxim "Do Every-thing Yourself" (chapter 10) was his way of attempting to ruin India single-handed. His attitude of *'L etat C'est Moi'* was trying to put the clock back to the period before the introduction of telegraph. In dealing with the Home Government, Gurzon regarded civilians "as a lot of fuddy-duddies", which was unfair (*p 175*). The idea that it was the duty of the British to train the Indians to govern themselves was repugnant to Curzon.

The Indians were, in his view," a congenitally inefficient race". He refused to any increase of Indian officers in the Civil Service and felt that the highest administrative post should, as a rule, remain closed to them (*p. 187*) Curzon was a racist, despite the claim of the author that he supported the immigrant Indians in South Africa against the White race (*p.182*) He spoke of Indians, says Dr S. Gopal in his well-documented study, *British Policy in India 1858–1905 (Cambridge, 1965)*" in tones one normally reserves for pet animals, In his Calcutta University Convocation Address, in 1905, Curzon observed: "I am making no false or arrogant claim when I say that the highest ideal of truth is to a large extent a western conception." His hostility to Indian *national* aspiration was reflected in the creation of the Civil Intelligence Department, the passing of the Official Secrets Act and the partition of Bengal. The partition of Bengal has been justified on

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The Pomp & Glory . . . that was . . . Raj !

the grounds that it "was no more than an administrative measure, originating from the Government rather than from Curzon himself" (*p.188*). It is known even to a school boy that Risley, Home Secretary, wrote in an official note, 6 December, 1904. "Bengal united is a power. Bengal divided will pull several different ways . Our main object is to split up and thereby to weaken a solid body of opponents to our rule".

If was a deliberate attempt to weaken Indian nationalism

The Coronation Durbar has been claimed "a resounding success" for, despite its spectacle, it cost no more than £ 1,80,000 apart from military expenses", (*p. 84*) The Durbar was "decorated exclusively in the Moghul style" .. It has been rightly said of him," He achieved successes, but not success"(*p 196*) Few would agree with the estimate of the writer that Curzon's achievement lay "in the mechanics of administration rather than in the minds of men". Perhaps to the posterity, he is still remembered less as the builder of Vietoria Memorial at Calcutta, and more as a despotic ruler who was an arch enemy of the Indian National Congress.

THE LAST VICEROY

The last chapter (15–Wavell and Mountbatten) focusses the attention of the reader on the historic role played by Lord Mountbatten in transferring power to India and Pakistan. He recognized Jinnah as" the man who held the key to the whole situation" (*p 306*) Nehru . was a widower, he craved feminine sympathy which the Vicereine (Edwina Mountbatten) was able to provide". (*p. 307*) Gandhi was "a friendly if baffiing personality to be cultivated". The deteriorating communal situation in the subcontinent forced the last Viceroy to take speedy decision to transfer power, but he failed to prevent the communal massacre. The author attributes to V. P. Menon the "brilliant suggestion" to hand over power as soon as possible to two dominions, which is the genesis of the Mountbatten Plan (*p 308*). In the opinion of the writer, no other Viceroy, "not even Wavell, could at that late hour have done better." (*p. 311*) Mountbatten's continuation as Governor General of an Independent India until 21 June 1948, was "a remarkable epilogue to the history of the Viceroys".

The final lesson of the study seems to be that the ties of friendship are the most enduring legacy of the Raj built by Canning, Mayo and Ripon, which was maintained up to the end by Mountbatten. It is, however, difficult to disagree with the statement of Penderel Moon-*Divide and Quit, London, 1961* (*p 283*) that "Mountbatten's claim to great merit for the manner of our departure from India rings somewhat hollow".

ANECDOTAL "SOCIAL" HISTORY

The book covers the entire period of the *British Raj* in India, spanning almost over two centuries in about 300 pages. Within the page limit, the study speaks highly of the pomp and pageantry of the Viceroys of India. The author has taken considerable pains to collect anecdotes and selected details of retired life from valuable unpublished sources of the Indian Office Library, London, and from personal reminiscenes.

The book has left a gap—the relation of the Viceroys of India with the Secretary of State for India in taking decisions for future actions. Was it largely a matter of personal equation between the two? The treatment being piecemeal and sketchy, this is more a social history and less a balanced and unbiased historical account of the period. Indian historcal sources *e. g.* Surendra Nath Banerjee's '*A Nation in Making* (*Calcutta 1963*) has been deliberately ignored. Suhas Chakravarty's *Anatomy of the Raj* (People's Publishing House, Delhi, 1981) is the other side of British rule. For the large majority of educated Indians, there is hardly any intellectual food or discovery of new facts or interpretation relating to controversies of British Raj, such as the economic impact of British imperialism on India, to understand why India has remained a rich country with a majority of poor people.

Finally, the book with its profuse illustrations (132 in number) a select Bibliography and an Index, deserves to be on the shelf of educated Britishers and loyal civil servants interested in recalling the glorious past of Imperial Britain.

Educationist and scholar of History, Dr. R. N. Chowdhary retired as Director of College Education, Rajasthan.

(*Contd. from page 266*) **Visiting Europe— ...**

they possess aroma of character
if not costly perfumes.
In the restless ocean of life
they are golden fishes
in the fields and factories they compete with men
and mix the sweat of labour with the sweet of love
No wonder they stir my pen and feelings.

On a collective farm, green and prosperous
the comrade farmers, robust and friendly
entertained us
with pilsner beer and Kosher Slivovitz
mingled with a deep love for man.
Drunk with their unalloyed hospitality
dancing in mirth through a spring time
of inexplicable experiences
I walked over a bridge of moonlight
between the known and unknown worlds.
... ...

J Bapu Reddy is a senior member of the IAS cadre in A.P.

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A ROW OVER *AZADI*

Comment by Tejwant S. Gill

Some time back, there was quite a row in hte Language Faculty of Punjab University, Chandigarh. A majority of its members insisted that Chaman Nahal's novel *Azadi* be withdrawn from the compulsory course of an undergraduate class.

Several intriguing factors marked this row. Except for a few members, the others insisting upon its withdrawal were not formally from the discipline of English. It seems doubtful, therefore, if they had actually read the novel, the presence of which in the course they vehemently opposed. Conversely, those few from whose comments the opponents drew their arguments, were only the teachers teaching the course in the affiliated colleges.

Seeing that the members insisting upon the withdrawal of the novel were not to be moved from their stand, the members of the English Department sought refuge in their passivity rendered respectable by their presumed erudition. They remained silent spectators to the spectacle, sharing salient features with the commercial film.

Members, including the chairman, who opposed the withdrawal could at the most furnish pious arguments in favour of liberalism in academic matters. For all the threat of resignation held out by the chairman, the decision was taken to withdraw the novel forthwith; and the Board of English was told to immediately implement the decision. Without any demur whatsoever, the Board succumbed to this decision, though it had ardently prescribed this novel earlier.

OBSCENE & UNTEACHABLE ?

The members insisting upon the withdrawal contended that *Azadi* was 'obscene' writing. With enough of purple portions, it was not worthy to be taught. They further contended that it was 'unteachable'. So far as the first contention went, the opponents of the novel, if they may be so called, held that its teaching to the students barely beyond their adolescene was liable to render them 'sex-obsessed'. It was likely to close for them the prospect of cultivating 'intellectual subtlety' and 'emotional sobriety'.

To substantiate the second contention, they held that the level of English of students at this stage is such as cannot do without literal meanings of the words with which they are even a bit unfamiliar The embarassment of the teacher gets unbearable when there is no option for him/her but to provide literal meanings of words employed for the private parts of men and women and the sexual acts indulged in by them. What to talk of students of rural background, even those with an urban background are not capable of sparing the teaching in this regard. To add to the discomfiture further, the students of rural background have to be taught in Punjabi in which any reference to the private parts or to the sexual acts can sound 'scandalous'.

While substantiating these contentions, they drew attention to the repeated mention of private parts and description of sexual acts in *Azadi*. Ironically enough, there was none amongst the proponents of the novel, who could controvert their claim with the argument that such a mention and description did figure at ten or twelve places in the *original* version of the novel. So far as the *edited* prescribed version went, all that, in a subdued tone too, figured only at three or four places *e.g.* in Arun's affectionate encounter with his sister Madhu, his love-making to Chandni and in Sunanda's seduction. Direct mention and description at all these three or four places tend to get 'suggestive', but whether this suggestiveness is executed with the requisite literary competence is, however, a different matter.

LEITMOTIF : NOBILITY & COMPOSITE IDENTITY OF PUNJABI CULTURE

What the opponents needed to be told was that the problem with the novel in its edited version is not that it is not worthy to be taught or is unteachable. The proponents failed to impress upon them that sexual mention or description, if any, extremely marginal to the central *leitmotif* of the novel. The central *leitmotif* seeks to evoke the innate nobility and composite identity of Punjabi culture so assiduously constructed through the structure if not texture of the novel. No wonder, the hero of the novel, Lala Kanshi Ram regarded Hindi as his mother tongue but always spoke in Punjabi and wrote in Urdu. In spite of his outward inconsistency, he acquired an inward consistency of character when, after his agonising experience consequent upon Partition, he became benignly patriarchal towards such hapless women as Ishar Kaur from the Sikhs and Sunanda from the Kashmiri community. He professed as much compassion for the Muslim women as well, who had been raped by the Hindu and the Sikh brethren.

Why the opponents, no less so the proponents, failed to grasp the central leitmotif of *Azadi* is a matter for serious consideration. At this historical juncture when communalisation and criminalisation have marked Punjabi life, it is embarasing, albiet dangerous to hold on to the Punjabi culture's innate nobility and composite identity. The various wings of the polity—the administration, the police and the judiciary make deliberate efforts to negate its veracity. For all that, survival of Punjabi life and culture is possible only through alignment with this central leitmotif. Lala Kanshi Ram is, in fact, its fictional embodiment in the novel.

Alignment with the central leitmotif can even help in the positive teaching of overtly sexual portions in the original version. For this, sex needs be regarded as the deployment of sexuality that for Michel Foucault, for example, is "no longer a question of simply

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NATIONAL SEMINAR ON John Steinbeck's "THE GRAPES OF WRATH"

(Spon or d By J. N. T. University/U G. C.)—A REPORT

The Jawaharlal Nehru Technological University, Hyderabad, organised a National Seminar on **"The Grapes of Wrath : A Reassessment"** on 20 and 21 March 1989, to mark the Golden Jubilee of the publication of John Steinbeck's masterpiece. Benefitting from the critical evaluation of the novel during the last fifty years, an attempt was made to reassess its place in the tradition of American novel as a social, aesthetic and human document.

The Seminar was inaugurated by **Smt. Y. Seetha Devi**, Minister for Education, Government of Andhra Pradesh who said, "The classical novel by the sixth American writer to be awarded the Nobel Prize in 1962, *The Grapes of Wrath*, was a novel of powerful human emotions which deeply touch the readers". She added "The novel was widely praised, vehemently criticised, but, what was more, it was read".

Dr. S. S. Prabhakar Rao, Professor of English and Director of the Seminar, highlighted the time-less significance of the epic novel, and outlined the activ ties of the **Steinbeck Society of India** founded at Jaipur in 1986. An affiliate of the **International Steinbeck Society** founded by Tetsumaro Hayashi at Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, the **Indian Society** meets every year to provide a critical forum for Steinbeck scholars in India. It publishes a *Newsletter*, containing information on current research on Steinbeck.

Presiding over the function, **Dr. D. Swaminadhan,** Vice-Chancellor J.N.T. University, referred to the multi-disciplinary thrust in the development of the University. He then praised Steinbeck for presenting a human situation at the end of which the girl, Rose of Sharon, emerged from the concern with 'I' to the largeness of interest '*WE*'. Delivering a spirited address, **Prof. Brij Kishore** Dean of the University, praised the novel for its realistic presentation of Tom Joad and J m Casey, especially the latter as a blend of human characteristics of vice and virtue.

In a sch larly keynote address, **Dr. J.W. Bjorkman,** Director, American Studies Research Centre, Hyderabad, discussed the sociological issues forc fully presented by Steinbeck in the novel. Dr. Bjorkman said that the plight of migrant labour, Okis, protrayed by Steinbeck, was similar to that of migrant labour in Bihar, and the attachment to the land of the farmers in Oklahoma reminded one of the attachment of the farmers in the Punjab to the land. **Prof. R. Giri Rao** welcome the participants and guests. **Dr. P. Elaiah,** p:op sed a vote of thanks.

The first invited lecture was delivered by **Dr. D V. K. Raghavacharyulu,** formerly of Nagarjuna University. A senior professor of English and one of the early Indian scholars to make substantial contributions to Am:rican Studies, Dr. Raghavacharyulu spoke about the abiding artistic value of the novel, although critics tended to discount it as a literary masterpiece. He referred to the strength and vitality of the character of Ma Joad. Dr. J. W. Bjorkman chaired the session.

The second invited lecture was delivered by **Prof. M. Sivaramakrishna** of Osmania University, known for his trenchant polemical criticism. He spoke on "The Indian Approach to '*The Grapes of Wrath*'. A Note of Dissent". In his provocative lecture, Prof. Sivaramakrishna insisted on bringing in greater rigour in exploring the "Indianness" of any piece of art from a different culture. Simplistic and over-generalised search for Indian elements will hardly illumine the work of art. He was also against derivative criticism by scholars who do not refer to the original at all. To look for the Buddhism or Vedic elements in Steinbeck in a superficial manner is scarcely critical, he added. Prof O. P. Bhatnagar chaired the session.

The first paper-reading session was chaired by **Prof. D. V. K Raghava Charyulu**. The first paper was presented by **Ms. Jer M Aoari** of Nagpur. She dealt with the impact of Indian Dream on the novel, taking the cue from the thesis of Dr. S S Prabhakar Rao on the motifs of Dream and Dissillusionment in the fiction of Steinbeck. She traced, in particular, the influence of *The Gita* on Steinbeck's conception of non-attachment, self-reliance, oversoul and of the common-man The second paper was presented by **Prof. I. Venkateswarlu** of Nanded. Prof Venkateswarlu made "A Study of the Elements of Universal Quality" in the novel. As in Dickens, in Steinbeck too, the common touch and a generous human approach to social problems elevate the novel, the Professor said. Steinbeck's presentation of the migration of the people towards the west form the essence of a universal theme. The three great skeins of American thought—faith in common man, religion of love and emphasis on action —woven into the novel give it a universal dimension, observed Prof. Venkateswarlu.

The academic programme of the day was topped by the screening of a film on "An Impression of John Steinbeck, Writer", made available by the US Informatiou Service through American Studies Research Centre. The film graphically portrays the locale of Steinbeck's early years, which formed an ineluctable backdrop for *The Grapes of Wrath*.

The second day of the seminar started with an invited lecture on "*The Grapes of Wrath*".—The Anatomy of Exploitation and Repression" by **Prof O P Bhatnagar**, Professor of English, Amaravathi University and a distinguished Indian poet writing in English. Prof. Bhatnagar expressed the view that Steinbeck was interested neither in pedalling any political ideology nor in using art for propagating it. He was interested in the forms, mechanism and sources of exploitation and repression that lay embedded in the religious and the economic system, which excluded the human dimension. Jim Casey, unable to find holi-

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ness in religious order, found it finally in communion with nature and man., said Prof. Bhatnagar. Prof. D.V.K. Raghavacharyulu chaired the session.

At the second paper reading session, three scholars presented their papers. **Prof. C. J Rama Rao** from Nanded looked closely at the significance of symbols used by Steinbeck. **Mrs. P. Bhatnagar** of Amaravathi examined the evolution of the character of Jim Casey as a process from disorientation to reorientation. **Mrs. S. Usha Rani** of Visakhapatnam tried to demonstrate that the strategy of symbolism was central to the artistic technique employed by Steinbeck.

As a welcome diversion from high flow critical discussions and as a modest homage to Muse from the Technological University, a poets' get-together was arranged. This afternoon session was chaired by **Prof. Briz Kishore**, a multi-dimensional personality—he trained as a Hydrologist, but is gifted with poetic virtuosity. **Prof S S. Prabhakar Rao, Prof. Bhatnagar, Dr P. Elia** recited their brief poems. **Prof. Briz Kishore** also offered a longish metaphysical poem.

Two papers were presented at the last paper reading session. **Ms. Sharada Ramesh** of Hyderabad examined the family structure in the novel, from the initial traditional unit structure with age-old hierarchy, through the split-up of the family, and the final realisation of the larger family comprising entire humanity. **Dr. P. Elia** of J.N.T. University looked closely at the evocation of the elements of *Genesis*, especially in the first chapter and linked with the universal Biblical elements.

In sum, the Seminar, threw fresh light on some sociological and aesthetic dimensions of the epic novel and succeeded in placing it firmly among the major novels in American literature, which have a durable aesthetic appeal for the universals of human love and solidarity presented organically in the action of the novel, in spite of its sentimentality, theatricality and declared sociological purpose. □

A ROW OVER *AZADI* *(Continued from page 269)*

saying what was done (the sexual act) and how it was done, but of reconstructing in and around the act the thoughts that recapitulated it, the obsessions that accompanied it, the images, desires, modulations and quality of pleasure that animated it.

In the row that occurred in the Language Faculty of Panjab University, Chandigarh, the allegation of obscenity so vociferously made by the opponents even against the edited version of *Azadi* was only a ruse to cover a social-cum-political compulsion that its proponents failed miserably to uncover for the benefit of the students for whom it was prescribed for study.

Dr. Tejwant S Gill is a faculty member of the English Department in Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar We had invited comments following a news-item about the withdrawal of the controvertial text book.

IN SEARCH OF A SONG

Arun Sharma :

Published by Vinod Agarwal, Hilltone Hotel, Old Cart Road, Mount Abu (1988) Pp. 45, Rs 50/-

Introduced by M. K. Mukerjee

A mysterious darkness enwraps a lonely night. In hand a golden lamp with a steady flame, '*Purusha*' (पुरुष) proceeds in search of his song, his 'inamorata', his pure Primeval female, the first word of his prayer—the '*Shakti*' (शक्ति)

It is a lyrical journey, a poetic pilgrimage that takes the confused '*Purusha*' from darkness to light, from illusion to sheer delight of salvation. He is saved from sensuous frenzy of a tusker and folly of a buzzard, from chasing his own ignis fatus (shadow) and is delivered on wabbling waves, dead beaten on the sands of hope. There the whispering casuarina (massive weeds at sea-shore) sings sweet epithalamium and he, on his own knees, waits for his '*Shakti*' to raise him to her height, making him whole like '*OM*' (ओ३म्), equip him with versatility of amoeba, enclosed in whom is MC^2. It is then that he is abluted and purified by her, and freed from carnal sins. In her arms, ever forgiving, she consoles him with eternal truth, '*AMORIS BAINUS IDEM SAIVADA*' (Love heals its own wounds) He, on his own part, consecrates himself to her with his blood in her '*Seemanta*'.

He denounces the great saint and poet for declaring that woman deserves whipping. He stamps the misogynist Philosopher—a sadist when he exhorts every man to carry a whip along, whenever he approaches a woman He denies Kissingerian thought that a woman should be treated only as a hobby Contrary to all such derogatory remarks of great thinkers, he humbly believes that '*MANU*' (मनु) will always return to '*SHRADHA*' (श्रद्धा) like the pigeon who keeps flying always like the sun, like the seasons. True, it is the '*Soma*' (सोम) of the *EVE* that attracts him to her; but it is the spirit that finally cements the joyous relations That is, when man frees himself from the bondage of flesh, achieving a transcendental stage of seraphic bliss.

All this has been charmingly painted and achieved by the poet in this poem —'*In Search of a Song*'. Here mythological bonquet with fragrance of biblical Samson, Indic '*Shiva*', Valhalla' Greek Orpheus, Venus, Aphrodite, fills one with mystic intoxication. It is then when music is reborn not only with seven notes, but with seven colours too. Then it is music, music and music all the way. Like life, it is just beautiful, but unlike peacock and lillies, it is not useless. Though it is heavy as '*KAFKA*', ' it has thrills of a baton". It has "the whispers of an autumn breeze" and "the twitter of a '*Bulbul*'" just as Chief Seattle described—

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A PROFILE

Kedarnath Sharma : A POET OF INTENSITY

I met Kedar Nath Sharma when he visited Dharmsala in June 1989. A man bubbling with ideals and deeply rooted in experiences of the world, he sadly comments on the undue importance given to material gains in the world. Despite a long struggle for both existence and recognition, Sharma maintains his zest for life and creative literature. Although poetry for him is a release, a passion, to a very small extent his poetry is autobiographical in nature. "Mostly I write about personal experiences which are universal in nature. Sometimes I depict objects or places which may or may not have any autobiographical touch".

Born on 19th March, 1927 and brought up in the sylvan surroundings of the Shivalik foothills at Gangath in Tehsil Nurpur of Distt. Kangra, Kedar Nath Sharma had his early education at Gangath, Jawali and Nurpur. He graduated in Arts from S D. College Pathankot in 1958. A self-made man, Sharma had to struggle much in life.

On 12th August, 1958, he reached Delhi in search of a job, which he got under Delhi Administration in July, 1959. Now he is working as an Inspector in the Sales Tax Department. While in service, he did M.A. in English from Delhi University, and Diploma in Journalism from Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan's Rajendra Prashad College of Mass Communications and Media. New Delhi. He got an offer to work as a journalist with the *Caravan* and could have joined *The Indian Express*, but he did not have the courage to leave the government job.

In 1958, he worked for a short while with a Hindi Magazine called *Babuji Patrika* and constituted its one-man staff. From 1968 to 1974, he was the Joint Secretary/Secretary of the Neighbourhood Publications Cooperative Society Ltd , Delhi. This society used to publish *Dateline Delhi*, a fortnightly newsmagazine which created history in journalism in India. Sam Casteline was its editor. During 1986-87, he was the honorary editor of *Angtran*, a bilingual monthly news magazine.

His poems and articles have appeared in *Alpha* (a class-room magazine of Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan) and then in *Dateline*, Delhi, The *Sunday Standard of the Indian Express*, *Femina*, the *Evening News* of *The Hindustan Times*, *Caravan*, *The Sainik Smachar* and various other periodicals. He has written Profiles (personality features of Interviews) of poets, writers, artists (both stage and fine arts) and journalists.

He has to his credit two books : *Songs of Life* (1975), *Ideal Composition*, and his second anthology of poems is under print. Reading and writing poems is his hobby. According to him, a good poem is one "which touches either the heart or appeals to the mind."

Kedar Nath Sharma exells in describing the day-to-day events in a touching manner. He often employs the dramatic mode to concretise the moments. For example, in '*The Ageing Hour*' :

"Evening still waits at the roof tops though she is snatching her fingers from the farewell grip of the scene below."

His fertile imagination enables him to embody and communicate vividly his deeply felt experiences. In "*A Moment of Death*", he remarks :

"I have ever been
to near to the earth,
so bury me not
in any grave
after I die."

Indeed, Sharma's poetry flows like a natural waterfall—it is simple, spontaneous, authentic and musical. He knits together various strands and builds up his poems so well. In '*Hopeless*', he sincerely laments :

"Ah, Hope !
Should you be so hopeless ?"

In sum, Kedar Nath Sharma is a poet of considerable promise and potential He seeks to incorporate the quintessence of his ideas and experiences in his poems He writes with remarkable ease and felicity. It is heartening to observe the emergence of such notable poets from Himachal. His creative impulse is praiseworthy. It is the poetry that moves and delights, lifts and liberates. In the words of the Founder-President of Poet International Organisation, Dr. Dwarkanath H. Kabadi :

"What is poetry without passion ?
What is poetry without fire ?
It is merely a dead spring without water,
It is a dead heart without a soul.
When one holds poetry, one's heart should churn".

Dr. Atma Ram who wrote this Profile is now Joint Director, Education (College) Dt. of Edu. Shimla (H.P.)

(Continued from page 271) **IN SEARCH OF A SONG**

"The sky, the freshness of air, the sparkle of water; how can one part from them ?"

This long poem in eight opus is like a pilgrim's progress to his '*Moksha*' (मोक्ष). It is a craftman's creation. The writer seems to have chosen his words for their beautiful connotations and lyrical vibrations. It is capativating like an exotic symphony. Like a fairy tale, it mystifies us and fills us with a childlike awe. One is spell-bound with its charming and elegant tapestry. It is a commendable artistic feat where myth of science, poetry, music and mythology etc. are dexterously and harmoniously painted over a flowing canvas with simplicity of a '*Volkslied*' (लोकगीत) with dedication of an orison.

Dr. (Mrs) M.K. Mukherjee, an educationist and retired school administrator of Jaipur has also worked with UNICEF. She has helped as field assistant & translator in two projects of American Instt. of Indian Studies.

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WHO SEEKS SALVATION ?

R. S. Kumat : *MUJHE MOKSHA NAHIN CHAHIYE*

Review by K. M. Lodha

Mujhe Moksha Nahin Chahiye (I Do Not Desire Salvation) is a collection of twenty-four essays by R. S. Kumat in chaste Hindi, which makes a delightful reading.

These essays bear a different tonality of creative ingenuity and bring to us a determinate approach to certain socio-philosophical problems. Their range is wide, and clearly testifies to the author's depth of scholarship, learning and thoughtful analysis.

Every man has an intense craving for *Moksha* (salvation) but Kumat strongly and explicity states that life is a testament of service to others, to those who are steeped in ignorance and are confronted with troubles or subjected to unpleasant exertions of life. He is exigent to serve them in his little way. This approach reminds one of the famous essay 'On Compensation' by Emerson who too subscribed to this view and upheld the same ethos of life. It is a 'value system' based on moral obligations; so that human happiness lies in actions that endeavour to mitigate afflictions of fellow humans. Salvation is not necessarily eudemonic and is not *inter-vivos.*

Kumat abhors dogmatic, traditional institutional -ism, which has created a dichotomy between the individual and the society. As a senior administrative officer, he has stored an abundant stock of experiences, which the writer in him readily and relevantly draws upon. Thus, the essays have a broad perspective and gamut. He is a Jain by birth and creed, and is fully conversant with the cardinal principles and norms of his faith. Some of the essays rightly delve into them, but with an innovative application which is neither desultory nor tendentious. I may cite an example. In his essay on *Krodha*/Anger, he thoughtfully observes that one should always introspect when anger rules over one and should look within. This will explicate the cause of anger, which breeds contempt. Berne has also laid stress on this very aspect. *(The Every Day Pyscho-Analysis : A Lay Man's Guide).*

There is an inescapable objectivity in Kumat's observations. He is committed to an unbiased analysis, which, in my opinion, leaves an indelible impression on the reader's mind. His essay on '*Sanskara*' gives a historico-cultural dimension of the instinctiveness, and elaborates how man develops his mental health and rescues himself from the evils and blasphemy of a vicious life.

His treatment of Non-Violence is another essay to reckon with. He discretely maintains that Non-Violence is not merely a principle but a way of life—which leads to universal love and fraternity. It is not circumscribed to certain acts or perverse disposition, but includes an empathy and amity towards all animate and inanimate objects. Recent scientific discoveries corroborate this approach. Linius, the father of modern Botany, found that plants have the same sensibility that man has, Wekstser and Evan have proved that the plants too have an intense urge for life and its defence-mechanism. Prof. T.M. Singh has successfully found the wholesome effect of music on them. Kumat's propositions have the same prescript for Non-Violence, which he regards as medicament to violence and its scourge.

The thought pattern of these essays is pragmatic and significantly realistic. If style is the man, an essay is his personality. The present collection reflects on the man and his personality both. We hardly need any witness to testify that with Kumat creativity is a gift so that he can avoid the use of obsolete literary cliches.

On the whole, his work is a richly documented study of basic human problems and completely convincing on all relevant and essential points, In my opinion, these essays are the outcome of a wide ranging and novel process of synthesis, and lead to a specified direction to human tendencies and urges in the conscious and unconscious collective realm, with a natural and aesthetic facility of communication, which is neither elusion nor an euphemism. The work is fully imbued with a natural and concordant import which, with proper adjudication, unmasks and unveils where the wrong lies in the content and form of our present-day lies.

I am sure Kumat will continue to score high with his commitments as well as such writings in future also.

Prof. K. M. Lodha, a retired Professor of Hindi from Calcutta University and a former Vice-Chancellor, University of Jodhpur, is now on the panel of UPSC for consultation and competitive examinations.

Editor's Note

When it was published, R. S. Kumat's book "*Mujhe Moksha Nahin Chahiye*" created quite a stir. Its title apart, and the import suggesting that the author would not seek any release from his human bondage the way it has been prescribed or practised by his fellow Jains since ages past, its thematic con-contents and arguments (why Kumat would like to turn away from the ordained path of Salvation) raised a great deal of controversy.

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On Library Science

S. K. Mookherjee

PUSTAKALAYA VIGYAN : BHARTIYA PARIVESH MEN (**Library Science on an Indian Environment**)

Apala Publishing Cooperative Society Ltd., Lucknow 1988, pp. 242; Library edition Rs.100; Paperback Rs. 40

Review by N. B. Srivastava

Good libraries are the treasure—houses of knowledge man has acquired and inherited through the ages. They are potent vehicles of edification and enlightenment, entertainment and culture, bastions of democracy and freedom. It is indeed sad that, like many other essential elements which build a civilized society of worthy citizens, libraries too have been neglected in free India.

Some pioneers like Borden of the Oriental Library of Baroda, Ranganathan of Madras, Pramil Basu of Shanti Niketan did much to extend and build the base of libraries in India. Free India has, however, suffered a set-back in its library movement.

It is an enigmatic irony that, while higher education is expanding in its scale by leaps and bounds, and rising, the reading habit and interest in good books among the people are falling steepily. The place has been usurped by the porno pulp, comics and yellow journals. Even if the libraries which receive substantial funds, manage to buy good and costly books, there are none or just very few who read them.

The recent set-up of the Raja Ram Mohan Roy Foundation has no doubt given a fillip to the library movement. But, following the other apparently beneficial measures of the government, it has also opened the floodgates of corruption in the purchase of books in the bulk.

Bad books, like bad money, have driven out good books. The R.R.M. R. Foundation's purchase officers or the budding 'Book bureaucrats' can be seen moving about in their newly acquired Marutis. They have suddenly become prosperous beyond their means. A good cause has been debased; good literature has been banished.

In this depressing book scenario, *Pustkalaya Vigyan : Bhartiya Parivesh Men.* is like a fresh breeze. Prof. S. K. Mookherjee, the author is a retired Dean of the Faculty of Library Science of the Calcutta University, a 78 year old veteran, who has done much for the cause of the library movement in India. He is an internationally acknowledged expert in his field, an author of many excellent books on library science in English and Bengali. He is also a recipient of many prestigious international and national awards. Prof. Mukherjee has rendered a great service by publishing (in Hindi) this introductory but a comprehensive book on library science. The book is unique and inspiring, handy and useful for the young and new librarians and the inquisitive book-lovers.

Prof. Mukherjee has served in the best libraries of India, like the Gaekwad Oriental Library, Baroda; the National Archives, New Delhi; and the Calcutta University. He has seen the best libraries of the world in Europe and U.S. He has now written a dependable *guide* for the novice librarians, which can be profitably used for their diploma and degree courses.

This tome covers all the important aspects of libraries, *viz.* book selection, classification, bibliography, library committee, office routine, reference, lending, children's, university and rural/urban public libraries—their extension, service and efficient management, library laws, library buildings and equipment.

In addition, it contains ready-made class numbers, based on the 19th edition of the Dewey Decimal system of classification for classifying any book on any subject, more so on any Indian topic of history, religion, philosophy, art and literature, politics and economics, from the prehistoric and Vedic age to the Rajiv regime.

Pustkalaya Vigyan, in its Indian setting is a very readable and practical book for librarians and readers who wish to use it. It is a 'must' for any good library.

Prof. N. B. Srivastava (Retd.) Librarian, Vidhan Sabha Pustkalaya, Lucknow.

Who Seeks Salvation ?

(*Continued from page 273*)

A natural fall-out of this was the holding of a one day seminar in the campus of the Rajasthan University at the end of April, when many learned scholars discussed the merits and the message of the book in the context of Jain philosophy and religion in an academic and scholarly fashion. It was indeed a treat to be present in the packed hall and listen to some of the local leading scholars including Dr. L. M. Singhvi, a leading luminary in the legal field; Prof. R. C. Dwivedi, Prof. of Sanskrit, University of Rajasthan, Jaipur; Dr. Vishvambhar Upadhyaya, Prof. of Hindi, University of Rajasthan; Shri Nathulal Jain, former Advocate General for Rajasthan; Dr. Raghav Prakash, Director Hindi Granth Academy; Shri K. L. Bordia, retired Chairman, Board of Secondary Education, Ajmer.

Many aspects of Jainism and Jain percepts juxtaposed with Indian philosophy in general, and especially its Hindu and Bauddh varieties, were discussed at length, and handsome tributes were paid to the author for his boldness and courage to move away from the beaten tack. □

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The Role and Place of Poetry in The Modern World

Rosemary C. Wilkinson *(Text of a Speech made at a Gathering of World Poets in Bangkok)*

Poets of the world gather together in Bangkok so that the press can disseminate world-wide their own views.

A NEW IMAGE

What is it that the world is calling for from poets? Are they to make a powerful impact on the thinking of upcoming generations against the backdrop of a changing world—a world facing the common dilemma of erosion of traditional values ? How can the poets re-evaluate their role under stress of proliferation of media, advent of high-tech society, adoption of new values ? About all this, we are asked to come together to define, defend, create a new image of the poet entering 21st Century. By that time, if what we call for now is implemented, we may live to see why we gathered here.

In India, the now President told us in 1986, that we were all born poets. He called us prophets—seers, those who see above the present, beyond the masses. He made us very special and useful, and honored us. Was this not what David proclaimed in *Ps. 8 : 4* ? *What is man that thou art mindful of him* ? *5 : For thou has made him a little lower than the angels and hast crowned him with glory and honor.* We took all of this home in our hearts to our individual nations. We allowed it to burn within us—to keep the flame alight, while we pursued our daily writing, while we persevered in our vocation.

NO BARRIERS—*LET THERE BE POETRY*

A poet is a lifetime student who needs encouragement, needs to publish, tape, recite, video-tape and lecture. This came with the gift of poetry. But when we try to implement all this, we find insurmountable barriers. But we have to recall Claire Booth Luce who claims there are no barriers in life, that they exist only in our minds, only in the minds of those who think there are barriers. Then let us pursue a new purpose —to make poetry a living part of every person born.

How do we do that ? Every educational system, from pre-kindergarten through college, should make it mandatory for graduation to have had a "class of poetry" by a reputable poet. All disciplines are to be included i.e. nursing school, law schools, medical and military school. Exposure to poetry helps develop the whole person. Taking a class of poetry means not a poetry acquaintance in a literature class which hurries past poetry, but a full year devoted to studying and writing poetry.

And why not earn a degree in poetry ? If we can earn a degree in art and music, we can earn a degree in poetry; and since poetry deals with written word, poetry ranks first of all in the arts—on the very top. Poetry is no stranger to therapy in medicine—to wit medical doctors and psychiatrists who can attest fully to this documentation. Poets can be employed in the educational system, medical facilities, or wherever they are needed in the cultural hierarchy. Imagine the President of every nation writing a poem or even being a poet !

Can a poet make a living as a poet ? Yes, they can be employed to use their gift fully, not part-time, on the run, not in-between-correcting-paper-and-giving -tests for literature classes, not in journalism; but a full-time devoted poet, deserving to make a living at what he is best at in his pursuit of happiness, just as the laborer earns his bread digging ground and farmer plowing his field.

To kill off a poet is a terrible tragedy. Each nation is a holy thing and recognizes the full worth of a poet in that nation.

TOWARDS A WORLD OF NEW VALUES

Soon a new set of values will erupt from incoming generations whom we owe this responsibility—mixed values will cease. Brothers will extend into nations. Nations will find a new glory to emulate. That is when we will feed, clothe, give health care and education our first priority over the manufacturing of missiles, modern warfare. Every person earns this dignity when born on Mother Earth. It is quite simple to divert needs to living needs. We poets can call for this in our poems, lectures, travels. We have it within our power to change the world tomorrow.

Let Bangkok plant that seed for the well-being of future generations coming to the earth, our most precious home given to us by Divine Providence to cherish, protect, carry out our responsibility for her spiritual and evolutionary progress. We shall leave it a better world, not one filled with wars as when we came. War is obsolete as soon as we say so. Again, are we not fulfilling *Ps. 8-5—"For thou hast made man to have dominion over the works of thy hands. thou hast put all things under his feet."* ?

TOWARD CIVILISATION

On Friday May 6, 1988, our own USA Chairman of National Endowment for the Arts, Frank Hodsell said "The problem is, basic arts education does not exist in the USA today"—in a 182 page document *TOWARD CIVILIZATION.* This is a potentially controversial plan to steer American arts education away from performance and exhibition toward more disciplined study as part of a report commissioned by Congress in 1985. Without such basics "the artist heritage that is ours and the opportunity to contribute significantly to its evolution is being lost to our young people. Trying to create or perform the non-literary arts without skills and knowledge is like trying to write without vocabulary and syntex...the arts are in triple jeopardy—they are not viewed as serious; knowledge itself is not viewed as a prime educational objec-

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Poet : Uplift Mankind—Some Poems by Rosemary C. Wilkinson

tive and those who determine school curricula do not agree on what arts education is." The report calls for "minimum knowledge skills" in the arts that all students must possess before graduation from high school. The report emphasizes "cultural literacy, hard work and discipline, above all knowledge and understanding" (and is obtained free from NEA in Washington, D.C.)

A poet is a creative artist of great imagination and expressive gifts with special sensitivity, to quote Webster. Our own poet Aisa Zahirovic of Yugoslavia believes poetry makes people happier and closer. And so, how appropriate coming from the wisdom and enlightenment of the East that we are called the prophets of nations.

Is that not fulfilling *Peter in Acts 2, 17* :

...And it shall come to pass, says God
I will pour out My Spirit on all flesh
And your sons and daughters shall prophecy
Your young men shall have visions,
Your old men shall dream dreams
I shall show wonders in the heavens above
And signs on the earth below ...

Here Thailand conjoins in a new *Resolution* for the United Nations to implement. The Rector of Kasetsart University welcomes us with : "It will be our ideal opportunity for Thai poets to meet, exchange ideas with world poets—the evidence that the world has never abandoned poets. Then let us go forth to erase despair, create a new spirit to uplift mankind." We came for this purpose, we know our destiny, we will fulfill it.

Dr. Rosenary Wilkinson is a well-known and widely travelled American Poet with nearly a score of published works to her credit. Actively associated with the World Academy of Arts and Culture and the World Congress of Poets she has visited many countries including India round the globe with her twofold message—"World Brotherhood and Peace Through Poetry" & "Poet : Uplift Mankind".

We publish here a sample selection of her poetical words :

ONLY GOD

Only God feels the consequence
of giving men free will—
The tears that are shed
fill, overflow into a cup of gold,
Presented to God on man's death bed
disclosing it all.
Blessed be God, Blessed be the Angels.
God is all good, all loving, the only One
Who turns men astride into saints for above.
Praise be God O Earth
Praise be God's angels, O Air
Praise be God's saints now alive.
Blessed is the Earth God made, Blessed is God's name.

November 3, 1989 (—) 4 a.m.

(This prayer will appear in the Poet's forthcoming volume : EARTH : CHILDREN).

WOMEN

Women cannot say :
I want not your inspiration, Lord.
Women cannot refrain from :
I want to give you glory, Lord.
Women cannot refuse :
The sixth sense given them by God.
Women cannot restrain :
The poetry of reverence in their heart.
Women cannot deny :
The magnificence of all the earth.
Women cannot live this magnificence :
Without respect for man.
Women cannot love :
Without a respect from man.
God made woman, yes, God made woman
the complement of man.

SOUL LIFE OF PLANTS

Poetry only states
what nature is .
What great imagination formed this ?
We have only to open our eyes
to become young again :
touch the mimosa—
see it shiver.
See the alpine plants exude—
purity of the mountain air.
Consider the water lily—
basking in the hot sun
spreading its leaves
evenly over the water.
How pure and beautiful
is its life—
Are we not like these ?
Are we not like these ?

SONNET TO HER HELICON

The more I know you, the more I love you
For I have searched the heavens far and wide.
From the forests dense to the ocean's tide
To the very peak where men do seek you
I have been there again and yet again
Only to find the malaise to renew
That climb aloft where I have so oft been.
What did I find when I climbed way up there.....
Passing many on the path struggling too.....
Some falling back from the burden when near,
Others upligting the determined few :
I found the steep climb all worth it and more
As all who embrace poetic lore.

(From WPRI Anthology for Olympiad World Poets Conference–1988 U.S.A.)

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PUBLISHERS' PAGE

BREAKING NEW GROUND

FOUR OUTSTANDING HINDI BOOKS :

1. *MANUSHYA KA DHARMA* by **Rabindranath Tagore**, (*1989*), *Rs. 40/-*
2. *VISWA—PARICHAYA* by **Rabindranath Tagore**, (*1988*), *Rs. 25/-*
3. *BHAJAN--PUSHPANJALI* edited by **Shrinarain Chaturvedi**, (*1989*), *Rs. 10/-*
4. *SMRITI SCREEN PAR* by **Raghuraj Gupta**, (*1989*), *Rs. 60/-*

Apala Prakashan Sahkari Samiti Ltd., Lucknow.

Introduced by Nadeem Hasnain

Once, Lucknow used to be a centre of Urdu–Hindi publishing, when pioneers like **Nawal Kishore** and the *Ganga Pustak Mala* were the most prestigious and prodigious publishers of Urdu and Hindi books. Authors like **Prem Chand** and **Nirala** spent their most creative days here, followed by the great trio—**Yashpal, Bhagvaticharan Verma** and **Amritlal Nagar**. Lone Nagar now survives.

Delhi, now spawned by some semi–literate and boorish profiteers dominates the publishing scene, and thrives on government. Language publishing exists in Lucknow, imprisoned in the Urdu Akadami and the Hindi Sansthan created for the petrified literary parasites. Gone are the golden days of *Lakknavi* writing and publishing.

In this deteriorating climate of Hindi publishing, the *Apala Prakashan Sahkari Samiti Ltd., Lucknow* mainly a guild of a score of Hindi writers established on the pattern of *Granthali* of Maharashtra and the Authors' Cooperative of Kerala has broken new ground by bringing out half a dozen books in Hindi and a couple of English books of great merit with attractive get-up.

This Lucknow-based publishing society has recently become famous by publishing two outstanding books : Acharya Narendra Deva's *Towards Socialist Society*, and Jayaprakash Narayan's *Nation Building in India*.

Named after goddess *Apala* of the *Rigveda*, who drinks the nector of knowledge from the lips of Indra, the **Apala Society** has now come out with a set of four new books in Hindi. These are briefly introduced.

1. *Manushya Ka Dharma* by Rabindranath Tagore is an authoritative translation of the unique philosophical work of Tagore, the poet, philosopher and educationist. Delivered as Hibberd Lectures at Oxford University in English and Kamla Lectures at the Calcutta University in Bengali on the theme of *Dharma* for Man, as understood and interpreted by the great Indian sages of the *Upnishads*, and saints like Kabir and the Bauls of Bengal, Lallan Faqir *et.al.*, whose wisdom the great poet has distilled in these pages. This compilation is a great book, widely known and discussed in the West. For the first time, it is now available to the Hindi readers, in an excellent translation by Dr. Raghuraj Gupta. A book to be read, reflected upon and absorbed by any seeker of truth and an enquirer of the meaning and purpose of human life.

COOPERATIVE PUBLISHING IN HINDI

2. *Viswa—Parichaya* is another unique book of Tagore, primarily written for children and neo-literates to unravel the mystery of the cosmos. It is one of the most delightful and readable introductions to the Universe—its solar system, planets, stars, galaxies, meteors. It incorporates up-to-date scientific probes made by the astronomers and physicists. It is the poet's creative inquisitiveness and genius that makes astronomy understandable and accessible to children and the neo—literate adults, A must for every child and home, (in spite of the time-lag) the book with two four-colour illustrations printed by photo-setting is also an example of the most attractive get-up.

3. *Bhajan–Pushpanjali*, edited by Shrinarain Chaturvedi. The nonagenerian doyen of Hindi writers and former Adult Education Officer of U. P. has compiled a handy book of devotional, folk and national songs, popular in the country-side and committed to heart by our rural folk till recently, to be joyfully recited by children and their parents, whether unlettered or literate. The collection incorporates the best of Tulsidas, Surdas, Kabir, Rahim, Khusro, Raskhan, down to Tagore and Bankim, Sohanlal Dwivedi, Navin, Sumitranandan Pant, Nirala—all the great saint poets and emotional integrators of India. It should be treasured in all homes and used at leisure and for sheer pleasure and enlightenment. My salutations to Shrinarain Chaturvedi for rendering this national service.

4. *Smriti Screen Par : (On the Memory Screen)* is one of the most scintitillating creative works of memoirs and reminiscences by an unusual anthropologist, a disciple of D. N. Majumdar, who went to prison at the age of fifteen in the 1942 Quit India movement. He was a jail-mate of some of the eminent politicians of his time, and watched them closely. He travelled far and wide—in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and the West. He also changed many a job—once vended mustard oil, served as a clerk, lectured and researched at the Universities of Calcutta, Cornell, Benares, Gujarat, Garhwal and Twente in Holland.

Dr. Raghuraj Gupta has produced some of the most fascinating vignettes of some ordinary and famous personalities, right from his remote village in the foothills of Siwaliks to the celebrities of the metropolis. Well-known among them are Chaudhari Charan Singh and Mahabir Tyagi, and a few others under fictitious

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AH, TO BE AN *ENGLISH* TEACHER !

Bhim S. Dahiya :
TEACHING ENGLISH LITERATURE
Lakeside Publishers, Faridabad (1988) Pp. 138: Rs. 125

A Comment by Jaidev

At a time when sincerity tends to be in short supply among academic critics and writers, *Teaching English Literature* is likely to surprise many a reader by its sincerity. The book does not mince words, and indeed does not mind being blunt. It calls upon the teachers of English in this country to develop and sharpen their tools by organizing and improving their knowledge, presentation skills, and teaching plans. For this purpose, Dr. Dahiya has devoted half his book (7 chapters) along the generic lines, emphasizing, for example, the teaching strategies for teaching short stories, which are obviously different from those required for teaching drama or poetry.

THE TEACHER AS A MAN OF CULTURE

The first part is occasionally marked by repetitions, but that is only because all genre-oriented teaching has to have certain common elements. In any case, each individual teacher will concentrate on chapters that concern him or her. Broadly, the argument in each such generic chapter is in the form of a plea to the teacher for gaining a thorough mastery of the relevant concepts, the historical and aesthetic contexts surrounding the text, and the text itself. The tenor is that there should be a greater seriousness in the teacher, if he or she has to matter both for students and society.

Dr. Bhim Dahiya is against using class room for extraliterary purposes. The teacher should be a man of culture in the Arnoldian sense of the term.

A FETISH FOR LINGUISTICS

Dr. Dahiya is likely to appear polemical, but I think he is right when he denounces the mania for linguistics which unfortunately has become a fetish in this country. This mania has resulted in students being subjected to a barrage of futile linguistic concepts, futile because in no way does such knowledge really help students to learn how to write or speak a correct sentence. The earlier method of teaching the foreign language through translation was effective; the fashionable emphasis on new grammars and linguistics has been quite a disaster.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF TEACHING

It is in the second part of the book that Dr. Dahiya, dealing with such general issues as teaching responsibilities and teaching today, finds himself out of standard paradigms. The result is that he comes out with a strong demystification of academic snobbery, parasitic interests around education, bureaucratic insanities and the ruling cliques. He attacks students, teachers, syllabus makers, policy makers, and the so-called decent caretakers of the interests of peers and colleagues. The perspective that emerges is rather dismal, but its authenticity is beyond dispute. One has only to look at the army of illiterate Ph.D.'s, which each university sends out each academic year. Dr. Dahiya feels there can be no harm in spending a little more in getting a dissertation evaluated abroad : the economy behind getting it evaluated at home is a bad economy and full of indescribable hazards.

EXPOSURE ABROAD & CONSUMER CULTURE

He is right when he complains that foreign trips are arranged for administrators in the name of training programmes, but that teachers who can really benefit much from exposure to their counterparts abroad are denied funds for attending courses or seminars. The issue is actually of priorities, and in a situation which has normalized the abnormal, it is considered abnormal to demand things which appear normal and

(Continued)

(Continued from page 277) **BREAKING NEW GROUND**

names, for obvious reasons. It is a book of 25 sketches written in an inimitable and original style. Its foreword is contributed by the novelist **Amritlal Nagar** and an introduction by the critic **Kshemchandra Suman**. Both of them have lavishly praised this creative writing of a social scientist who is a keen observer and analyst of human life and personalities.

The *dramatis personae* portrayed by Gupta are irresistable. They fall in twin categories of the most loveable, creative, scholarly, aesthetic on the one hand, and the successful charlatans and climbers masquarading as scholars, planners and servants of the people on the other.

At the serious level, this work is a caustic comment on the contemporary Indian society in a state of moral chaos, and in the grips of white-collar crooks who have acquired unusual power through sheer chicanery. In this gloom, Gupta has also located the best and enduring specimens of humanity, great artists and scholars whom one can never forget.

Among his outstanding noble characters are : Pandit Dhanraj, Pakistani scientist Abdul Salam, Panna Chamar, Vahidan Bai, Omkar Nath Thakur, Bangladeshi poet Jasimuddin and politician Maulana Bhasani, Bhai Haridutt and lady Varuna. The bizarre, ignoble ones are : Dr. Kalicharan. M. Jogi, Dr. Mohanlal, IAS Dilshad, Goel Saheb, Bhadavar–Avtar and Pandit Parashar. All great in their own right.

Smriti Screen Par is a memorable literary masterpiece that deserves to be widely enjoyed and discussed.

Dr. Nadeem Hasnain is an Anthropologist associated with the Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society, A-7, Ramakrishna Marg, Faizabad Road, Lucknow-7.

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reasonable. The bizarre is the norm. He is equally critical of the consumer culture which our rulers are bent upon imposing on us; this culture demoralizes all good teachers and promotes money-hunting among them. Of course, Dr. Dahiya is right in insisting that all these odds notwithstanding, the teacher has to be a better kind of person.

A WORLD BEYOND THE PROFESSION

It seems that Dr. Dahiya knows what it means when he refers to teachers who decide to address themselves to larger,non-academic, socio-structural maladies. So long as this kind of engagement does not interfere with their professional responsibilities, one can only have admiration for them; for any good teacher today may reasonably feel how impossible it is to maintain a purely academic profile. As Dr. Dahiya points out, even a good teacher may have to arrange bribes for getting his sons or daughters admitted to a college, may be obliged to arrange a dowry for his daughter, or may be made to buy provisions in the black market. Social evils do not become a pretext for the teacher deciding to go 'black', and indeed many a good teacher will suffer rather than compromise. But the social tendencies do not leave the teacher alone; and it requires a good deal of moral courage to continue to be good, even while the world outside views you as a fool. It is possible; but should this be the level of choices we want to offer our good teachers ?

Nothing is apolitical; politics impinges on us even when we are unaware of it. Is it right to fill the good teacher with guilt for having produced good students who naturally are going to be discarded as rubbish by college managements and other sentries of establishment, simply because they lack connexions ?

As least, any good teacher today tries to make his or her students aware of what bizarre realities are awaiting them outside the campus. This, of course, has to be in addition to good teaching. It isn't an edifying thing at all to see one's brightest students returning like bad coins from one interview after another. This is not to detract from the merit of Dr. Dahiya's argument in the book. Rather, one feels, he should do another book dealing with the contexts of teaching in this country—at once the differences between the teaching situation here and in USA or UK would become apparent.

ANGELS OF INNOCENCE

Purity is Dr. Dahiya's chief quality; but I am afraid, purity in a blatantly impure situation can become a form of perilous innocence. To expect teachers to be better persons is only right, but to expect them to be angels is a tall order. I suppose anybody who becomes a lecturer today after paying, say Rs. 40,000/- to the management, will prefer to get that money refunded this way or that, before starting to amass knowledge for dissemination. In other words, in addition to a sociology of literature, there is a sociology, economics, politics of teaching in this sad country; and this deserves to be studied before one starts comparing our situation with that obtaining elsewhere. For being meaningful, the situations should be comparable at the level of premises and ground conditions.

ON CONNEXIONS & VESTED INTERESTS

It is shocking but instructive to consider this case : a mediocre, most careless student gets a good job through *extra academic* connexions and then, in a mature tone, tells a gold medallist that while the latter was 'flattering' the idiot-scholar-teacher by reading religiously all that he had suggested in his reading list, he, the wise one, was developing useful contacts. (If my views suggest an impasse, a dead-end and a circularity of paralysis, I can only wish the situation were less discouraging.)

Finally, Dr. Dahiya rightly talks of vested interests behind the current mania for linguistics. Actually, in an, unequal poor society like ours, it is inevitable that vested interests should develop wherever they can. Foreign trips are like pilgrimages; and if linguistics can get one abroad, it will create its champions. Teachers are clever people, as clever as many others; and if some of them realize that by promoting the literature of an affluent country, they can get good returns, they will turn into vested interests

This should not be surprising because teaching of English in this country was never a purely academic, innocent activity. What the British did to us, some of us are doing to the rest. India pays for the clever ones' trips abroad; and by another turn of the screw, the clever ones think they are 'India' anyway, others being mere beasts of burden.

Prof. Jaidev of H.P. University is now a Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies. Shimla.

A TRACK OF THE EIGHTIES — NEWS & VIEWS INVITED

THE DECADE OF EIGHTIES, hailed as a decade of changes and transition, has also seen many a new spring and the flowering of new and young talents in various walks of life including the creative fields of literature, arts and communication, sports and entertainment, science and technology, conquest of space and environmental studies, social sciences and so on.

Perhaps, we in the *Indian Book Chronicle* have not been able to keep pace with these wonderful and inspring developments. It is time when we should try and make up for the lost opportunity through an evaluation of the decade that has just drawn to a close.

We invite your comments and reviews of the recent developments and trends in your respective field of interest so that others may share a little of the glory and the agony that was !

Editors

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CONFERENCE ON ORIENTAL STUDIES

All India Oriental Conference (1989)—at Andhra University, Vishakhapatnam

A Report by Dr. Gangadhar Bhatt

The 24th All India Oriental Conference (AIOC) was held in Vishakhapatnam, the port city of Andhra Pradesh, in January, 1989. It was for the first time in seventy years that the Conference was held in Andhra Pradesh. It was inaugurated by Prof. Satchidanand Moorty, Deputy Chairman, University Grants Commission.

Originally called the Indian Oriental Conference (IOC), it came into existence to coordinate and promote scholarly activities of individuals and institutions in the field of oriental studies.

A NATIONAL ENTERPRISE

For a long time, the field of higher research, including research even in Indology, had been almost a preserve of European and American scholars. Work of a high order was, no doubt, being done by individual Indian orientalists; but their scholarly efforts were not properly organised and coordinated. This led to a strong urge among them to plan and initiate schemes of research on a large scale, and conduct the same through a comparative "national" viewpoint and enterprise. This urge encouraged some scholars to start an **Oriental Institute** at Poona to commemorate the name and work of the well-known scholar, Rama Krishana Gopal Bhandarkar. The Oriental Institute offerred facilties to research workers, coordinated their work and began training young scholars in scientific methods of research with the help of competent Indologists, both Indian and Foreign.

A CONFERENCE EVERY TWO YEARS

Soon after the foundation of the **Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,** the idea of periodical conferences of Indian Orientalists was born. The first session of the Conference was convened at Poona in 1919 with Shri Bhandarkar as the General President. The success of the Poona session ensured that such conferences should become permanent and significant features of the academic life of India. Later, a constitution drafted by a committee appointed for the purpose was adopted; and Poona became the head-quarters of the Conference.

The scope and the nature of work of the Conference were broadly outlined at the very first session. In the course of time, however, the designation of some of the sections was changed, and the scope of a few sections was sought to be rationalised.

Normally, sessions of the All India Oriental Conference are held once every two years.

At the first Poona conference, a separate section was devoted to papers written in Sanskrit. At the Allahabad session, a separate Pandit Section was introduced. In course of time, this practice developed into a full-fledged **Pandit Parishad** being made a part of any A.I.O.C. session. Foreign scholars of repute have often attended and actually participated in the AIOC deliberations. Some of them were elected General Presidents of the Conference *e.g.* Sylvan Levy—(Calcutta–1922) F.W. Thomas–(Trivandrum–1937) and Jan Gonda–(Poona session–1971).

Apart from readings and discussions on research papers in the various sections, (summaries of which are made available to the participants in advance) symposia on specific topics have been held in some sessions. Among such topics, we may mention : (1) the Date of Mahabharata war,(2) Republics in Ancient India, (3) Jain Contributions to Indian Culture, (4) Vikrama Era, (6) Kushan Era, (6) Bhasa's plays, (7) Sanskrit as *Lingua Franca* in India, (8) Simplified Sanskrit, (9) Place of Classics in the System of National Education, (10) Oriental Studies and State Policy, and (11) One-Act Plays in Sanskrit etc.

Equally interesting and educative are visits to places of historical and archaeological importance arranged on the occasion of the Conference, and exhibitions of manuscripts and rare books organised by the local committees. Performances of Sanskrit dramas and concerts of music and dance have invariably formed the "enterainment" components at different A.I.O.C. sessions.

The All India Orient Conference has now firmly established itself as the "authorised national forum" of the Orientalists of India. Its representatives serve on various national bodies, such as The International Council for Cultural Relations, The National Commission for UNESCO and the Central Board of Archaeocology.

VISAKHAPATANAM : *The Venue of the 34th Session*

The venue of the Conference, Vishakhapatnam, almost midway between Madras in the south and Calcutta in the north, occupies an important place in the development of modern Andhra Pradesh. The location of a natural harbour gives it not only a unique strategic position (as the base of the Eastern Naval Command, guarding the entire coast of India), but this also makes it one of the main centres for export trade.

The earliest reference to the city of Vishakhapatnam is found in an inscription dated 1068 AD; and its name comes from the Bhimeshwara temple in East Godavari district. According to one tradition, a 4th century King of Andhra, going on a pilgrimage to Kashi, stopped over at Vishakhapatanam for a few days. Impressed by the secnic beauty of the place, he built there a shrine for god Vishakha. The town which grew around the temple came to be known as Vishakhapatanam. According to another tradition,

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the Chola Emperor, Kulottunga I, encamped at Vishakhapatanam during his northern expedition, and built a temple for God Vishakha and named the place after the God as Vishakhapatanam.

Today, the Vishakha temple is nowhere to be found; but it is believed to have been built on the sea-shore, somewhere near 'Tirthapu Rallu', the large boulders of stone which are washed day and night by the tidal waves of the sea. Thus, the ancient site of Vishakhapatanam has been submerged by the sea. The supposed site is regarded even now as a sacred place, and pilgrims visit it frequently for bathing.

In 1915, Geddes called Vishakhapatanam the "New York of India'. Later, it has been variously called as the "City of Destiny" and the "City of Steel". With the development of its harbour and establishment of other industries, the whole landscape of Vishakhapatanam has changed, making it a premier city on the East coast of the Peninsula, to rank soon on par with Calcutta and Madras.

THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS

Besides the regular features of the Conference, that of paper reading, and the meeting of *Pandit Parishad*. the other special features of the 1989 Conference were the election of Professor R. N. Dandekar as the first Honorary Fellow of the AIOC, and a Sanskrit poetic meet organised by the managing committee, in which many eminent Sanskrit poets participated with Professor Ran.akant Shukla in the chair. He also recited some stanzas from his Sanskrit composition '*Bhat me Bharatam*' in the valedictory function, which left the audience spell-bound. At the valedictory function, the out-going President, Dr. R. N. Dandekar expressed his resolve that his first priority would be to see that Sanskrit gets its rightful place. Professor Rama Rangan Mookherjee was elected as the next General President of the A.I.O.C., the venue of which was decided to be the Gurukal Kangari University, Haridwar.

Since national integration is the need of the hour, it is desirable that Oriental scholars must offer their active and constructive leadership. The orientalists have an important role to play in the field of international amity and co-operation. They can employ their many scholastic and creative talents to bring home to the diverse peoples of the world that the colour of the skin and practice of any religion are but their superficial traits; and that deep within their hearts flows the same blood and reigns the same spirit which make the entire population of the world a common race of *homo sapiens*. All humankind is one, when this feeling of universal brotherhood comes to be shared. The orientalist should, with the wisdom of the ancients, be able to turn back and say with the wisdom of the ancients: वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम. Such was the main theme of the Oriental Conference.

Dr. DANDEKAR

Dr. Ramchandra Narayan Dandekar, the President of the session, has figured most prominently in the organisation, as he has guided its destiny for over forty years as General Secretary of the *AIOC*. At this session, he held the office of the General President in token honour of his long services to the Conference. He has been an Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, Univesity of Poona; Honorary Secretary, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; President, International Association of Sanskrit Studies; President, International Union for Oriental and Asian Studies; and President, World Sanskrit Conference. He has been honoured by the award of Padma Bhushan and acclaimed as *Vachaspati* (D. Litt. *Honoris Causa*, Sampoornanand Sanskrit Vishwavidalaya Varanasi) *Gaveshanha Ratna* (Manipur Sahitya Parishad) (D. Litt. *Honoris Causa*–B.H.U.). He is known well throughout the world for his academic attainments.

RANGE & VARIETY OF PAPERS

The total number of papers presented in each section incidently gives an idea about the popularity and multi facet dimensions of the Conference. The *Pandit Parishad* which is subvented by the Govt. of India and to which leading traditional Pandits are invited for presenting papers in Sanskrit was also held as usual.

Number of papers presented in each section :

1. Vedic (99)
2. Iranian (2)
3. Classical Sanskrit (265)
4. Islamic Studies (1)
5. Arabic & Persian (2)
6. Pali and Buddhism (38)
7. Prakrit & Jainism (56)
8. History (32)
9. Indian Linguistics (92)
10. Dravidian Studies (13)
11. Archaeology (12)
12. Philosophy & Religion (201)
13. Technical Sciences & Fine Arts (86)
14. South East Asian Studie: (6)
15. West Asian Studies (3)
16. Pandit Parishad (32)

Whenever the number of papers became unmanageable, the Section was split into various *sub-sections*, alloting nearly sixty of seventy papers to each sub-section. Consequently, during this session, the Classical Section was split into four sub-sections and Philosophy and Relegion Section into three sub-sections.

About fifty registered members of the Conference could not send the summaries of their papers; they presented the same at the sectional meetings. In this way, the response from the scholars to this session was tremendous. Nearly, 1500 delegates from all over the country and abroad registered themselves for the membership of the 34th session of A.I.O.C.

GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

Various steps taken by the Union Government in this regard have included : (a) The appointment of the Sanskrit Commission, (b) Setting up of the Indology Committee; (c) Central Sanskrit Board of the Ministry of Education and (d) the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan. The Project of Manuscript Survey of India is now being actively implemented.

(*Continued*)

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A POPULAR TEXT — BOOK ON CRIME

J.M.J. Sethna : SOCIOLOGY AND THE CRIMINAL
N.M. Tripathi Pvt. Ltd., Bombay, (1989) pp. 365 Rs.100/-

Reviewed by Ramesh Chand Srivastava

The book, seeking to examine the sociological aspects of crime and appropriate methods of its preven -tion is a text book by Sethna, now in its fifth edition.

The volume is divided into eleven chapters and three parts. The first part of the book deals with the Society and Criminal. In the first chapter, the author has discussed the relationship between society and the individuals. He argues that the society is a network of human relations, and signifies the inter-dependence of the threads that make it. The importance of living in co-operation and fellowship has been highlighted. The author suggests that both the school and the home must contribute to the development of a spirit of self-control in the child and the youth.

The second chapter examines the relationship between State and the Individual emphasising the social obligations of the State. The "good" State is not controlled by a mere police force, but it also protects its citizens against aggression by outsiders or from anti-social elements. State is a potent force for enabling its citizens to live a full and happy life, and for providing a suitable and congenial environment so as to prevent crime. It affords not only economic but also social services. It must be able to prevent both aggression and crime. The author insists that good laws are the essence of good government and the welfare of the citizens, and bad laws lead to conflict and crime.

Chapters four aud five are devoted to a discussion on the nature (and meaning) of a criminal. In these two chapters, the author has identified the characteristics of the offenders, types of criminals and the treatment of the criminals. In the classification of criminals, he considers a review of the concept of "criminal tribes" desirable; and cover the relation between heredity and crime, and the remedies against the crime.

The author has given a broad definition of "crime" and mentioned the volume or extent of crimes in India. From the author's point of view and experience, juvenile delinquency is highest in the slum areas due to many factors like unhealthy environment, bad company, contamination, neglect by parents, quarrels at home, one-room accommodation, alcoholism and destitution. About sixty-five per cent of the offenders, however, are in the age group between twenty-three and forty years *i.e.* beyond the juvenile or young offenders' stage.

The second part of the book analyses the problem of crime. The author explains the causes of crime and some remedies. The education of the citizens, the practice of the rules of genetics and the provisions of social security measures are some good preventives. The author has proposed a new remedy of interminate compulsory education.

The seventh chapter is devoted to the theories of punishment and the theory of compensation. The abolition of useless punishment is advocated; and the punishment is sought to be made useful—that is, it may help the individual offender in mending his or her behaviour. The meaning and history of the prison system, its development throughout the world has also been analysed and the author has emphasized the need for "individualized" treatment in prisons,

The third part of the book consists of three chapters. These examine Juvenile Delinquency, its causes, treatment and prevention, and juvenile legislation. The role of the courts and probation system is explained with their relative importance in handling "criminality" at various stages by a proper treatment of the young delinquent, so as to prevent him from becoming a formidable offender. The advisability of moral education and the need for the existence of visiting teachers and child guidence clinics are duly emphasized.

Chapter ten deals with legislation for prevention of juvenile delinquency. The advantage resulting from transfering the cases to juvenile courts, with exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of handling the cases of juveniles cannot be over emphasized. The author pleads that, in every court, there should be a special juvenile aid police unit, with efficient police-men and police-women. to handle cases of juveniles sympathetically and tactfully. There is a need to establlsh child welfare boards and medico–pedogogical centres in every State. There should be adequate provisions for after-care and follow-up services. In the end, a recommendation is given about Children's Homes and schools.

Sethna has emphasized naturally the high value of cultural education which is capable of reinforcing the positive traits of human personality. The book has a vertable store-house of legalistic data. Students teachers, social workers, psychologist and legal practioners will greatly benefit from it.

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CONFERENCE ON ORIENTAL STUDIES

(Continued from page 281)

A PART OF NATIONAL UPSURGE

One of the main impulses for the founding of the AIOC came from the nationalist feeling that Indian scholars had failed in their duty towards higher studies and research in Sanskrit and Indology. A sectional President at one of the early sessions of the Conference was moved to lament : "We do not till the soil we own. It is a rich virgin soil. Others come, toil over it and reap away the harvest".

In conclusion, I am tempted to quote the case of a musk deer which wanders about in search of frangrance forgetting that the source lies within its own self. We, too, have to discover the greatness of our ancient people and their wisdom even in the unrevealed heritage of India.

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LANDS GONE WASTE—A DISTRICT PROFILE

Haridai Ram Yadav
GENESIS AND UTILISATION OF WASTE LANDS
(An Intensive Study in Sultanpur District of Uttar Pradesh).
Concept Publishing Co. New Delhi (1986) *p.p.* 288, *Rs.* 150/- $ 30.

Comments by M.L. Sharma

Many books and articles are now available on the study, interpretation and utilisation as well as reclamation process of waste-lands like the following :—

Shafi, M, "*The Problem of-Waste Lands in India*," (*Geographer*, (1968) *Sp. No. XXI, AMU*); Sharma, H.S. "*Genesis of Ravines of the Lower Chambal Valley, India*," (21*st I. G. U. Congress*, (1968) *pp* 114-118); Ahmed E, '*Soil Erosion in India*", (*Asia Publishing House, New Delhi*, (1970)); Bali, J. S. "*Ravine Reclamation Needs for India*," (*New Delhi* (1972)); Sharma, H. S. "*Ravine Erosion in India*", (*Concept Publishing Co., New Delhi* (1980)); Kar Amal, "*Land, Man and Desert Degradation*', *Geomorphic Problems of Agriculture in Wesetrn Rajasthan*" (*Perspectives in Agr. Geog. Concept, New Delhi* (1980); Sharma, B. L. "*Agricultural Typology*," (*Udaipur* (1980)); J. Singh & Dhillon S. S. *Agricultural Geograph*", *Mc-Graw Hill Publ Co. Ltd.*, (*New Delhi* (1984)); Sharma, M. L. "*Geomorphology of Semi-Arid Region*," *Scientific Publications, Jodhpur* (1986) and the like.

In this wide chain, the author has produced a comprehensive work on waste-lands. He sets off with the remark that the term "waste-land" is generally used for lands lying "uncultivated" due to some reason or the other. Our country being a habitat of tillers of the soil (sustaining about 66.52 per cent of the total working population on agriculture and getting 49 6 per cent of the total national income from the land recources) our country cannot afford to neglect the use of marginal or waste lands of different types. Assuming a basic knowledge of data-based study, the author has used the dependent and indepedent, bivarite and multivarite variables to pin-point the waste land categories and the way of their reclamation (Chapters II and III.)

SULTANPUR STORY

The waste-land categories as shown in land revenue records of the *Milan Khasra* of District Sultanpur are:- *Usar* land, *Banjar* land, Old fallow land, fallow and other type of waste-lands. In a corollary to this, the author has suggested the types of waste-lands based on the *Agricultural Atlas of India* pattern as water-logged land, *Usar* land, *Banjar* land, Old fallow land, Fallow land *Kankarili* land, Ravine land etc. and illustrated the same with the help of maps and diagrams. The waste-land covers 12.85 per cent and 13.72 percent area of the total area of Sultanpur District with an increase rate of 10.93 percent during 1977-78 to 1981-82. This is not a happy situation.

The third chapter is devoted to environmental and anthropogenic factors and interpreted by multivarite analysis—morphometric, slope, ruggedness-number, climatic hydrologic, pedogenic and authropogenic analysis have been done and a co-relationship established between these factors and availability, distribution and intensity of waste land topography in different blocks, tehsils and villages of the district. The author has however, discussed the factor analysis instead of giving details of computational steps involved, and the cause and effect chain.

THE GENESIS & CAPABLITY

The genesis of waste-lands has been outlined in chapter IV, besides the interpretation and distribution. It is 'the "variance" areal differentiation' and sequential nature of development of land forms which have undergone a change through time-and-space relationship in the area, and thus the origin of waste-lands has been observed. Manual factors—such as over-irrigation, weed infestation, negligence to maintain the fertility status etc. are the other aspects which induce growth of waste-lands in the district.

Waste land **capability classification factor** has been discussed in chapter V. The author has rightly given weightage to the geomorphic and anthropogenic characteristics for waste-land capability classification; and thus five type have been suggested. A more rational classification would have been if dissective index and watershed management aspects could be taken into consideration for each category. The capability classification is the stepping stone for predicting the suitability and adaptability of waste lands to various agricultural purposes. This is also the key to their reclamation.

The next chapter deals with remedies for reclamation of waste lands through technological innovations, administrative and manual measures, crop rotation etc. so that waste lands can be of the best use to the agricutursits of the area. The last chapter is devoted to the economics of waste-land reclamation showing the different suitable measures and the costs likely to be incurred in reclaiming the land for cultivation, and thereby, adding to the national income-output basket.

A new dimension could have been added in the chapter if with the description of the characteristics of all the waste-land types, their capability classification, reclamation programmes, problem and prospects etc., steps had been outlined to utilise and cultivate the waste lands for increasing output and rehabilitating the rural unemployed population of the district.

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PEASANT/FAMILY FARMS & AGRARIAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

A.V. Chayanov

THE THEORY OF PEASANT ECONOMY

(Ed. : Daniel Thorner, Basile Kerbley and R. E. F. Smith with a new Introduction by Teodor Shanin)

Oxford University Press, Delhi, First Indian Edition, (1989) Price Rs. 125/-

Comments by K. Srinivasulu

The present volume is the first Indian edition of a book first published in 1966. As it was, it consisted of two important essays by A.V. Chayanov, *viz.*, '*Theory of Non-Capitalist Economic Systems*, (*1924*) and'*Peasant Farm Organisation*' (1925) translated respectively by Christel Lane and R.E.F. Smith. In addition, it had an excellent summary of 'Chayanov's Concept of Peasant Economy' by Daniel Thorner, and an essay on the life and work of Chayanov by Basile Kerbley. Added to the above contents in the present edition is a new introduction by Teodor Shanin.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PEASANT FAMILY FARM

Chayanov, a famous Russian economist of 1920's was one of the leading exponents of what has come to be known as 'the Organisation and Production' school. The central contribution of Chayanov is based on the distinction he accorded to the 'peasant economy' as a specific mode of production along with the Marxist categorization of economies into slave, feudal and capitalist modes. Contrary to the traditional Marxist theoretical position that peasant farm as a 'self-sufficient' production unit would disappear with the development of capitalism in agriculture, and the dismissive attitude that Marx displayed towards the peasantry, Chayanov emphasized the significance of peasant family farm and its ability for survival and resilience.

What would be interesting here is to assess the critical response to Chayanov's contribution since the first appearance of this volume in 1966. The subject matter of Shanin's 'Introduction' to the pr sent edition is "the book's own life and place in the intellectual history of the dramatic two decades." Commenting on the reception Chayanov's theory has been accorded, Shanin remarks: "The book was extensively used by analysts of different persuations, countries and academic disciplines. Its misconceptions were often as singificant in effect as its illuminations. Despite the consequent variety, there was a pattern to the ways Chayanov's insights and examples were perceived and selected for use" (*p.1*). Let us go into some of these issues.

CONSUMPTION NEEDS/DRUDGERY RATIO

The least utilised of Chayanov's ideas, according to Shanin, is the consumption-needs/drudgery ratio, which relates peasant farm to the family consumption and labour. More specifically, no attempt has been made to substantiate it with the data obtained f om Russia or from Third World societies, where peasantry is still preponderant. This appears to be so because of the complex nature of present-day agriculture, which no longer fulfills the coditions Chayanov's ratio expects; the conditions being (as Thorner suggests) thin density of population and easy availability of land.

SOME MISREADINGS

Chayanov's analysis of peasant farm, as a non-capitatalist economic form "which differs from capital -ist farming even in an environment, clearly dominated by capitalism," has attracted the scholarly attention, especially in the "developing societies." In this context, Shanin refers to two standard misreadings of Chayanov: Firstly, Chayanov's analysis of the peasant economy ' from below" and its operational logic has been viewed as a substitution of "the psychologic and subjective for the deterministic and the economic." Contrarywise, in Shanin's view, there is a balance between the subjective and structural-- "a combined explanation of some complexity--" in Chayanov. Secondly, Chayanov's concept of "self-exploitation" is taken literally to refer to drudgery of peasant family labour. Shanin suggests that to capture its full import, the concept should be understood with reference to his concept of "differential optimums" and be seen against "the social context of peasant farming and especially the resulting availability of the family, kinsmen and neighbors' aid and unwaged labour."(*p.6*)

THE 'MODE OF PRODUCTION' DEBATE

The 'mode of production' debate, in Shanin's opinion, has little analytical singificance in understanding the agrarian economy concretely. for the universalist perspective that informed the debate has led to the assessment of socio economic systems in terms of binaries, *i.e.*, "if not capitalist, then feudal." Chayanovian perspective, on the contrary, by assuming "the plurality of simultaneously operating economic systems and the need to match it by multiplicity of conceptual schemes" (*p.6*) helps us in understanding the logic of agrarian political economy in its specificity as well as in its inter-connections.

PEASANTISM—NEO-POPULISM ?

Another misconception, which is widely pervasive, relates to the characterisation of Chayanov as a 'neo-populist.' This label, in Shanin's judgement, "hides more than it reveals" (*p.18*). Any critical appreciation of the intellectual context of Russia in the early part of this century, Shanin suggests, would sensitivize one to the ideological complexity of the period, wherein different ideological strands opposed to capitalism intertwined. Hence, any singular characterisation of Chayanov's ideas as a neo-populist, of "peasantism"

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ideology would not only be misleading, but also be simplistic, for, implicit in the usage of the concept of populism is the image of a "sentimental attachment to obsolete archaism, utopian dreams and manure" (*p.16.*)

FAMILY FARM & POLITICAL ECONOMY

Most of the critiques which stick populist label to Chayanov are misguided, for they assume that there is something called 'Chayanovism' propagating an ideology of pure peasant economy. As a matter of fact, the peasant family farms no longer operate separately, as they are integrated into the dominant political economy, and thus are transformed "by 'external' intervention, especially by the State and the multinational companies intervention" which, as Shanin observes, "outpaced by far Chayanov's experience as well as his theoretical schemes" (*p.19*). Therefore, while any theoretical attempt at a mechanical application of Chayanov to the study of contemporary agrarian reality would be futile, the "illumination insights" of Chayanov, on the contrary, have proved to be of relevance to agrarian studies.

The above assessment of Chayanov, needless to say, is sympathetic and argues for the applicability of Chayanov's ideas *albeit* with modifications. What is conspicuously absent in Shanin's 'Introduction' is the critical assessment of at least some of the most important scholarly responses to Chayanov's relevance. There is hardly any information on the growing scholarship on agrarian question in response to Chayanov's ideas.

In the specific context of India, the 'Farm-size and and Productivity" debate that took place during 1970's and 80's in the columns of the prestigious *Economic and Political Weekly* and with regard to Afro-Asian and Latin American peasantries, contributions in specialised journals like *Journal of Peasant Studies*, which have raised the question of Chayanov's relevance to the study of these socicties, both empirically and theoretically, find no reference to.

What is even more disturbing about Shanin s 'Introduction' is the strong impression it creates regarding the Marxist response to Chayanov being uniformly negative. But the fact of the matter is that Chayanov's ideas have not only invoked a negative response (for instance, Utsa Patnaik, "*Neo-Populism and Marxism: The Chayanovian View of the Agrarian Question and its Fundamental Fallacy*,"(**Journal of Peasant Studies, July 1979**) but also received positive attention resulting in attempts to synthesise Marxian and Chayanovian concepts (For instance, see, Jairus Banaji, '*Chayanov, Kautsky and Lenin: Considerations towards a Synthesis*, (**Economic and Political Weekly**, Oct. 2, 1976.)

Despite these limitations, a new edition of Chayanov's writings is welcome.

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AGRICULTURAL PRICES & ECONOMIC GROWTH

Edited by J. W. Mellor and R. Ahmed
AGRICULTURAL PRICE POLICY FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
International Food Policy Resea ch Institute & Oxford University Press, Delhi, (1988) pp 1-327, Rs. 120/-

Reviewed by S. S. Acharya

Analysis of agricultural price policy is a never ending task. Objectives, instruments and consequences of price policy continuously move in an unpredictable pattern. The objective of the book is to examine the interaction between agricultural price policy, economic growth and technological change. The book includes 16 papers prepared by the senior research staff of the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) in the course of their in-depth research programmes.

The book has been presented in five parts. The agricultural price policy has been analysed in the context of its political nature, its allocative role, limits to counter the underlying supply and demand forces, the opportunities to change supply and demand through non-price factors and its complexity. Each paper provides an excellent analytical reading.

Chapter 1 by Ahmed and Mellor is an excellent over-view of the agricultural price policy as well as this book. Leonardo Paulino has brought out increasing dependence of developing countries on imports of basic food staples in the second chapter. Hazell, in chapter 3, analyses the patterns of variability in prices and production of cereals in various countries.

MARKETS' INTERVENTION

Next six chapters are related to domestic market interventions and importance of international markets. Ahmed, in chapter 4, has observed that private trade generally operates more efficiently than the public sector. The aspects of agricultural price policy related to government stock policy, risk and uncertainty in prices and production, foreign trade and exchange rates have been discussed in chapters 5 through 7. The changes in objectives of agricultural price policy with the change in political situation have been brought out through a case of China, in chapter 8, by Stone. In view of the problem of reconciling conflicting objectives of producers' incentives and consumers' welfare, Sharma in chapter 9, emphasises the need for high levels of administrative skills and organizational capacities for effective public intervention in agricultural prices based on an analysis of Indian scene.

PRICES, PRODUCTION & TECHNOLOGY

Chapters 10 through 13 deal with extent of production response to prices, and relation of prices to the

(Continued on Page 285 below Col. 2)

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GUIDELINES FOR LAND DEVELOPMENT —*A View From NIGERIA*

Winston I. Bell-Gam

LAND RECLAMATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT

Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi (1988) pp. 128; Rs. 175/-.

Comments by A. S. Rathore

In this book, the author has dealt with the problems of the coastal zone of Nigeria, involving land reclamation for coast protection, port development and for human settlements.

The book is in three parts. Part I covers the definition, scope and policy, organisation and management issues involved in the concept and practice of land reclamation activities. And "reclamation" has been defined as the process whereby a portion of land is made suitable for the purpose for which it was initially unusitable. The land-use policy is to be developed after taking into consideration the type of environment and the land-scape characteristics. "Environment" has been identified as the natural, social and built-up environments. The author has suggested a total environmental analysis for planning the feasibility studies for land reclamation.

The reclamation of land has been classified into 4 specific types :— (i) for protection from flood problem, (ii) from low-land problem, (iii) from textural problem, (iv) and fromerosion problem.

METHODS OF RECLAMATION

(i) The methods or measures to reclaim lands from flooding problem have been suggested by:
   (a) emplodering *i. e.* by constructing dykes above the highest expected floods; and
   (b) diversion of the river, creek or sea water.

(ii) Reclamation of lands from low-land problem has been suggested by filling with suitable soils upto the required levels.

(iii) The textural problem may be dealt with by removal of unsuitable soil and replacing it with suitable soil, depending upon the nature of proposed land utilisation, such as urban development, port development etc

(iv) Erosion problem has to be dealt with by physical restoration and land-scaping with appropriate plants and trees.

The author has suggested the options of planning in the context of the over-all national or regional requirements. He has also described the data requirments for design and control of land reclamation projects. For taking up any developmental activities in any area, attention has to be drawn to the collection of data regarding its climatology, topography, geology, hydrology, number of rivers, creeks and swamps. etc.

In Part II, the author has dealt with the techniques of data acquisition and analysis, including economic analysis, socio-demographic studies and the physical science data grouped under geo-technical, hydrographic and meteriological sections. For economic appraisal, he has suggested "the cost-benefit analysis" approach in the format of the financial cash flow.

The problems encountered in the physical development of the reclaimed sites are identified, described and discussed in Part III. The author has dealt in detail with the problem of housing complex on the reclaimed area. The various tests for determning the settlements of claimed area have been described, which cover soil identification and classification, soil behaviour under levels of stress and strain, soil compressibility characteristic under continuous loading and soil strees-strain characteristic and pore pressure response under cyclic loading. The "settlement" has been defined as the gradual lowering of a structure on the ground surface owing to consolidation caused by surface loads or ehanges below the soil. The settlement phenomena have been dealt writh in detail. A case study of one town in Nigeria has also been given in detail.

The author has also dealt with the problems being faced in coastal and deltaic regions, but it is of no use to the people living in the plains, or in hilly and valley regions, as in the case of northern and central India.

India has a very long coast-line in its southern parts and the problems faced on its western coast-line are different from its eastern coast-line, mainly due to wind direction, intensity and duration of rains/storms and the *fetch* length of sea from coastal line. The problems dealt by the author in Nigeria need not be the same in India due to different basic causes medtioned above.

Also the solutions suggested in the book are sketchy and not in detail. Thus the book is of not much use to those involved in land reclamation in India. The know-how available-in India is also of a vast nature, covering individual specific problems in much detail in the form of projects with drawings, designs, specifications and estimations of cost and benefits. However, for the same reference or compraison the situations or solutions in Negeria can be of a limited interest for Indian soil sciantcits and development magers.

A. S. Rathore, a senior member of the I. A. S. Rajasthan Cadre was the Managing Director of the Rajasthan Land Development Corporation, when he reviewed this book for I. B. C. He is now Director, Panchayati Raj Institute, Govt. of Rajasthan, Jaipur.

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LAND DEVELOPMENT—*A View From NIGERIA*

Continued Comment by U. S. Badal

The contents of the book are oriented specifically to the delta region of river Niger, where some of the villages are required to be protected from the riverine floods and hazards of land erosion by the Atlantic Ocean. Study of environment is limited to overcome mosquito-breeding in swampy and water-logged areas. The measures discussed in this regard are more or less of a civil engineering type such as construction of dykes, raising ground level *vis-a-vis* the water level of the streams. Technical alternatives for protecting the village dwellings, and extension of the land surface by dumping sand in the low-lying areas or raising the levels of the inhabited lands and reconstruction of houses have been discussed along with the estimated costs and benefits. But the details of these estimates are lacking.

LAND RECLAMATION & ENVIRONMENT

The contents of the book are not in consonance with the title. Land Reclamation *inter alia* envisages study of the problems of a variety of lands in relation to their possible or practical uses, such as agriculture—fields and for plantation crops, establishment of industries, or construction of roads etc. Simultaneously, it is necessary to consider measures for overcoming the problems of soil erosion or deposition of debris, flooding, soil reaction (salinity, acidity, alkalinity), nutrient contents, needs and problems of drainage etc.

Environment also needs to be examined by way of the vegetative cover—flora and fauna and the measures for reclamation of degraded land surfaces by trees, grasses, shrubs etc. The necessary depth in treatment of both the aspects *i.e.* land reclamation and environment management seems to be missing in this treatise.

By way of improvement, the study of the following aspects in regard to land-use planning in an area is considered essential:

Land Use—Extent of land under different types of usage and terminal patterns, the land conditione or bio-physical capability for improvement.

Common Property Resources (CPR)—Products and their place or role in the local economy—Use in the farming and household systems and/or sale of CPR products in the market, and patterns of collection and distributtion.

Legal & Policy Constraints – Identification of legislations and government policies that unfavourably restrain access in CPR and/or hinder the development of local institutions for management of Common Property Resources, including conflicting or ambiguous tenural rights.

Institutional Framework and Interactive Planning Models – Examination of existing institutions and their inter-action for CPR, and the identification of departmental models for participatory planning for development and sustained management of CPRs within the context of social forestry or watershed management.

In its present form, this book can serve the purpose of introducing the subject only to an intermediary audience and for teaching undergraduate students.

A former technical expert of the Directorate of Agriculture, Rajasthan, U. S. Badal has a long experience in the field of land management and related development works. After working for some years in the Chambal Project Area (Rajasthan) under a U.N.D.P. –sponsored operational research programme, he went to Nigeria as Chief Agriculture Officer from March 1973 to October 1975, when some of the areas mentioned in the present study were under his overall technical charge.

(*Continued from page 283*)

AGRICULTURAL PRICES.....

pace of technological change and increased use of purchased inputs and credit. Pertinent issues in the conflict between producers and consumers have been discussed in chapter 14 by Anderson. Implications of food aid for price policy in recipient countries have been brought out in chapter 15. It has been advocated that food aid must reach low-income people to achieve its objective of rapid growth of agricultural production in the recipient country.

In the concluding chapter by Mellor and Ahmed, price policy issues are analysed in the context of underlying development strategy. They state on page 291, that price policy is not the basic engine of economic development. But it is of great political importance, and can be a major drag on development, if not properly articulated. As such, a substantial allocation of the scarce intellectual and institutional resources of developing countries to the study and analysis of price policy is justified.

The efforts of John W. Mellor and his colleagues at IFPRI, in unfolding the complexities of agricultural price policy are really commendable. Moreover, the general outline presented in this book for managing such policies will be of immense help to planners in developing countries. Like other books of John W. Mellor, this book is a valuable addition to the literature on agricultural development in general and agricultural price policy in particular.

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EMERGENCE OF BHARTIYA KISAN UNION

A Case Study by **A. Satyanarayana** (*Reader in Sociology*), **R. C. Tripathi** (*Prof. of Psychology*) & **Namita Singh** (*Research Scholar, Department of Psychology, University of Allahabad*)*

CHANGING NATURE OF STRUGGLE

The nature of peasant struggles varies from time to time, in accordance with the changing agrarian social structure. In the pre-Independence era, the predominant form of agrarian social structure in India was characterised by the heavy concentration of cultivable land in the hands of non-cultivating owners, while the *kisans*, the cultivating "non-owners", were either occupancy tenants or tenants-at-will (*Moore, 1966*). The struggles revolved primarily between the *kisans* and intermediaries or non-cultivating land-owners (*Rasul, 1974; Singh,1978*) which affected the *mazdoors* peripherally, and were directed against the feudal forms of appropriation of the surplus. Invariably, the demands were related to reductions in rents or rights of occupancy or similar other specific economic grievances (*Natrajan 1953; Sen Gupta, 1974; Dhanagare, 1983*).

The *kisans*' demands, of middle "caste" cultivating peasants like Jats, Ahirs, Kurmis, Yadavas, Marathas, Reddi, Kamma etc., were largely fulfilled with the abolition of intermediaries (*Omvedt, 1980*). The entire body of the Indian Kisan Sabha went into a stage of stagnation after the abolition of intermediaries (*Rasul 1974*). After this, the predominant landlord-tenant relations were replaced by the *kisan* and *mazdoor* relations (*Omvedt, 1980*) where the *kisans* received state-subsidised agricultural inputs.

This, in turn, culminated not only in the Green Revolution, but also in more agrarian struggles between the kisans and mazdoors revolving round economic issues such as wages, hours of work, freedom from various forms of bondage like *vetti*, *begar*, and the distribution of common lands to the landless *mazdoors*. (*Alexander, 1975* a; *1975* b; *1978*; *Omvedt 1973*, 1980: *Oammen 1971*).

CLASH OF COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

However, the recent important peasant struggles have received scant attention in the writings of social scientists, in which the issue of high prices for agricultural products like wheat, paddy, sugarcane, onions, jute, cotton etc. and concessions for agricultural inputs are raised by the farmers in various parts of India. The earlier two strands of agrarian struggles were within the agrarian sector, so to say, whereas the recent ones are between the commercialized and mechanized agriculture *versus* the industrial bourgeoisie and the State, or the producers of agricultural inputs like fertilizers, tractors, threshers and financiers and suppliers of electricity.

In the present paper, an attempt is made to comprehend the aggregation of peasant interests, which is reflected in the formation of the Bhartiya Kisan Union B.K.U.) in Western U. P., and its interaction with the traditional social structural elements such as '*Serv Khap*' and '*Khap*'.

MEERUT COMMISSIONERY AND THE DISTRICTS

Secondary sources of data were analyzed on the dimensions of the distribution of land holdings, crops and organization of work, extent of intensive cultivation and mechanization, dependents per worker, and migration at the 'commissionery' and district levels. It was found that the five districts in the Meerut Commissionery (Division) differed in these aspects—the extent of intensive cultivation, commercialization, mechanization and dependents per worker (*Statistical Bulletin* 1985.) But they have two major similarities.

1. The preponderance of 'middle' peasantry with significantly familistic mode of organization of work, supplemented occasionally either by share croppers or reciprocal exchange of labour and tools among kins, or employment of wage labour in some specific agricultural operations (*Satyanarayana 1985*) (2) Same intensity in the use of electrified tube-wells for irrigation (per seven hectares and less of tubewell irrigated land, there is one electrified tubewell; secondly per ten and less cultivators, there is one electrified tubewell) in all the four districts, except Saharanpur. Given these similarities, aggregation of grievances of peasantry are analyzed below.

Sources of Discontent and the Genesis of B.K.U

ELECTRICITY CHARGES

Three or four main sources of discontentment among the peasants of this area have contributed to the genesis of B.K.U. One is the collection of electricity charges on the basis of "piece rates" in place of meter-based charges from 1976-77. Electricity charges are calculated on the horse-power capactiy of installed electric motors, rather than on the basis of actual consumption The intensity of dependence on "electrified" tubewells is more in the "commissionery" as 66% of total irrigated land receives water from tube-wells. In normal years, the consumption of electriclty is for a maximum period of four to five months, while collection of electricity dues is for a

(But for the constraint of space and delays in the printing of some recent issues of this journal, this Study Note would have been published early last year. Delay is regretted; but it has not affected the relevance or topicality of the Study. —Eds.)

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AND ITS INTERACTIONS WITH *SERV KHAP* AND *KHAP* IN WESTERN U. P.

whole period of twelve months. Even pre-August 1986, electricity charges were significantly higher in U.P. as compared to some other selected States (*viz* Haryana, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh).

An interview with a retired chairman of the U.P. Electricity Board revealed rampant forms of corruption. Widespread thefts of power, transmission losses due to strike and work stoppages, massive bribing in the distribution and diversion of electricity from agriculture to industry are considered as contributory factors for the "high" cost of electricity supplied to the rural area in U.P.

Even prior to the drought period, the supply of electricity *per* tubewell had declined form 9.87 K.W.H. in 1982–83 to 8.66 K.W.H. in 1983–84. The supply of electricity during the drought periods may not be better than in the pre-drought period, if not worse. But such a decline in the power supply has further magnified the problems of the tubewell owners. Non-availability of regular electricity supply for 6 or 7 hours per day affected the peasantry: both the *owners* of tubewells (rich and middle peasants) and also *non-owners* of tubewells (poor peasants) as the latter's dependence on tubewells was magnified in the "drought" period, as canals could not provide sufficient water facility. Even when on hire, the tubewell-owners were unable to provi le water facility for the irrigation of the lands of non-owners of tubewells, as the former's needs for irrigation of their own lands were unfulfilled. The crops, both wheat and sugarcane, were thus affected. It has further influenced the "life chances" (*Dahrendorf, 1979*) of peasantry in general, and poor peasantry more intensively. This resulted in more discontent among the peasantry which was further intensified in the context of the problems related with the delay and corruption in the restoration and repair of transformers.

POLICIES RE : KHANDSARI & SUGARCANE BONUS

The *Khandsari* sulphur-plant policy and the policy on the issue of bonus to sugarcane cultivators further added fuel to the discontentment of the sulphur-plant owners and sugarcane cultivators. Owners of sulphurs-plant came in competition with the sugar mill owners, when the former purchased sugracane above the statutory price in the context of less production of 1985-86, as a consequence of insects' attack. In this confrontation of interests, the U. P. Government imposed sanctions on snlphur-plant owners in two ways : *firstly*, the owners of sulphur plants were threatend through cancellation of licences, if they purchased sugarcane above the statutory price; they were further threatened that the electricity connections to their plants would be disconnected. Thus the State safeguarded the interests of sugar mill owners at the cost of owners of sulphur-plants and sugarcane cultivators. The State Government further imposed fresh restrictions on the purchase of sugarane by sulphur-plant owners till December 1986.

In addition to this, the Supreme Court issued orders to treat the workers in sulphur-plants at *par* with industrial workers in terms of payments and other benefits in 1987, which resulted in the dismantling of the sulphur-plants, and further prolonged the harvestation period of sugarcane even till the end of June, in 1988. In this way, the State safeguarded the interests of sugar-mill owners at the cost of owners of sulph -ur plants and sugarane cultivators.

The bonus for sugarcane cultivators was announced by Shri Ram Industries, controllers of sugar-mills of Daurala and Mawana, at the rate of Rs. four *per* quintal of sugarcane supplied in 1985–86. The government intervened and the issue of paying bonus in cash to sugarcane cultivators was dropped. However, the mill-owners found an alternative in the form of supplying fertilizer through cane societies. Once again, this system was scrapped on the intervention of the government. Thus, the State could not safeguard the interests of sugarcane cultivators.

POLITICAL ISSUES

On the political front, Ch. Charan Singh was treated as the *symbolic* representative of *kisans* by the peasants of this region, as he could not render his support to the sugarcane producers in 1977–78, when the price of sugarcane was depressed due to over-production. With the inexperience of his S.V.D. Govern ment in U. P., the peasants considered hlm as the "articulator" of agrarian interests. He opposed tooth and nail the formation of Kisan Unions till 1980's; but considered such unions of kisans as relevant at a later period (1984-85). The split of Lok Dal had taken place in this period, when Ch. Charan Singh was in a state of coma. Thus, feelings of a political vacuum in the articulation of agrarian interests were prevalent.

Simultaneously, the '*Aya Ram* and *Gaya Ram*' deeds of leaders in shifting their political affiliations, shifting their stands on agrarian interest with change of political affiliations, the inability of many of their other representatives in the articulation of agrarian interests, and a growing void between the peasantry and the leaders culiminated in the development of abrasive attitudes towards political parties and their leaders.

This region has largely supported "independent" candidates in the elections until 1967, and later, provided support to opposition parties. when Ch. Charan Singh came out of the Congress (*Brass, 1985*). Though a political vacuum emerged in the region, the peasantry was very cautious to toe the line of political leaders.

SOCIAL & CASTE FACTORS

Historically, the peasants of this region have social affiliations on the basis of "*Khap*", economic interactions in matters of trade and markets and also cultural

(*Continued*)

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similarity with the neighbouring State of Haryana. The region has been in touch, occasionally from 1987-80, with the units of Kisan Union (K.U) established in Khanjhahwala by late Narayan Swamy Naidu, the then Prsident of Indian Farmers' Association.

A collectivity of 3 persons from Haryana associated with Shamli residents and collected membership fees for the K.U. in 1985-86 in this area. They were later found out as cheaters.

The sulphur-plants owners made endeavours to contact the peasantry of near-by villages to discuss their problems in the absence of "*goonda, neta*" and *pradhan*". Their discussions mainly centered round the repayment of loans, inappropriate supply of electricity to iubewells and the sinking ground-water table, disparity tn the prcies of agricultural inputs and produce, corruption in the formal institutions like banks, police etc. and humiliating treatment faced by the peasantry while interacting with these formal institutions.

The aggregators of peasants' grievances proposed not to pay electricity charges and take other such steps to meet any form of coercive action by the government. The peasants treated the proposers of these ideas as 'mad'.

THE AUTUMN OF 1986

A meeting of B.K.U. was called at Baraut in Sept -ember 1986. It was attended by a homeopathic doctor, (who owns 28 acres of land, a sulphur-plant, tubewell, tractor, thrasher and is a resident of the village near Sisauli), with 30 other peasants of his village who paid membership fees. These peasants belonged to different castes, with land-holdings ranging from 3 to 20 acres. Two old and aged Haryana Jat peasant leaders, owning 8 to 10 acres of land, had visited the doctor's village on his request. A closed door meeting also took place. In that meeting, they conceded to entrust the leadership role to a traditional Khapwar Chowdhary. to retain the K.U. membership fees with local banks, to deal with politicians and corruption as enemies. and finally to operate the sulphur-plants without renewal of registration and licences till December, 1986, thus showing reverence to the traditional authority structure.

... & THE CHARTER OF DEMANDS

On 17th Oct. 1986, about 4,000 peasants gathered at Sisauli, as pamphlets had been distributed on this account, with M.S. Tikait chairing the meeting. The formation of the Union took place in the presence of Chaugama Khap Chowdhary and an active member of Ghatwala Khap who is not a Khap Chowdhary A charter of 11 demands was prepared according to the grievances aired by the members present. The grievances revolved around: (1) hike in power charges, (2) collection of extra charges for the bulb fixed at the tubewell, (3) distant located centres for the payment of power bills, (4) delay in the repairs of disconnected and loose electrical wires (5) less supply of power, (6) corruption, delay and humiliation, (7) lack of rural-urban parity in the supply of power, (8) disconnection of electricity connection, (9) imposition of penalty on late payment of power bills, (10) against the collection of more money as security and (11) inconsistency between the supply of power and the power bills.

The charter of demands depicted that the union collectivity was mainly composed of consumers of electricity in general, and tubewell-owners in particular (belonging mainly to the middle and rich peasantry, and owning more than 2 hectares of land). Tentatively, it can be interpreted that initially the middle and rich peasants' grievances were aggregated for articulation in the collectiye action of peasanty in the area. The village level B.K.U. Units were authorised to resolve their local disputes, and take up mobilization of people and resources. Membership fees were deposited not in individual hands, but in banks. Thus, the B. K U. was formed to aggregate and to redress the grievances of peasants.

SERV KHAP and B.K.U. INTERACTIONS

Serv Khap is loose confederation of all the *Khaps* of the area. The *Serv Khap Panchayat* has had a history of several hundred years (*Pradhan 1966*). In pre-British times, it often united *Jats* against the rulers of Delhi and Agra. After 1857, it ceased to exist. The office-bearers of *Serv Khap* are drawn from *Chowdharies* and *Mantries* (secretaries) of each *Khap* which has joined the panchayat. (Its governing body is supposed to be elected for a period of five years and is comprised of a president, a vice-president, a general secretary and 3 or 4 secretaries.)

Serv Khap was revived as an association of Ahirs, Jats, Gujars, Rajputs, Rode, Rawe Saini, Tyagi, and other castes by persons of Arya Smaj convictions in 1950's. It has been active for some time in curbing social evils such as dowry, extravagant contingent expenditure at the time of marriage and funeral ceremonies, prohibiting child marriages and prescribing the age of boys and girls at marriage as 25 and 16 years respectively. They also restricted the breakage of marital relation between couples, according to their own rules and regulations.

At Beree (Rohtak), a *Serv Khap Panchayat* of Haryana had been organised in 1950's. There they decided to promote inter-caste marriages; prescribed old patterns of dress for women and also asked for the protection of the cow (*Gau Mata*). The resolutions of *Beree* and *Gausala Serv khap Panchayat* were adopted in *Serv Khap Panchayat* held at Saroan in 1956.

DEVELOPMENTS IN 1987

The B.K.U. President of U.P., the Khapwar Chowdhary of Baliyan Khap, called a meeting of *Serv Khap Panchayat* at Saroan in April, 1987. Some modifications were made in the resolutions of 1950's Serv-Khap

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nchayat, others were left untouched, whereas some ere retained as such. Issues of social evils like dowry, striction on the number of guests at marriages to a aximum of 11, and to divert some amount of money r education were retained Changes were made in e prescribed age at the time of marriage as 21 and 18 ars for boys and girls respectively, and to ex-mmunicate and refuse to get a girl married to those milies who break relations even after the *Sanskar*.

Issues like protection of the cow, use of votes in ections and promotion of inter-caste marriages adop-d in 1986 Soraon meeting were dropped. Maintenance f silence on the above-mentioned controvertial issues fluenced the mobilization and participation of pea-nts of different castes in the collective action. If the sue of cow protection was retained, then the Kisans ho did not consider it as scared would remain aloof om the movement. By the adoption of a "non-politi-al" stand, the feasibility of mobilizing supporters of ifferent political parties was enhanced. Sharp status laims of different castes were avoided by maintaining lence on the issue of inter-caste marriages. Thus the *erv Khap* and B K.U. had interacted with each other, nd the *Serv Khap* had taken the role of a collective ocial reformer.

KHAP TERRITORIES

The *Khap* is a patrilineal and exogamous unit of ersons living in a particular area, with feelings of rotherhood and belonging to a *gotra*. According to Western U. P. tradition, migrating groups, typically segment of a *gotra*, settled in the area either by conq-ering an existing village or by creating a new village. The first village thus settled in the area is today consi-dered the head village for each *gotra*. Gradually, the descendants of the origional settlers would fan out and ettle in other nearby villages. All these villages would rom a "*Khap*/clan" territory (*Madsen, 1985*).

Such clan territories are found beyond Jats, *viz.*, among Rajputs (*Barah Goan*) Muslims (*Barah Basti*), and so on. Each *Khap* has its own Chowdhary known as *Khapwar Chowdhary*.

The position is hereditary. Each *khap* is divided into *thambe* which is comprised of 8 to 10 villages. Not only at *thambe* level, but also at every village level, Chowdharies exist. Thus, there is a hierarchy in the authority structure, which is preponderantly strong among Jats in Muzaffarnagar and Meerut Districts.

B. K U INTERACTIONS

Overt collective action of peasants had taken place thrice in the form of *Dharana* at Karmukhedi electricity sub-station from 27th January 1987 to April 1987.In the first case, participants were drawn preponderantly from Baliyan, Chhaprauli, Chaugama Ghatwala, and Desh *Khaps* (Jats) and in minority from Gujars and Muslims. A charter of eleven demands had been handed over to the District Magistrate (D.M.) of Mugaffarnagar.

After the first *dharana*, the Electricity Department took a swift action. The Panchayat at Dharana place unanimously took a decision to hold a *dharana* on 1st March. 1987, for the second time at the same place. The whole month of February was devoted not only in the extension of B.K.U. units but also in their consoli-dation by resolving the disputes related to dowry, marriage and inheritance of property through the trad-itional *panchayat* meetings being called at Village, *thambe* and *khap* levels.

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In the proccess of extension and consolidation, strains arose between *lambardars* Vs. B.K.U. leaders, ineffective *Khap Chowdharies* Vs. B.K.U. leaders. It would be interesting to see how the Kisans shifted their stand from their *Khap* to B.K.U. in different meetings. The B.K.U. meetings were called at *khap* level, but when the issues of status, honour, and prestige of in-effective *Khapwar Chowadhry* sitting on the floor and effective leader of the *Khap* chairing the *Panchayat* had been raised by a section of the meeting. the other sections kept those issues at a distance by pleading that "*KHAP KI BAAT NAHI, KISAN KI PANCHAYAT HAI, AGAR BABA KI IZZAT KI BAAT HO TO BABA KO ALAG LIJYEYE*'. When the *Khap Chowdhary* was not identifiable, then an effective member of the *Khap* was entrusted with the responsibility of organi-sation and mobilization of Kisans.

Thus the leadership of B.K.U. emerged from within the kisans based not only on traditional chowdharies but also from *non-Khap Chowdharies*, with a middle-peasant base and a moderate level of education, and they also lived as one among the kisans. A section of retired per-sonnel from professions like teaching, law and military has played the role of a 'think tank' and provided an intellectual vigour and strategies to the movement.

Regulatory and provocative measures (of deploy-ing the police and P.A.C. personnel without taking seriously the demands and grievances of Kisans, imposing section 144, sealing the roads and arresting B.K.U. leaders and active members) by the govern-ment and local administration resulted in the provoca-tion of kisans. On the basis of status, honour and prestige of the *Khap* and kisans, even the poor peasants were mobilized, along with middle and rich peasants. Participants were drawn preponderantly from Jats, and Muslims followed, in lesser numbers, by Tyagis, Gujars, Rajputs, Brahmins, Ahirs and Chamars.

The *dharana* of 1st March, 1987 resulted in the loss of two lives in police firing They became martyrs. After ths release of imprisioned B.K.U. secondery lead-ers and active memebers, and assurance from the Government to safeguard the interests of the peasants, the *dharana* was called off.

In the 3rd *dharana*, the proposed modification in the electricity charges into three categories (i e. Rs 22.50 /per horse power for those who pay the power charges in

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advance for six months, Rs. 25/per horse power for those who pay in time; and finally Rs 30/per horse power for those who pay late), were rejected with an injured rebuff that the decisions of the Chief Minister (C.M.) were unilateral. The C.M. had also announced that such modifications were made on the request of Congress (I) leaders, which hurt the self-respect, honour and prestige of the kisans. The existence and the endeavors of the B K.U. were not acknowedged by the Government in taking such decisions. The leaders pleaded for the induction of B.K.U. leaders in the decision-making bodies and further argued that the decisions should be taken in the Kisan Panchayat.

In the 3rd *dharana*, leaders were drawn from beyond U.P., like Sharad Joshi (leader of *Shetkari Sangthan* of Maharshtra). Swami Agnivesh (leader of *Bandhuwa Mukti Morcha* of Haryana, and a staunch supporter and propounder of Arya Samaj) B.K.U. leaders from Punjab (Rajawal) and Haryana (Har Lal Singh) were there. These leaders came to the conclusion that Kisans could be mobilized at national level on the basis of parity between the costs of agricultrual inputs and prices of agricultural produce and crop insurance.

The "non-action" on the part of Government to the 24 hours ultimatum on 1st April, resulted in the declaration of "non-cooperation" with the Government from 2nd April, 1987, by the B K.U. leaders. It was intended to pressurise the Government to concede the Kisans demands of non-payment of revenue (which takes into account the interests of landowners of more than 3 acres) water tax, electricity bills, loans, and the decison to restrict the the sale of agricultural produce to the government agencies were incorporated in the programme of non-cooperation They also resolved to boycott the police stations and courts, and to resolve the disputes within the villages through traditional authoity structure based on *khap* and gerentocracy. Kisans were not required to have a prior permission from the government to fell the trees on their lands. They also decided to stop the supply of items of daily consumption like vegetables and milk to Delhi, the capital city of India.

Thus we see how during 1986 and 1987, the discontent among peasants was aggregated and articulated at the initial stages of overt collective action of peasantry through the traditional loyalities like *Khap*, *Barah Basti* and *Baah Gaon*. *Serv khap* has played a pivotal role as an agent in social reform activities; while *khap* contributed its part in organizing and mobilizing the peasantry.

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